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A NEW EPOCH IN RURAL QUEBEC

HORACE MINER

ABSTRACT

The rural French-Canadian community of St. Denis, studied intensively in 1936–37, was revisited during 1949. Social change was analyzed with a view to establishing the trends in rural Quebec and in order to test hypotheses based on the previous study. It was found that the once largely self-sufficient community had moved toward greater interdependence with the outside world, most markedly in production and communication technology. Demographic changes were also found. Unanticipated changes were caused by Dominion and provincial programs which brought considerable cash income into the community without requiring any fundamental change in the social structure. This new income provided means of fulfilling needs which previously had to go unfilled.

In 1936–37 the author made a detailed study of the small rural French-Canadian parish of St. Denis de Kamouraska,[1] located on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River about ninety miles east of Quebec city. This particular community was selected because of the long-established, traditional character of its culture. Even at the time of the study, however, cultural changes were already apparent. A new socioeconomic group of nonfarmers was developing, for whom the traditional ways were inadequate. For this group, urban and English culture traits were increasingly desirable.

The local social organization, basically that of the seventeenth century,[2] was actually the cause of the emergence of this latter group. The large-family system, averaging ten children to a family, was technologically necessary and religiously mandatory. Life was organized around the annual religio-economic cycle of activities, co-ordinate with the seasons, and around a cyclical family system which maintained a fairly constant ratio of people to the land.[3] As well integrated as the structure appeared, it was not self-contained but required the emigration of two-thirds of the surviving offspring each generation. It was this process which had brought the French to Quebec, which had spread the French-Canadians on all the available arable land of the province, and which had helped populate many of the cities of Quebec and New England. In 1936, all these outlets were virtually closed. The population excess was dammed up in the rural areas but looked cityward for solutions to its problems.

[1] Horace Miner, *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1939). The population was 700 persons in 1937.

[2] Horace Miner, "Changes in Rural French-Canadian Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (1938), 365–78.

[3] Horace Miner, "The French-Canadian Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, III (1938), 700–708.

The author revisited St. Denis during two weeks of the summer of 1949. The changes which had occurred in the parish since the original study were so marked that their documentation and analysis were undertaken. Let it be immediately stated that the amount of change exceeded the expectation based on the previous study of the community. The nonlanded children of farmers were not even the principal group affected by the changes. True, the old problem of population surplus was still responsible for much innovation, but the changes wrought in Canadian national economic life by the war were the significant variables.

Military mobilization did not really affect the parish, as was to be expected from a knowledge of the people. Participation in World War I had been slight, only seven men having been in the service. In the second war the French-Canadian farmers were protected from the draft and did not identify themselves enough with the political interests of the English to volunteer. In point of fact, it was found that, during World War II, five sons of St. Denis had been in the army and three had been overseas. Parishioners were vague as to the identity of their soldiers and knew virtually nothing of their experiences.

CHANGES IN MATERIAL CULTURE

The returning visitor to St. Denis is immediately struck with the changes in material culture. The principal road to the parish, once rough and graveled, is now part of the macadam-surfaced route from Quebec to Gaspé. The automobiles of Canadian and American tourists stream through the community, out of which a motorcycle policeman now operates on road patrol. The two hundred and fifty autos which passed through the village during one hour on July 4 inescapably impressed the residents with the date of that American holiday. Few tourists stop in the parish, however, except to purchase gasoline at one of the two pumps.[4]

The road means easier egress from the community. Year-round autobus service is now available. Eight trucks and sixteen other automobiles, including three jeeps, are now owned by parishioners, in contrast to the five automobiles which were in St. Denis in 1937.[5] The number of farmers who have bought tractors increased from two to thirteen in the same period. The dual utility of the horse for transportation and field work is still retained to a degree with the tractor. It is not an unusual sight to see farmers driving their tractors to town. On the other hand, the oxcart has disappeared from the roads.

In front of many of the houses along the road one now finds rural mailboxes. Any farmer living more than a mile from the office of the postmistress can secure a box and mail delivery for life by paying $4.00. Most families have availed themselves of the service. The roads are now also paralleled by electric and telephone lines. There are forty telephones in the parish, whereas formerly there were two. While in 1936 almost no farms had electricity, now they are practcially all electrified. Electrification has brought the radio into almost every home. Even electric washing machines and refrigerators, while not general, are to be found in many a farmhouse. There are some fifteen electric milking machines in the parish, a complete innovation. Local explanation for their introduction is that they facilitate the work of women who have many small children. "They are not expensive; only cost a couple of hundred dollars," commented one farmer, who twelve years ago operated on an almost completely self-subsistent basis. He has just finished building a forty-by-eighty-foot modern barn, the materials for which cost $5,000.00.

Farm technology has felt still further changes. Threshing by horsepower, which

[4] One of these pumps sold 22,000 imperial gallons of gasoline in 1948, including that for farm use.

[5] The number of motor vehicles registered in the Province of Quebec rose only from 197,917 to 298,688 between 1937 and 1947 (*1948 Statistical Year Book* [Quebec: Department of Trade and Commerce], p. 485).

was general, has completely given way to threshers operated by electric motors or gasoline engines. The same threshing machine may still be employed with the new power source. Milk was separated at the local butter factory in 1936. Electrified farms now have their own separators.

Houses may now be supplied with running water, provided by electric pumps and water from the old wells, and wash basins and toilets are found even on farms. Clothes are purchased from the store or, most commonly, from mail-order houses, and homemade homespun clothes, once typical, are now uncommon, for both men and women want to dress like city people.

Some farm wives even buy their bread from the wagon which passes their door semiweekly, instead of baking it themselves. Commercial soap flakes, such as "Surf," are used in households which were once entirely dependent upon homemade soap. Ice cream, not eaten in 1936, has become a popular food.[6]

Material change is also found on an organized community basis. The road through the village is illuminated by street lights, and the church has a new electric organ. On the beach, where a small summer colony once represented the sins of the city incarnate, a new chapel has arisen. There a priest says daily Masses during the summer. The small resort hotel has burned, and the curé has successfully obstructed attempts to renew this focus of undesirable transients. The half-dozen beach cottages of 1936 have increased to two-score summer dwellings occupied by respectable families. As was already true in 1936, new construction does not follow the traditional architectural pattern but copies that of the city.

The county fair in 1949 exemplified the changes which have occurred since 1936. Visitors now arrive predominantly by automobile instead of by carriage. Major commercial exhibits have shifted from tombstones and wood stoves to electric water-heaters, refrigerators, milkers, pumps, separators, and radios. Wood stoves are still shown beside electric and oil stoves. Overstuffed suites of furniture are on display to tempt the farm wife, and farm machinery is set out as bait to draw her husband.

The exhibits of preserved foods and garden produce show no marked alteration, nor does the livestock competition. The sewn and woven articles in the competitive displays, however, are far from the traditional patterns and forms. Linen towels are all that seem to have persisted. Lace-trimmed underclothes are boldly exhibited. Bridge-table covers and zippered, woolen baby-wrappers are popular items, along with knitted garments, which were already in evidence in 1936. The wheel of chance and the ball-throwing booth of the earlier fair have mushroomed to some thirty concessions. Over half the booths contain games of chance of one sort or another, including bingo. Four "sledge and bell" tests of strength provide an outlet for the competitive and exhibitionist desires of the young men.

ECONOMY

The shift from horsepower to electricity and gasoline in the fields of transportation and farm technology highlights the growing dependence of St. Denis upon the wider society of Canada and the Western world. All the other changes noted in the material culture were also departures from an economy of community self-sufficiency. The increasing dependence upon the outside world implies other local changes necessary to the interdependent nature of units in the larger society.

Changes in farm production clearly show this outside influence. Data are not available for St. Denis itself, but statistics for the county of Kamouraska may be taken as representative.[7] Basic crops changed

[6] The consumption of ice cream in the province almost trebled between 1938 and 1947 (*1948 Statistical Year Book*, p. 364).

[7] The author is indebted to Professor Charles Gagné for his assistance in securing the crop and livestock data.

little, in contrast to minor ones. Hay and oats are still the major crops, occupying about 90 per cent of the cropland. Between 1941 and 1948, farm acreages devoted to oats remained about constant, and those in hay increased only 4 per cent. Wheat acreage declined a third between 1941 and 1947 but rose 10 per cent the following year. Barley acreage had doubled by 1947 and continued to increase thereafter. Livestock also showed marked changes. The number of hogs increased 40 per cent over the seven years. Cattle increased 13 per cent, primarily milk cows, cattle for slaughter being unimportant. Consistent with technological shifts, the number of horses decreased almost 10 per cent.

The Dominion government, in 1941, undertook a program designed to curtail wheat production and increase that of livestock and dairy products. Through publicity, marketing quotas, and agricultural subsidies, the production of pork and milk was more than doubled, and the contribution of wheat to farm income was halved. Annual Canadian bacon exports to England rose from 192 million to nearly 700 million pounds between 1937 and 1944.[8]

Most of this striking change in the Dominion agricultural economy is accounted for by increased livestock production in the Prairie Provinces, which began a reversion to wheat even before the end of the war. While the role of Kamouraska County was a minor one, it is clear that the agricultural changes in the county directly reflected the Dominion program. Not only was there a shift in production patterns in St. Denis, but agricultural products suddenly represented greatly increased purchasing power. Between 1938 and 1947, the value of field crops in Quebec rose 140 per cent, and the value of hogs 180 per cent. The cost-of-living index, however, rose only a third during the period.[9] This increment was not the only source of increased real income.

Since 1927 there has been a joint Dominion and province old age pension plan for needy persons over seventy years of age.[10] St. Denis, with 6.6 per cent of the population over seventy, has a relatively large number of persons receiving these pensions. The pension was raised from $25.00 to $30.00 a month in 1947.

The Canadian Family Allowances Act of 1944 had even more effect on St. Denis. Under the original act, lower-income families received from $5.00 to $8.00 a month per child under sixteen years of age. The amount varied upward with the age of the child but was reduced for the fourth and succeeding children. Benefits declined progressively for higher-income groups.[11] St. Denis, with its average of ten children per family, has experienced a marked increase in cash income from this source. Even the clauses of the act which reduced the payment scale for large families have recently been eliminated.

This legislation is of major importance in understanding the shift from self-sufficiency in Quebec. The religiously sanctioned large family was also a prerequisite for farm operation with the traditional technology of hand labor. Mechanization was blocked by the large-family system, as the greater efficiency of the machine could not make itself felt through decreasing the number of family farm workers. Now it is possible to mechanize the farm and also to rear a large family. The increased value of farm products has, of course, the same effect. The stability of the market is felt to be less certain, however, than the family allowance.

The increased cash income of St. Denis has had ramifying effects in the local economy. One young man who was an unemployed and unhappy bachelor in 1936 has

[8] V. C. Fowke, "Canadian Agriculture in the Postwar World," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLIII (1947), 46–47.

[9] *1948 Statistical Year Book*, pp. 337, 347, 544.

[10] Harry M. Cassidy, "The Canadian Social Services," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLIII (1947), 194–95.

[11] *Ibid.*

become a life insurance salesman and is happily married. Almost half the parishioners are now insured with him. Several other young men have since become representatives of insurance companies.

A major development has been in the organization and expansion of co-operatives. This change is the direct product of intense promotion from outside the parish. The co-operative movement is a half-century old in Quebec, but its development has been slow and irregular. Co-operative organization was encouraged from the start by provincial legislation, and the movement was marked in Quebec by a tendency to organize from the top down. The credit union, organized provincially, and county and parish fire insurance mutuals were the only Quebec co-operatives to escape the effects of failure and disillusionment during the twenties.

La Coopérative Fédérée de Québec was reorganized in 1930 and the whole movement given new impetus. Since 1932 the provincial government has directly subsidized the promotion of the Caisse Populaire, which is the principal mutual savings and loan association. Consumers' co-operatives have been particularly slow in developing. The heterogeneity of large urban centers and the conservatism of the rural villages made these communities particularly difficult to organize.[12] In 1940, however, provincial promoters succeeded in interesting a group of parishioners of St. Denis to purchase, on a co-operative basis, the only significant general retail store in the parish. The enterprise is now shared by 275 members, including people from almost all families in the parish and even some from the three neighboring parishes, one of which has a co-operative store of its own. L'Active, as the co-operative is called, also operates a nonprofit mill for the benefit of the members. Even building materials and plumbing are purchased through L'Active, at substantial savings. In 1949, assets amounted to $46,300.00, against which a $14,560.00 debt is carried. Gross sales were approximately $140,000.00 in 1948, representing an increase of 59 per cent over the first year's gross. Shares in L'Active sell for $5.00 and no member may have more than forty shares. Membership may actually be secured for $1.00, the complete share being paid for from subsequent dividends. Three per cent interest is paid on all obligations. The annual dividend paid to each member is based on the amount purchased by him at the store during the year. The dividend rate has been increasing by 1 per cent a year and in 1949 amounted to 8 per cent. The manager, who is a native of St. Denis, does not bill his members, who purchase largely on credit, action to collect being taken only on long-standing debts. Yet, at the end of January, 1949, only $1,900.00 was outstanding. Rarely do the members collect their interest or dividends, preferring to let their investment increase.

The Caisse Populaire is the only bank in St. Denis today, having replaced the former, small, private banking enterprise. The Caisse operates out of the private dwelling of its woman manager, who also runs a small drugstore in another room of the house. Beginning with 93 members and assets of $9,000.00 in 1940, the Caisse of St. Denis now has 423 members and assets of $200,000.00. Loans to parishioners amount to $21,000.00.[13] Between L'Active and the Caisse Populaire, the average family in St. Denis has $2,000.00 invested in co-operative enterprise. In addition, the local butter factory has also become a co-operative, owned by the farmers who once sold their cream to the proprietor.

[12] Albert Fancher, "Co-operative Trends in Canada," *Annals of the Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLIII (1947), 184–89.

[13] The experience of the Caisse Populaire of St. Denis is fairly typical of peoples' banks throughout Quebec. The number of such banks almost doubled between 1940 and 1946; the number of depositors more than trebled. Assets rose 600 per cent. While the assets of the St. Denis Caisse are somewhat above the Quebec average, loans outstanding are only a quarter of the average amount (*1945–46 Statistical Year Book*, p. 535; *1948 Yearbook*, p. 580).

OLD WAYS AMONG THE NEW

Increased communication between St. Denis and the outside world is also reflected in the growth of correspondence by mail. The number of letters entering and leaving the parish has almost doubled since 1936.[14] Parcel post has also increased with augmented mail-order buying. In spite of the increased use of the mail, the postmistress continues to antagonize her counterparts in neighboring, more urban parishes by refusing to keep the official Quebec postal hours at the post office located in her residence. She insists that, if the mail train arrives so late that mail cannot be distributed before closing time, she must remain open later. In defense of her practice of opening the office early, she says, "Can I expect people who go to early Mass to come back to the village later to get their mail?" Her relationship with parishioners remains personal, despite outside pressures.

There are other indications of the growth of the habit of reading.[15] Between 1936 and 1946, the number of subscriptions to daily newspapers increased one-third. The strongly religious *L'Action catholique* continued to hold three-quarters of the subscribers. The proportion of subscribers who take papers which directly or indirectly support the Liberal party has remained about constant, in spite of the rise to national power of the Liberal French-Canadian, Prime Minister St. Laurent. The traditional division between Conservatives and Liberals in the parish was likewise little altered by the introduction of the unsought privilige of woman suffrage. Women do exercise their right to vote, and it is even rumored that some wives do not vote as their husbands do.

A new doctor has just come to the neighboring parish of St. Philippe, making five medical practitioners now immediately available to St. Denis, in addition to two dentists. Even in 1936, the sole doctor had replaced the *sage femme* at childbirth. With the increase in the number of practitioners, the *remmancheur*, or bonesetter, has been forced to discontinue his practice, which has long been illegal. His daughter is a nurse and is said to use some of her father's skills still. Folk remedies remain in use, particularly when the doctor fails to effect a cure. One local farmer, stricken with rheumatism, tried to find relief through prescribed medicine and by wearing a brass chain on his right wrist, but to no avail. He then went to a Quebec hospital, a step taken only in grave emergencies in 1936.

The church continues to act as an agent in the control of nature. In early August, 1949, the parish was threatened by a plague of grasshoppers. Masses were said in the various quarters of the community, and religious processions were organized to pray for deliverance. The grasshoppers departed. Late in the summer a severe drought caused the bishop to request that Masses be sung throughout the province "for the fruits of the earth." The rains came before the local Mass was scheduled, but, as the curé pointed out, all areas had not yet been so fortunate.

The curé, who has long been ill, attributes the strength he has gained to the prayers of his parishioners. He is still not well enough to give the sermons, however. The priest who replaces him in the pulpit chose for his theme, during the summer months, the distinction between proper veneration and prayer and improper supernatural beliefs and practices.[16] The power

[14] Calculated from monthly stamp sales and a count of incoming mail on one day.

[15] The only error in *St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish* known to the author is the statement that "a generation ago, half of the men in the parish could not sign their names" (p. 35; see also pp. 73–74). The statement was based on the fact that parishioners did not sign the church register at various *rites de passage*. This the curé interpreted as indicative of illiteracy. It now appears that an indeterminate number did not sign because previous curés may have been lax in asking them to sign. It is, however, true that even now a few parishioners can write their names only when they are spelled out for them.

[16] Basically, he assailed those supernatural practices which were defined as "magical" in the 1936 study, *St. Denis*. While there was some understand-

of the saints was clearly limited to intercession. Their physical representation in statues was likened to "pictures of ancestors," with no power residing in them. The primacy of the high altar over those of the saints was stressed. Folk beliefs in methods of foretelling events and working magical cures were derided.

DEMOGRAPHY

The demographic changes[17] in St. Denis are less obvious than those in the material culture, but, nonetheless, they have been profound. The population had been declining regularly from 1871 to 1931, but between 1936 and 1946 the parish experienced a 13 per cent increase.[18] The average annual birth rate for the decade 1937–46 was 28.4 births per 1,000 population, an increase over the 24 per 1,000 rate of the previous decade.[19] The rural birth rate throughout Quebec experienced the same trend.[20]

For the forty-year period up to 1937, 25 per cent of the deaths in St. Denis were at ages of less than one year; 33 per cent under five years; 43 per cent under twenty-five years. For the period between 1937 and 1948,[21] these percentages changed to 17 per cent under one year, 18.7 per cent under five years, and 22.8 per cent under twenty-five years. Not only has the mortality of infants and young persons been thus reduced, but the total life-expectancy of those who reach the age of twenty-four years has increased from 65.3 to 72.1 years. The county and province show the same sort of change. Infant mortality in Kamouraska County, however, has decreased more rapidly than the rural average.[22] Change in this direction was noted at the time of the earlier study.[23] Its apparent suddenness is partly a product of the long-time period for which the earlier death rates were computed.

The general health improvement indicated by altered mortality is possibly also reflected in the increased birth rate, as a result of fewer miscarriages. Birth control is not practiced, but the mother of a poor family may welcome, rather than seek to avoid, a natural miscarriage. Still, the increasing birth rate and the declining infant mortality have led to a 43 per cent increase in the number of children in St. Denis under the age of fifteen. Other age categories also show shifts.

During the last decade, there was a continuation of the emigration of persons between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, but at a much reduced rate.[24] A larger proportion of the farm children remained in the community. The fact that there were 43 per cent more women between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-nine in 1946 than there were in 1936 is a potentially significant factor in the increased birth rate.

As brides settle in their husbands' parishes, it is the marriage rate of local men which is significant for the birth rate in St. Denis. The number of local male residents who marry each year is difficult to ascertain, as marriages are performed and recorded in the parish of the bride. An increase in the number of new families in the

able adverse Catholic reaction to this section of the book when it appeared, these sermons given twelve years later and begun before the author's return seem to substantiate the earlier record.

17 The author is indebted to Curé Joseph Laforet, who made the local records available.

18 It declined from 980 to 691. The population was 700 in 1936; 792 in 1946.

19 The birth rate now approximates the average annual rate of 28.9/1,000 for 1907–16.

20 30.6/1,000 in 1926–35; 36.4/1,000 in 1946 (*1948 Statistical Year Book*, p. 120).

21 Data consisted of 123 deaths.

22 The Kamouraska rate was 74.7/1,000 in 1936 and 47.5/1,000 in 1945. The provincial rate fell from 82.6/1,000 to 62/1,000 during the same period. Rural and urban rates became about equal (*1948 Statistical Year Book*, pp. 131–32).

23 *St. Denis*, pp. 79, n. 10, and 249.

24 In 1936, the age group between twenty-five and thirty-four years equaled 60 per cent of the group between fifteen and twenty-four years. By 1947 this percentage had risen to 91. Only 24 per cent of those who were between fifteen and twenty-four years of age in 1936 had emigrated by 1947, and 4 per cent had died.

parish is indirectly indicated by the rise in the local birth rate as well as by the general increase in marriage rates during the war. Matches between parishioners have increased,[25] but otherwise girls have gone farther afield to find mates.[26]

Up until 1941 the greatest number of marriages in the parish in any year had been seven. There were ten marriages in that year, presumably influenced by conscription. In 1944 there were sixteen marriages, an increase attributable to the war and encouraged by the Family Allowances Act of the same year. The marriage rate of Kamouraska County shows the same upsurge in 1944.[27] There was no comparable change for the province as a whole.[28]

The marriage rates for the province and county have been generally, but irregularly, increasing.[29] This trend, previously operative in St. Denis, was not discernible there over the last decade,[30] in spite of the unusually large number of marriages in 1941 and 1944. The proportion of the local population which is of marriageable age has increased much more rapidly than has the number of marriages. It is obvious that even the expanded economy is still proving quite insufficient to provide an economic base for the marriage of children who do not remain on the farm. A high proportion of unmarried persons in the population has long been typical of the region.[31] If emigration continues to be impossible for so many, the growing group of unmarried adults will soon cause a decline in the local birth rate.

CONCLUSIONS

It would appear valuable to begin the concluding analysis with a brief restatement of the conclusions drawn in 1937 as to social change in St. Denis. The focus of the earlier study was the community, and, in so far as the larger society impinged upon it, influences from urban English culture were dealt with as constants.

The local problem of population pressure loomed large in 1937. Nonlanded sons of the parish and even farm girls, the future of most of whom lay outside the parish, looked to the cities and towns for ultimate establishment. At the very least, urban ways of life were of value in making a local, nonfarm adjustment. Urban traits had increasing prestige value. The group for whom the old ways were no longer adequate constituted a disorganizing element in the total community.

Specific trends, recognized at the time, were those toward increasing literacy, decreasing infant mortality, and the decline of folk medicine. A very slow decline in the birth rate was also noted, owing to the increasing proportion of unmarried persons in the population. The increasing dependence of the local society upon industrial civilization was clear in technology, styles, food, and amusements.

Comparing the projected view of the future with what actually took place, the nature and direction of change were no surprise. The increased birth rate is one exception. The increase, apparently a result of the war, appears to be a temporary phenomenon. If we search for other unforeseen aspects of change, several things stand out with regard to the amount of change and the form which it took.

[25] They were 29 per cent of all marriages in St. Denis in 1898–1936 and 35.6 per cent for the period 1937–48.

[26] The proportion of marriages in which the groom came from within twenty miles of St. Denis was 84 per cent for the forty-year period prior to 1937. Since then, only 77 per cent of the grooms have come from within that radius.

[27] *1943:* 8.0 marriages per 1,000 population; *1944:* 9.1 marriages per 1,000 population; *1945:* 7.1 marriages per 1,000 population.

[28] *1948 Statistical Year Book*, p. 110.

[29] The marriage rate of Quebec increased from 6/1,000 population in 1934 to 10.1/1,000 in 1946. The rate for Kamouraska County rose from 4.7 to 8.0 over the same period (*1935 Statistical Year Book*, p. 97; *1948 Year Book*, pp. 110, 116).

[30] *1907–16:* 4.5 marriages per 1,000 population; *1917–26:* 5.5 marriages per 1,000 population; *1927–36:* 6.6 marriages per 1,000 population; *1937–48:* 6.7 marriages per 1,000 population.

[31] *St. Denis*, p. 27.

In spite of the fact that the 1937 analysis of borrowed English words showed the major diffusion to be in technical and mechanical items, the rapidity of technological change has been greater than would have been anticipated. In addition, these borrowings have affected farm families more than was expected. Finally, the development of co-operatives was not foreseen. The provincial and Dominion governments were the principal agents of change in each of the above cases. The co-operatives developed in a congenial setting, but through the agency of provincial organizers and in terms of an expanded money economy.

Other unexpected alterations are directly associated with the relatively sudden development of large cash incomes in the parish. This change was stimulated and made possible by the Dominion government. It is particularly noteworthy that the economic shift took place with very little alteration in the old pattern of production. High prices, subsidies, and family and old age allowances poured cash into the parish. The principal production change was the increase in hogs, a relatively simple matter.[32] It was possible to be conservative and still reap cash benefits. There has been no boom in the sense of greatly increased operation on credit.

What was the cash used for? Where additional farms were available, they were purchased. Buildings were repaired. More children were sent away to school. All this could have been anticipated, if the Dominion economic action had been considered and foreseen. But telephones, plumbing, tractors, washing machines, store clothes, milking machines—what brought these items into the self-subsistent economy?

Referring to changes evident in 1937, the following comment was made: "Many of the old culture traits are so closely allied to the thrifty, close-family economy that they have resisted change to a remarkable degree."[33] The lack of resistance in the ensuing period was not based on fundamental alterations in the local social structure. The "thrifty, close-family economy" suddenly produced cash profits beyond the requirement of the old system. This increment was used to facilitate the labor of the farm.

One compelling reason for farm families to depart from the old technology is clear. There has been a growing resistance among convent-educated, unmarried girls to the assuming of the burden of bearing and rearing a family of ten while cooking, housekeeping, gardening, milking, spinning, weaving, making clothes, and helping with the harvests and threshing. One hears discussed, for the first time, the problem of "keeping the children on the farms." The modernization of the farm is partly in response to this problem. A decade ago, the farm inheritor and his wife were to be envied. Any awareness of "conveniences" was not expressed in terms of desirability. The traditional family economy was such that the acquisition of such gadgets was almost literally unthinkable. The desirability of conveniences, now available, finds wide expression today. In the present glow of economic expansion, a girl can assert her preference for an easier life. When the fact of increased population pressure is felt in increased difficulty in getting married, the lot of a farm wife may still seem preferable to spinsterhood. But the farm wife will continue to want mechanical assistance.

What does the future hold for St. Denis? Certainly, there will be more change in the direction originally indicated—increasing dependence upon the surrounding industrial civilization and all that this implies. The development of a population surplus seems destined to continue. A greater proportion of the youth is remaining in the parish but creates no burden at the moment because of the economic expansion. But

[32] Two sows, averaging two litters of fifteen shoats each, bring one farmer $3,000.00 a year. Previously he had raised only enough pork for his family's needs.

[33] *St. Denis*, p. 233.

now not only is St. Denis dependent upon the outside world for the placing of her surplus population, but also her local economy is tied to world markets and governmental aid. The national economic outlook, however, is doubtful. Canadian agricultural life can be maintained at its present status only if depressed world areas become markets for agricultural produce or if there is an increase in industrialization and urbanization. The alternative is increasing national self-sufficiency.[34] We shall not venture to make predictions where economists withhold judgment, but it is apparent that St. Denis will pay for her conveniences with vicissitudes she never knew before. This is no nostalgic plaint, for the seeds of change were in the local system itself.

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[34] Fowke, *op. cit.*, p. 51; see also W. Burton Hurd, "Demographic Trends in Canada," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLIII (1947), 14–15.

WHERE IS THE MODERN SOCIOLOGY OF CONFLICT?

JESSIE BERNARD

ABSTRACT

In the last two or three decades interactional sociology has suffered relative to cultural sociology in the United States. The sociological theory of conflict, for example, remains essentially where Simmel left it; Communists, on the other hand, have assiduously cultivated this field. The comparative neglect of the sociology of conflict may be for the following reasons: cultural explanations of sociological phenomena are easier on our own personalities than interactional ones; sociologists have wished to avoid identification with Marxism or socialism; there is a widespread fear that, if one studies conflict, he is aggravating, advocating, or approving it; powerful fighting organizations do not want to see a science of conflict developed; we do not wish to face the existence of certain conflicts; and, finally, the difficulty in securing adequate data is very great. In spite of these obstacles, the establishment of an Institute of Conflict Analysis is urged for both theoretical and practical purposes.

I

Over the last two decades there has been a great burgeoning of cultural sociology in the United States. As an explanatory and analytic tool the concept of culture has become almost as important in sociology as in anthropology itself. On the dynamic side, invention and change have engaged the attention of sociological researchers. On the static side, the structural aspects of community—particularly class and caste—have become a fad. Almost everyone nowadays is studying some phase of class in whatever research he is working on. There can, of course, be no legitimate objection to this work.

On the other hand, the more strictly interactional phases of sociology have suffered relatively because of this preoccupation with the cultural aspects. The theory of conflict and of competition particularly has suffered in the hands of recent American socialogists; since the time of such early pioneers as Small, Park, and Ross, little progress has been made. Where, for example—to limit our discussion to the neglect of a theory of conflict—are the American sociological analyses and scientific measures of sabotage, boring from within, the use of "fronts," the Trojan horse technique, the manipulation of parliamentary debate, the use of *agents provocateurs,* the war of nerves, espionage, fifth columns, deceit, fraud?[1] We have excellent descriptions and analyses of lynchings, strikes, riots, and war. But the most important modern conflicts are not necessarily fought on the level of overt violence. Yet American sociologists in recent years have been content to leave the scientific study of conflict where Simmel left it. Therefore, when the Communists turned their battery of conflict techniques on us, we had no theory to cover modern conflict situations. Did the sociologists have anything creative to offer in the cold war? Psychological warfare is still infantile; sociological warfare, embryonic. Animal sociologists can tell us how to exterminate rats sociologically. Germany, which had developed a strong school of conflict sociologists (perhaps apologists would be more accurate) in addition to the Marxist school, perfected the science of community destruction—genocide. American sociologists, except for the Marxists, who have added little to the original Marxian formulas, have, it seems, conspicuously avoided the whole field of the theory of conflict. No

[1] Since this article was written, an interesting analysis of "Some Social Functions of Ignorance," by Wilbert E. Moore and Melvin M. Tumin, has appeared (*American Sociological Review,* December, 1949, pp. 787–95), which includes some reference to ignorance as a conflict technique. But it is dealt with tangentially rather than as an integral part of a systematic theory of conflict.

wonder, then, if they have contributed little creative work in the sociology of conflict. We have even made the concept of conflict culturally acceptable as the concept of "tensions," rendering it thus a subjective rather than an objective phenomenon. It is interesting to note that the one scientific book admittedly dealing with social conflict in the past decade was written by a German psychologist.[2] What knowledge we now have of conflict is largely in terms of what Cooley used to call "sympathetic introspection," or what is sometimes called empathy. We "understand" it intuitively or with insight. A great novelist or short-story writer or dramatist can use almost any conflict situation he cares to—revenge, defiance, disobedience, revolt—confident that we will understand it from our own experience. Folk language is replete with expressions for conflict situations for which scientific analysis is still lacking. "Offense is the best defense," "playing the ends against the middle," "divide and conquer," "even up the score," "he has nothing on me," "put it over," "your move," "seize the offensive," "get even," "don't seem too anxious," "to have a drop on him," "the weapon of surprise and secrecy," etc. We understand all these terms but have little research-supported sociological knowledge about them. We are, as compared with Communists or Nazis, mere babes in the woods with respect to the theory of modern conflict.

This is in direct contrast to the situation in Russia, where the Communists are sensitized to see conflict, and everything else falls into that conceptual framework. Presented with a social situation to analyze, the conflict pattern of their thinking determines what they will emphasize, what ignore. Even a cursory examination of their work illustrates this point. Scanning a random sample of ten pages of Stalin's writing, we find forty-two references to such terms as "conflict," "combat," "fight," etc.[3] A similar scanning of Roosevelt's analogous works reveals only thirteen.[4]

The Communists apply the principles of conflict everywhere, even in their own organization. Conflicting points of view within the party must be threshed out. They must, however, concentrate upon issues rather than upon personalities. What Stalin calls the "family and neighbor" technique of accommodation must be eschewed:

> If we Bolshevists . . . eschew self-criticism for the sake of the peace-of-mind of some of our comrades, is it not obvious that tremendous harm can result for our cause? . . . If we, champions of the proletarian revolution, close our eyes to our errors and settle matters in a familiar and convivial way by preserving silence as to our mutual mistakes and thus driving the festering ulcers into the interior of our Party organism, who will finally correct our shortcomings? Is it not obvious that we shall then cease to be proletarian revolutionaries, that we shall probably go under if we countenance a growth of this "family and neighbor" system in the settlement of important matters?[5]

Thus all consensus must be based on the merits of the case. But consensus *must* be

[2] Kurt Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948).

[3] *Stalin's Kampf* (New York: Howell, Soskin & Co., 1940). The pages and the terms are as follows: p. 248 (conflict, conflicts, civil war, struggle); p. 258 (conflicts, enmity); p. 51 (revolution [9 times]); p. 120 (none); p. 271 (conflict, war); p. 190 (struggle [3 times], revolution [3 times], war); p. 286 (revolution, revolutionary); p. 84 (counterrevolution [4 times], counterrevolutionary [4 times], revolution [2 times], war, outbreaks [2 times]); p. 180 (struggle [3 times]); p. 242 (none). This volume is a compilation from speeches, interviews, leaflets, and state reports. It does not include writings after 1940.

[4] *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1938: The Continuing Struggle for Liberalism* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1941), p. xxi (resist, opposition); p. 4 (enemies); p. 136 (conflict); p. 259 (throw off fascist yoke, revolutionist, revolutionary); pp. 336, 450 (none); p. 514 (trying to create prejudices [2 times], trying to create class consciousness [2 times], trying to drive a wedge between city and farm worker); p. 590 (men who are hostile); pp. 578, 619 (none). The 1938 volume of Roosevelt's writings was selected because of the title.

[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 239.

arrived at, and, once arrived at, all must be bound by it. There must be no secession of disaffected factions, no publicizing of internal conflicts, no appeal by either side to outsiders. It is in this sense of consensus that all Communists are "ruled from Moscow." They do not perceive this as a surrender of their own judgment or as an imposition of foreign control but accede to it freely as a matter of principle. When it is argued that Communists are unfit to teach because they are not intellectually free to examine evidence objectively but are bound by directives from Moscow, the Communist himself can, without reservations, deny the allegation categorically. The directive from Moscow does not look to him like arbitrary fiat. It was hammered out in party councils; opposition was granted a hearing; pros and cons were debated. If Communists had been less astute students of conflict, they could not have created this iron discipline which, to those subjected to it, seems so soft and unchafing. These are elementary applications of the principles of conflict which make the Communist party, like the Catholic church, which applies similar rules, such a powerful fighting organization.

The rejection of the "family and neighbor" technique of accommodating conflict is applied by Russian representatives even in international conflict. They shun the informal gathering at which personal friendships might develop and interfere with the pursuit of objective accommodation. The results of these principles of conflict are now well known.

The implication is not that the Communists have been entirely correct in their one-sided emphasis on conflict. Communist Russia, like the United States, has suffered from the limitations of its social sciences. Pursuing a policy predicated upon the correctness of its sociological theory of conflict, communism has ignored many other equally important *cultural* phenomena. For example, by insisting, in the sense we have already described, on directing from Moscow revolutionary movements in all countries, it has selected out of the revolutionary movement in this country the truly powerful, dominating, consensus-compelling personalities that could head revolutions. To require Communists everywhere to accept Moscow's analyses of social events, even granting that they are shrewd, and hence Moscow's directives (even terminology like "toiling masses"!) sterilizes the movement by ignoring important cultural phenomena. If Russian Communists were better sociologists than they are, they would recognize more clearly than they do the necessity of fitting program, terminology, even ideology to problem and in the United States, at least, allowing a freer reign. But even granting that this neglect of cultural phenomena is a defect in their social sciences, they have asked science some of the most important questions for this day and age—about the nature and technique of conflict. Instead of a more or less snobbish preoccupation with the theory of class structure—which they long ago mastered—they have asked science how to fight.

II

Many sociologists might agree that in the United States the theory of conflict has not kept pace with the theory of culture but disagree on the reasons. One explanation is the cultural: It could be argued that our by-passing of the theory of conflict reflects our cultural disapproval of aggressive conflict and that our ignorance of conflict theory is honorable in the light of our cultural values.

But are we not in danger of invoking cultural explanations—or scapegoats—in order to protect ourselves from having to face more dangerous interactional ones? In the hands of some people, "culture" has become as facile an explanation for almost anything as "race" once was, or "nature" or "fate." But, if we invoke such easy explanations, we may overlook the fact that there are also perfectly rational reasons why a research-grounded sociology of conflict has not developed among us. Though

we may call them cultural, they are also explainable in terms of interactional concepts, especially conflict itself. The culture concept exonerates individuals as human beings. The culture concept emphasizes nonpersonal processes. Human beings play the role almost of puppets. Cultural analyses, as a matter of fact, could dispense with human beings entirely. Human will—free or determined *n'importe*—can be ignored. Even more so the conflict of human wills.

To illustrate. One sociologist points out that the mental hygiene movement in the United States is bound to fail in its goal of the prevention of mental disorders as contrasted with the regular public health movement, because it is culture-bound. It accepts the values of our culture, the so-called Protestant ethic—like democracy, worldliness, asceticism, individualism, rationalism, empiricism, and utilitarianism[6]—and attempts to adjust individuals to them. Inasmuch as anxiety and emotional insecurity are inevitable in a culture where these values prevail, mental illness on a large scale is also inevitable. Unless we change the highly competitive system with its omnipresent invidious distinctions, which creates the conditions of mental ill health, the mental hygiene movement, which emphasizes the individual, must of necessity fail.

This is a diagnosis in which a great many people, including many mental hygienists themselves, will doubtless concur. It is smoothly cultural. It exonerates everyone, except the mental hygienists. They are guilty of exemplifying the principle of culture-conditioning; they ought to transcend their cultural milieu.

But are cultural analyses sufficient? Why can we do nothing about the conditions that create mental illness? Because "there is a social restriction upon the impersonal analysis of personal relations, and especially upon the use of knowledge thus gained. Such knowledge must be employed only for culturally prescribed ends and persons who believe in these ends."[7] A quaint cultural foible! This author is, however, too good a sociologist to let it go at that. In a footnote he points out that merely knowing what produces mental illness does not guarantee that this knowledge can be used. "For very profound reasons we cannot plan or alter our culture out of whole cloth."[8] And, as he approaches the interactional core of the problem, the conflict of values, he throws up his hands; it is too difficult. "When speaking of such factors [as those making for mental ill health] it is difficult to advocate their immediate removal or change without becoming involved in ethical controversies and unseen consequences far transcending the immediate problem in hand."[9] Ethical controversies—conflict of values—although bona fide sociological data, are too hot to handle.

A nonrational explanation, then, like "culture" is easier emotionally than the more rigorously sociological one of conflict. But it is not enough. For it is not always nonrational inertia that prevents culture change, as in the case, let us say, of phonetic spelling. Sometimes the inertia is wholly rational in terms of those who fight change. "Vested interests" we say in an effort to be objective. Actually it is human beings whose interests demand the perpetuation of conditions which strictly scientific analyses would imply needed changing in order to minimize mental illness or to achieve any other culturally conceived value. We have to pay a price that might seem staggering to many people. Mental illness, like crime or any other problem, might not seem to the beneficiaries of it to be an exorbitant price for the benefits they derive from the system that produced it. It is hardly scientific to ask the mental hygienists to demand a change in our cultural values in order to minimize mental

[6] Kingsley Davis, "Mental Hygiene and the Class Structure," in *A Study of Interpersonal Relations*, ed. Patrick Mullahy (New York: Hermitage House, Inc., 1949), pp. 364–85.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 384.

[8] *Ibid.*

[9] *Ibid.*

illness, although they do so as much as any other group when other values may have to be sacrificed in the process.

Cultural and interactional sociological explanations operate together in an intricate manner. Because our culture condemns certain kinds of behavior, an objective statement that such and such a group is responsible for the condemned behavior at once looks like blaming or taking sides. Veblen pointed out this interesting fact in another connection many years ago:

> It is an unhappy circumstance that all this plain speaking about the country town, its traffic, its animating spirit, and its standards of merit, unavoidably has an air of finding fault. But even slight reflection will show that this appearance is unavoidable even where there is no inclination to disparage. It lies in the nature of the case, unfortunately. No unprejudiced inquiry into the facts can content itself with anything short of plain speech, and in this connection plain speech has an air of disparagement because it has been the unbroken usage to avoid plain speech touching these things, these motives, aims, principles, ways and means and achievements, of these substantial citizens and their business and fortunes.[10]

American sociologists have harbored a quite understandable fear—inherited from the nineteenth century—of being identified with socialists. As a matter of fact, the outsiders who associated sociology with socialism were probably as nearly correct as the inside sociologists who repudiated the connection entirely. The Marxian formulation of the theory of conflict, the so-called "materialistic dialectic," was doubtless narrow, incomplete, dogmatic, metaphysical—in fact, imperfect in all the ways it has been accused of being imperfect. But its emphasis on the importance of conflict in social life has not been demonstrated to be incorrect. One may, conceivably, miss more by repudiating the whole theory of conflict than by accepting an erroneous statement of it.

A third reason perhaps why recent American sociologists have shied away from the scientific study of conflict lies in a widespread fear that, if one studies conflict, he is aggravating or advocating it or that at least he approves of it. We have a—cultural, if you wish—policy of hush-hush with reference to many conflicts. In contrast to the Communist policy we believe in "letting sleeping dogs lie," in "not making an issue of it," "not stirring up trouble." As a result we have swung so far away from the subject of conflict that even to mention certain controversial subjects in textbooks has been taboo. That it should be possible to deal with conflict as an objective process without taking sides or becoming a propagandist or protagonist seems so unrealistic that this basic field of human behavior has been almost suppressed, or at least greatly minimized, in favor of a more static approach. This, if less realistic, at least has the merit of emphasizing what people have in common rather than what they have in conflict.

More subtle, though closely related to this reason for neglecting the sociology of conflict, is the fact that secrecy-and-surprise tactics are among the potent weapons of conflict. The theory of secrecy and surprise may be viewed as the converse of the theory of prediction, just as the sociology of genocide is the application in reverse of the sociology of normal community life.[11] And just as control implies predictability, so protection against control, as in a conflict situation, involves nonpredictability. We are thoroughly familiar with this principle in games and in war—the use of the feint, the poker face, the diversion of force. Conversely, to have no secrets among ourselves is an index of absence of conflict. There is nothing to hide among friends, but we suspect the secretive person of being opposed to us. We can scarcely expect powerful fighting organizations to violate these principles of conflict for the sake of

[10] "The Country Town," in *The Portable Veblen*, ed. Max Lerner (New York: Viking Press, 1948), p. 421. Originally published in 1923.

[11] Jessie Bernard, *American Community Behavior* (New York: Dryden Press, 1949), chap. xxx.

co-operating in a science of conflict. Both sides of any major conflict are likely to avoid any investigation, however scientific. If we learn about conflict, we disarm the conflicting parties; they are exposed, vulnerable. Until people knew about Communist tactics, the latter worked effectively; when exposed, they lost much of their potency. The Mohawk Valley Formula was successful until unions publicized it. Powerful conflict organizations do not like to be thus disarmed. It may be that the wielders of power do not want a science of power developed. That is, not in the regular, disinterested, academic channels of research. They might hire men to develop a science of power for their own use, but they would not, perhaps, in that event adhere to the mores of science in publishing results. Politicians, industrialists, and labor leaders would not necessarily be anxious for scientific scrutiny of the techniques of conflict.

A fifth reason for the relative neglect of the sociology of conflict lies in a wish not to have to face the existence of conflict. This fact has been skilfully traced in the case of "managerial sociology" by Harold L. Sheppard.[12] He points out how Elton Mayo and his associates persistently refuse to admit the existence of a conflict of interests between employer and employee and insist that the basic thing necessary for satisfying the demands of labor is "social skills" on the part of management. They assume an identity of interests occasionally interrupted by breakdowns in communication. Herbert Blumer has also commented on the escapist approach to the problems of industrial sociology.[13]

As a corollary of all this, it is difficult to secure the data necessary for a scientific study of the sociology of conflict. Among the important sources for the study of conflict would rank the files of the FBI; minutes of union meetings, of boards of directors, of lobbying agencies; reports of public relations counsels, of the American Arbitration Association, of the United States Conciliation Service, of the NAACP; secret dossiers in the State Department files. These are not likely to be made accessible to the disinterested outsider, even if he is a scientist.

It will be noted that, even if we admit cultural factors to explain our lack of research interest in the field of conflict, there remain, in addition, many others which need not invoke culture. There are thoroughly rational reasons which explain it also. The direction which research takes cannot of course be determined by individual fiat. The reasons here adduced to explain our lack of research preoccupation with a theory of conflict will doubtless continue to operate. We could well use an Institute of Conflict Analysis which would do for the major conflicts of today what the prewar Institute for Propaganda Analysis did for propaganda. A corps of social scientists whose sole function it would be not to serve as a mere fact-finding body but to analyze conflict situations in all kinds of areas and to create instruments for the measurement of conflict, to work out techniques for determining whether conflict really exists or whether the situation is one of mere understanding,[14] might do more for the social sciences than the repetition of static community studies into which so much research talent and energy is now directed. In addition, it might conceivably give us cues for the most creative handling of conflict situations from the local to the international level.

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12 "The Treatment of Unionism in 'Managerial Sociology,'" *American Sociological Review*, April, 1949, pp. 310–13.

13 "Sociological Theory in Industrial Relations," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1947, pp. 271–78.

14 Bernard, *op. cit.*, chap. vi.

THE MOTIVATION OF RADICALS

THELMA HERMAN MCCORMACK

ABSTRACT

Assumptions about motivation are implicit in theories of social change. Who deviates from established political, social, and economic norms and why are basic problems for an analysis of social movements. A critical review of studies of the political deviant suggests that though the data are incomplete for any final appraisal, it is type of personality which characteristically urges reforms. The major weakness of the studies is that they ignore the sociological context in which this behavior develops.

I

The analysis of social movements and social change presupposes three categories of data: (1) on the institutional structure or historical period (including events which may act as an impetus) in which the desire for change develops; (2) on the structure and development of social movements for change as well as those opposing it; and (3) on the motivation of those who participate in such movements.

Of these three general categories, the third is the most neglected. Often it is treated as a literary embellishment of the analysis of the first two categories. When it is considered seriously, it is usually done within an outmoded theoretical framework which fails to take cognizance of recent developments in the theory of motivation. It is perhaps an evidence of our democratic faith that we tend to think of the wish for change and social improvement as phenomena which require little explanation. Yet it must be acknowledged that for practical, political, and theoretical reasons we cannot take for granted the personality traits of those who devote themselves to reform; nor can we of those who would obstruct it.

We shall consider here studies of the motivation of radicals, persons who advocate institutional change and who would presumably participate in a movement designed to bring it about. Institutional change in this instance will refer to economic reform, because most of the literature is concerned with economic change.

II

American studies of the radical were done for the most part during the 1920's and 1930's.[1] Possibly the general intellectual ferment of the twenties stimulated scientific interest in the problem, and the interest was sustained for practical reasons by the depression of the thirties, after which it declined. It might have persisted but for the war. In any case, it is clear that professional interest in the personality of the radical has declined noticeably in the past decade.

One inevitable and unfortunate consequence of the fact that these studies were done so long ago is that they lack the methodological finesse we have grown to expect in studies of attitudes. Projective techniques, for example, are not used. Often the phrasing of questions is clumsy and naïve. Were such research being done today, it would unquestionably reveal far more about the problem than these earlier studies do.

A second general characteristic is the emphasis on the ideational aspects of the radical's behavior. As attitude studies, they

[1] The definition of "radical" varies from study to study. Usually, the procedure was to give the subjects an opinion questionnaire and to regard one statistical extreme as "radical." In one study this meant those who believed in a graduated income tax; in another, those who believed in complete socialization. Another method, less frequently used, has been to start from self-declaration, subjects being chosen from among the members of radical organizations.

treat the ideology of the radical but do not explore the psychological implications of the more complete political role. For material on the nonverbal routines involved in carrying out the functions of a radical political party, it is necessary to turn to literary sources such as autobiographies, biographies, journalistic accounts, etc.

Finally, the hypothesis that left-wing political attitudes develop in response to economic dislocation—the traditional Marxian approach—is almost entirely disregarded in these studies. In most of them variables, such as income, occupation, and class position, are held constant. Contrary to expectation, the subjects were not usually low-income groups, the "proletariat," but middle- and upper-class college students. If anyone's thinking can be said to have influenced the theoretical orientation of these studies, it is Freud rather than Marx.[2]

III

1. *The pattern of radicalism.*—For theoretical reasons the first problem to be solved in a psychology of radicalism was whether or not economic liberalism was a generalized attitude, extending to other issues as well as the economic one. If it was generalized and consistent with other attitudes held by the individual, it would then be possible to speak of a personality *pattern.* And researchers would be justified in searching for deeper underlying motives as the key to the individual's behavior.

Gordon Allport in a study of a group of Dartmouth students found evidence of such consistency.[3] In a study done one month prior to the presidential election of 1928, he classified attitudes according to the student's voting intention: Hoover, Smith, or Thomas. Within each group he found that those who were radical on political issues tended to be radical on other social issues as well. The same was true of the conservatives.

In a study of Yale and Dartmouth undergraduates, Moore found what he called "radical" and "conservative" temperaments.[4] Radicals showed greater readiness to break old habits in a mirror drawing test. In a neuromuscular test their reactions were quicker. A card-sorting test indicated that they were more willing to sacrifice accuracy for speed, suggesting a greater willingness to make snap judgments. And on a verbal free association test, the radicals proved slightly more original. Of all these differences, the one which seemed to Moore to stand out most sharply was the radical's "independence in the face of majority influence." Moore concludes: "Despite the enormous preponderance that environment and education may have in determining the particular radicalism of any particular individual, I submit that these environmental differences may be underlaid in very significant ways by innate differences in type of neuro-muscular machinery."[5]

Generally speaking, Allport's or Moore's findings have been accepted. As noted above, they are a necessary theoretical premise for developing the concept of the radical personality. Evidence of this may be seen in Flugel's recent attempt to develop the psychoanalytic basis for political types in which he quite logically cites the American findings as his point of departure.[6] There is support from clinical work and studies of other attitudes for the notion

[2] In order to find material bearing on the Marxian theory, it is necessary to turn either to European studies or, in the case of American research, to studies of unemployment, that is, studies which specifically investigate the effects of changing economic conditions. An example of the former is Henry De Man, *The Psychology of Socialism,* trans. Eden and Cedar Paul (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1928). An example of an American sociological study is E. Wight Bakke, *Citizens without Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1940).

[3] Gordon W. Allport, "The Composition of Political Attitudes," *American Journal of Sociology,* XXXV (1929), 220–38.

[4] Henry T. Moore, "Innate Factors in Radicalism and Conservatism," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology,* XX (1925), 234–44.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 244.

[6] J. C. Flugel, *Man, Morals and Society* (London: Duckworth, 1945), pp. 281–301.

that attitudes cluster, revealing a common thematic pattern.

There is some evidence, however, from other sources which suggests that political attitudes are less consistent than is usually assumed. Reed found that only 30 per cent in a group of two hundred and fifty-five, which included members of trade-unions and students at labor colleges, were consistent in their attitudes on international, religious, governmental, sex, economic, and race issues.[7] Extreme radicals, he found, however, were more consistent than the conservatives.

When the Moore study was repeated at Vassar College, the results did not confirm Moore's.[8] And, third, historical material often suggests that consistency may be the exception. For example, examining the biographies of Labour MP's, it is typical to find a firm believer in the socialist program who is at the same time the model of bourgeois respectability. Far from being bohemians, they are Sunday-school teachers, teetotalers, and so on, as well as socialists.[9]

Age, education, and class position may account for the discrepancy between the studies of Allport and Moore, on one hand, and Reed's, on the other, although these variables would not explain the Vassar results. In the former studies, the subjects were middle-class college men who often have, for whatever psychological reasons, a need to develop a "philosophy of life" that is both rigid and consistent. With greater maturity, this uncompromising attitude may yield to flexibility and a greater segmentalization of attitudes. It is possible, too, that the type of radicalism which develops in the middle class is different in this respect from the type that develops in low-income groups. These are hypotheses which require further exploration. It is sufficient here to point out the possible error in holding such variables as income constant. Stratified samples would present a somewhat different picture.

2. *Radicalism as a form of extremism.*— Having once established or accepted a priori the concept of a radical personality, researchers were then able to pursue the radical's motivation in more detail. In one group of studies radicalism is regarded as an example of deviant or extremist behavior, not unlike the extremism at the end of a political continuum. These studies are distinguished by their emphasis on the form of the attitude rather than the content.

D. A. Hartman and Floyd Allport, studying student opinion at Syracuse University, concluded that there were more similarities between the "reactionaries" and the "radicals" than there were between either of these two groups and the "middle-of-the-roaders."[10] Both radicals and reactionaries had greater difficulty than the middle group in accepting established conventions, and both felt less bound by them. Both were more willing to deviate from views held by their parents. And both were more reluctant to answer questions on their attitude toward sex.

Interpreting their findings, the investigators start out with what appears to be a bias in favor of the middle position: "In any issue upon which the mass of people divide into opposing camps, there is some truth upon each side, otherwise so many 'reasonable people' would not be converted to one side or the other. The full truth, therefore, probably lies somewhere between the two extremes."[11]

Assuming that the golden mean is the "reasonable" attitude, it then follows that

[7] Ellery F. Reed, "Does the Individual Tend To Be Consistently a Progressive or a Conservative," *Social Forces*, VI (1927), 49–52.

[8] M. F. Washburn, H. Kepler, N. McBroom, W. Pritchard, and I. Reimer, "The Moore Tests of Radical and Conservative Temperament," *American Journal of Psychology*, XXXVIII (1927), 449–52.

[9] *The Herald Book of Labour Members*, ed. S. V. Bracher (London: Labour Publishing Co., Ltd., 1923).

[10] Floyd H. Allport and D. A. Hartman, "Measurement and Motivation of Atypical Opinion in a Certain Group," *American Political Science Review*, XIX (1925), 735–60.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 740.

the extremes are motivated by nonrational factors. "It is suggested that the atypical extremists are actuated in their thinking by partially repressed emotional drives, and that they develop a method for concealing from themselves and others the fact that their opinion is determined rather by wishes than the process of reason."[12]

They do not indicate what these wishes or "partially repressed emotional drives" are. In so far as they account for the apparent differences between radicals and reactionaries, it is along the lines of Jungian psychology, the radical being more inclined toward the introvert, the reactionary toward the extravert. But they regard this difference as secondary: "If extraversion and introversion are simply different ways in which people resolve their mental conflicts, does it follow that the common basis we have found for reactionary and radical is really the existence of conflicts underlying the thinking of each?"

In Rinaldo's *Psychoanalysis of the Reformer* the reformer is defined as anyone who does not accept society as it is—without distinguishing, for example, between the socialist and the militant prohibitionist.[13] According to Rinaldo, the drive to reform society, whatever its social direction, is a frustrated sexual need producing hysteria in the individual, which latter is expressed in the drive to reform society. The adjusted person is the one who accepts the prevailing institutions. Lasswell similarly dismisses the ideological differences between attitudes, studying instead the manner in which the attitude is expressed.[14] He compares the "agitator" with the "administrator" rather than the "socialist" with the "conservative."

Two things are significant in these studies. The first is that, in the search for underlying or basic motivation, the differences between right and left are obscured. For purposes of studying social change and the motivation of those who urge it, this approach is limited, since it is precisely the difference between those who urge social change and those who are opposed or indifferent to it that needs to be explained.

In the quest for "deeper motivation" there is, so to speak, considerable danger of throwing out the baby with the bath. An example of this may be seen in the Vassar study, in which, when the investigators could not find evidence of a radical temperament, they asked themselves the following question: "Is radical temperament necessarily indicated by radical opinions on public questions?"[15] If the response to public issues does not indicate the radical temperament, then studies of the radical temperament can have no meaning for an understanding of social change.

Second, studies that minimize the differences between conservativism and liberalism may have a negative value. By suggesting what these attitudes have in common, they indicate what properties are extraneous to the particular attitude. This would seem to be, however, a roundabout way of isolating properties unique to the different attitudes.

3. *The radical as a deviant.*—One of the problems in all these studies is whether or not radical behavior is a symptom of maladjustment. Evidence of this approach can be seen in the Allport and Hartman study[16] as well as in Rinaldo's.[17] In both the conclusion was that the radical attitude, in contrast with other types of political attitudes, indicates a more basic personality disturbance. Lasswell goes further than any of the others in spelling out the nature of the disturbance.[18]

Starting with the assumption that political behavior is a displacement of unresolved conflicts originating in infancy, he seems to regard all political behavior as unadjusted

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 740.

[13] Joel Rinaldo, *Psychoanalysis of the Reformer* (New York: Lee Publishing Co., 1921).

[14] Harold D. Lasswell, *Psychopathology and Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930).

[15] Washburn *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 455.

[16] *Op. cit.*

[17] *Op. cit.*

[18] *Op. cit.*

behavior. Presenting the case history of a socialist agitator, he suggests three themes which find expression in the doctrinal aspects of the individual's behavior. (In this respect he departs from his avowed purpose of explaining only the "agitation." A repressed hatred of a brother was inverted into the philosophy of brotherly love, an ambivalent attitude toward the subject's father wes reflected in the refusal to accept the capitalistic system, and latent homosexuality made acceptable the socialist theme of martyrdom.

Lasswell did not state that these three themes universally constitute the psychodynamics of the socialist philosophy, nor did he suggest that this person or any socialist is "neurotic" in the strict clinical sense. His material on the radical's values was incidental to another purpose and cannot therefore be considered as his complete statement of the problem.

The study is chiefly important for presenting a systematic Freudian approach: (1) It assumes that political predispositions originate in infantile needs and are determined long before the individual encounters adult economic experience.[19] (2) It assumes a parallelism between private and public experience. Public attitudes are thought of as projections of private needs. Psychologically speaking, political experience presents the same opportunities to the individual for manipulation and expression as does the area of face-to-face relationships in childhood.

Equally as important as Lasswell's theoretical contribution is his restatement of the problem. He rejects the rational-irrational dichotomy; to him, all political attitudes—left, right, and center—are basically nonrational.

[19] That Lasswell does not consider these secondary group experiences as important may be seen in the vague way in which he uses them. Statements such as *"During these exciting troubles,* he became a socialist" or *"As time passed,* he began to dissent from many of the dogmas of his immediate social environment" illustrate the minor importance which Lasswell gives secondary group experience. (Italics mine.)

Continuing in the Freudian tradition, Flugel compares the psychoanalytic basis for attitudes on the "left" with attitudes on the "right."[20] His hypothesis is that attitudes on the "left" represent a healthy emotional adjustment and the triumph of the demands of the ego over those of the superego. In contrast with the tradition-bound conservative, the radical has freed himself from the force of authority and convention; that is, from the father image, and, in so doing, he has taken a step which is, according to Flugel, necessary to the mature development of personality. "In so far as the 'left' aims at an escape from blind authority," he writes, "and a social adjustment in the light of conscious ego functions, it does on the whole correspond to the 'tendencies' of progress."

With an eye perhaps to modern political realities, Flugel is careful to qualify his position by pointing out that an extremist kind of revolt carries its own psychological liabilities. It may, he says, lead to "an excessive emphasis on destruction . . . and efforts at restitution and perhaps to the reinstatement of a father figure in the form of a dictator."[21]

The notion that radicalism represents a protest against authority, the child's rebellion against parental authority, finds some empirical support in Gordon Allport's study.[22] Allport discovered that the best single index of political attitudes was a question concerning the individual's own voting in relation to his father's: those who rejected the voting intention of their fathers were the most radical.

Krout and Stagner addressed themselves directly to the problem of the radical's emo-

[20] *Op. cit.*, pp. 281–301.

[21] While Flugel allows for the possibility of an excessive destructiveness, Ernest Jones regards it as the distinguishing feature of revolutionary behavior. In a revolutionary situation, according to Jones, the individual symbolically murders his father (cf. "Evolution and Revolution," *International Journal of Psycho-analysis,* XXII [1941], 193–208).

[22] *Op. cit.*

tional stability. Using an autobiographical schedule with items selected from personality theory and clinical experience upon members of the Young Peoples' Socialist League and the Young Communist League as the experimental group, they found no marked tendency among radicals toward neuroses. "Our data," they reported, "showed as many symptoms of maladjustment among controls as among radicals."[23]

Although the Krout and Stagner study does not throw light directly on Flugel's specific hypothesis concerning the origin of radical ideas in the struggle to overcome parental authority, it does demonstrate that radicalism is not in itself a symptom of emotional disorder. Their findings suggest, too, the irrelevance of many of the items in a clinical inventory for understanding political behavior. Finally, the Krout and Stagner study is important for methodological reasons; using as subjects members of radical organizations, they introduce a natural field approach.

In working on the problem of the radical's mental hygiene, Diamond used somewhat different tactics.[24] The question he raised was: What effect does radicalism have on the developing personality? His hypothesis was that modern society is conducive to a kind of mass introversion. By providing the individual with a new method for evaluating events and their relation to himself, the radical program lowers the unhealthy tension which the society generates. "The individual who adopts a philosophy of class revolution will thereafter habitually judge events not by their influence upon him, but by their influence upon the larger group with which he has identified himself." The effect of this should be, he thinks, to encourage the development of extravert tendencies.

Like Krout and Stagner, Diamond took as subjects the members of radical political parties and of conservative organizations. After being classified politically, they were given extraversion-introversion tests in which they were asked to compare their present behavior with their behavior of three years earlier. Results indicated that the change from introversion to extraversion is most frequent among active Communists and bimodal for college students who favored either the Socialist or the Communist party. He concludes that radicalism is a factor in personality development which may be divided into two phases: an increased introversion followed by an increased extraversion.

Some question might be raised about Diamond's use of the extraversion-introversion typology, and his assumption that extraversion is in itself a criterion of emotional health. Much would depend on the ends toward which the extraversion was directed, whether or not it involved the acceptance of an authoritarian type of social structure.

In spite of some internal difficulties, the Diamond study is important historically. First, as in Krout and Stagner's study, its subjects were persons actively identified with a radical movement. Second, in comparison with Lasswell's Freudian approach, Diamond's allows for greater plasticity in the personality. He assumes that personality can be crucially redirected at a relatively late age. Third, Diamond's study opens the way for further investigation of a dynamic relationship between the individual's personality and the organizations in which he participates.

One study which does not fit into our classification scheme deserves mention because of its theoretical importance. Theodore Newcomb in a study of Bennington students over four years found that, in a college milieu where predominantly liberal values are expressed by the faculty, the students are inclined to take over such values.[25] It is possible for students to ac-

[23] Maurice H. Krout and Ross Stagner, "Personality Development in Radicals: A Comparative Study," *Sociometry*, II (1939), 31–46.

[24] Solomon Diamond, *A Study of the Influence of Political Radicalism on Personality Development* ("Archives of Psychology," No. 203 [New York, 1936]).

[25] Theodore M. Newcomb, "Community Roles in Attitude Formation," *American Sociological Review*, VII (1942), 621–30.

cept liberal values notwithstanding their earlier acceptance of conservative values at home.

Newcomb's main concern in the study was the role of the community as a mediating agent between personality and the social attitude. The study has, however, several implications for a theory of social change. If his findings are correct that situational factors may influence the political attitude, then two alternatives logically follow: either the personality may undergo significant change during and after adolescence or, within a given personality structure, a range of political attitudes is possible. In the latter case, personality and political attitudes are not so closely connected as previous studies indicate.

Second, Newcomb's study touches upon the other side of Flugel's coin. Radicalism may represent a protest against established values, but it is also a positive identification with other values. Newcomb's study suggests the need for further investigation of the identifications of radicalism. Finally, by demonstrating the situational effect, Newcomb focuses attention on the link between motivation and the historical situation. Assuming a personality predisposition and an objective historical situation in a state of disequilibrium, the individual must at some point be exposed to radical values before accepting them himself. And it is to these smaller groups that the sociologist must look for the actual communication of radical values.

IV

Throughout these studies there are several lines of development. In the earliest phases the radical was seen as a maladjusted irrational creature. Later studies were more sympathetic. In these the radical was seen as no more neurotic than persons who hold other political beliefs. Finally, radicalism was regarded as a superior type of emotional adjustment when compared with other political attitudes. Whether or not this shift represents changing attitudes on the part of the researchers or a change in the objective situation cannot here be determined.

Institutional factors, too, have been increasingly recognized. Whereas Moore was convinced that environmental factors were only effective if the neuromuscular pattern was present, Krout and Stagner point out that child-rearing practices alone cannot control the development of radicalism and that "certain combinations of developmental factors, socio-economic as well as personal, [may] 'sensitize' the individual to the influence of radical groups or radical theory."

Third, looking at these studies in retrospect, changes in the theory of personality may be observed. In the earlier studies it was assumed that reason dictated one type of political attitude, irrationality another. Later, the rationality-irrationality dichotomy was dropped: all political attitudes were seen as reflections of emotional needs which arose in primary group relationships. More recently, the accent on childhood and infantile determinism has given way to a more flexible conception of personality which allows for basic changes occurring after adolescence and under the impact of secondary groups.

These studies have had, however, moderate success in establishing the concept of a radical personality, in spite of the fact that often there is disagreement on the details. Their chief limitation lies in the eschewal of a sociological context. With few exceptions they are not related to an actual social movement. And in no case are they related to the type of historical situation which generates a radical movement. Possibly the fact that radicalism has been an isolated and scattered phenomenon in American life, never seriously threatening the social structure, would account for the neglect of these sociological and historical dimensions. In contrast with Europeans, American investigators have not had the opportunity to study radicalism except *in vacuo*. In studying radicalism apart from the context of social change, they may have unwittingly studied a selected group of radicals: those whose radicalism stems pri-

marily from inner personal needs rather than from environmental pressure. This type of motivation is frequently found in the early phases of a social movement; or it may be typical of the middle-class radical. Whether or not it is true of the mass in a social movement—those who participate only in a period of marked social and economic upheaval or who come from lower-income groups—is still to be determined. To do this, it is necessary to turn to the social movement as the point of departure, to study the structure of the movement in all its phases of development, its subgroups and division of labor, and its roles. In such an analysis it might be possible to locate not *a* personality pattern common to all the participants but several patterns. We could then evaluate personality studies of the radical more realistically from the point of view of social change.

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WHITE-COLLAR OFFENSES IN THE WHOLESALE MEAT INDUSTRY IN DETROIT[1]

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ABSTRACT

Criminological theory is deficient because a large category of known criminal offenses is excluded from study, namely, those offenses committed for a firm by the firm or its agents in the conduct of its business. Violations of Office of Price Administration regulations are criminal offenses, even though they may have been handled in civil proceedings, because "civil" and "criminal" sanctions are not analytically distinguishable. Wilfulness is not essential to the offenses under consideration. Other persons are necessarily directly party to the commission of these offenses, which makes them of greater importance to the community than the usual offenses involving larceny.

This paper is a tentative and partial statement of some of the theoretical considerations presented by a study of white-collar crime. It deals with violations of Office of Price Administration regulations in the Detroit wholesale meat industry and is part of a larger study of law and social differentiation. The points briefly to be considered are: (1) the objective basis on which white-collar offenses are to be considered as criminal, (2) whether an act committed without deliberate intention is to be regarded as criminal, (3) the significance of white-collar offenses for current criminological theories, and (4) a characteristic of these offenses which distinguishes them from usual crimes and which has special significance for the community.

A white-collar offense is defined as a violation of law regulating business, which is committed for a firm by the firm or its agents in the conduct of its business.[2] Thus Nickel, the sixty-dollar-a-week clerk who embezzled about one million dollars from the Mergenthaler Linotype Company for his personal use, is not a white-collar criminal as here defined. But Richard Whitney, who embezzled a like amount from a children's trust fund in order to carry out certain operations for his Wall Street firm, does meet the terms of the definition.

A question about this type of offense is whether it is "really" criminal. The problem is that of the application of criteria to behavior. There is a widely held view that white-collar offenses are criminal. In this view two criteria are stipulated for a criminal act: (1) an act must have been proscribed (or in some cases prescribed) by a duly constituted legislative body, (2) the legislative body must have declared such an act to be punishable, with the sanctions specified. In jurisprudence the "pure-theory-of-law" school and some other writers have explicitly accepted these criteria.[3] In criminology, Sutherland and Clinard have shown that white-collar offenses meet these two criteria and are therefore to be considered as criminal.[4] In his recent book Sutherland applied these criteria to the behavior of seventy large corporations.

[1] This paper was originally presented to the Criminology Section of the American Sociological Society in December, 1946. It does not reflect the official position of the Office of Price Administration.

[2] Cf. "These violations of law by persons in the upper socio-economic class are, for convenience, called 'white collar crimes'" (E. H. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime* [New York: Dryden Press, 1949]), p. 9.

[3] See, e.g., Hans Kelsen, *General Theory of Law and State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1945); William Ebenstein, *The Pure Theory of Law* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1945); Jerome Hall, "Prolegomena to a Science of Criminal Law," *Pennsylvania Law Review*, XXCIX (1941), 549–80.

[4] Sutherland, *op. cit.*; Marshall Clinard, "Criminological Theories of Violation of Wartime Regulations," *American Sociological Review*, XI (June, 1946), 258–70.

Clinard was concerned with violations of wartime statutes and regulations as exemplified by violations of OPA laws and rules.

Specifically, the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942, as amended, and the Second War Powers Act, as amended, stated it to be the purpose of the acts in the interest of national security to stabilize prices; to prevent abnormal increases in prices; to prevent profiteering, manipulation, or other disruptive practices resulting from abnormal market conditions or scarcity caused by, or contributing to, the national emergency; to protect persons with relatively fixed incomes against undue impairment of their standard of living; to prevent hardships to business, schools, and universities; to prevent a postwar collapse of values; and to permit certain voluntary practices by the government and business to accomplish these purposes. Certain agencies were specifically stated to have the duty of working for these objectives. As for the penalties established, they need not be discussed here, beyond stating that they involved damages, fines, imprisonment, and partial or complete suspension of the right to do business.

These two statutes which regulated business meet the test of the criteria of formally defined proscribed and prescribed acts and of punishability. The agencies charged with the enforcement and administration of this type of regulatory law need not, of course, be concerned primarily with the application of allowable criminal sanctions. Indeed, with hardly any exception save that of the pre–Taft-Hartley National Labor Relations Board, federal agencies appear to have been more concerned with obtaining compliance with the law than with punishing violations. For whatever reasons, these agencies have not defined themselves as being white-collar police departments charged with law enforcement. The various OPA administrators, charged with the responsibility of discharging the provisions of the laws creating OPA, perhaps fortunately did not have a criminological viewpoint in their work. It was also evident to this writer, from extended discussions with OPA enforcement attorneys over more than a year, that most of these attorneys defined their positions as administrative, law enforcement in any police sense of the term being secondary in their eyes. Nevertheless, violations of the two laws named above and of the regulations to which they gave rise, since they had the full force and effect of law, can legally, logically, and technically be classified as criminal acts. They are so regarded in this paper. And, just as in the case of other statutes and other offenses, the repeal, abrogation, or expiration of these laws and regulations removed what were formerly violations of them from the classification of criminal. They may be just as irritating, immoral, or abominable today as they were in June, 1946, but they are no longer criminal. We cannot properly be concerned in criminology with what should be criminal, but only with what is criminal.

The formal definition of crime implies that the distinction between civil and criminal sanctions does not, in fact, distinguish between two different types of sanctions. The distinction between civil and criminal sanctions seems to be less meaningful, at least in the case of the laws here considered, than that between misdemeanor and felony. A brief consideration of "wilfulness" in reference ot OPA sanctions and of the indecision of Congress as to which violations should or should not be criminal will serve to make this lack of distinction a little more evident.

It is beyond the limitations of this paper to consider the congressional debates, hearings, and bills which resulted in the creation of OPA. It may be noted, however, that Congress was in grave doubt as to the distinction that should be made between "civil" and "criminal." The Emergency Price Control Act as passed in the House in 1942 provided criminal penalties for the violation of *any* of the provisions of the prohibitory section (sec. 4) and also for making statements or entries which were false in any material respect in any docu-

ment or report required under the record-keeping sections (secs. 2 and 202). It was not until the act came out of the Conference Committee that criminal prosecutions were limited to "wilful" violations, with prosecutions subject to the control and supervision of the United States attorney-general. This is, it seems, an indication of the artificial distinction between "civil" and "criminal."

It is generally believed that wilfulness or criminal intent is necessary to the commission of a criminal act. This is, however, by no means a universal criterion.[5] In enforcement of the OPA statutes and regulations, it was not always necessary to establish wilfulness in the so-called "civil" sanctions. An interesting innovation came with the "Chandler defense" amendment in 1944 to the treble-damage sanction. If a defendant in such action could show *both* that his overceiling violation was not wilful and that he took reasonable precautions to avoid violation, he was subject to the payment of damages of only $25.00 or the amount of the overcharge, whichever was the greater. This is in contrast to the situation prior to the amendment, when the damages were $50.00 or three times the amount of the overcharge, whichever was the larger. The effect of this amendment was to make the amount of damages dependent upon wilfulness, whereas, previous to this, no such requirement was necessary for a valid civil liability.[6] If this is the beginning of a "criminal" test in a civil action, it indicates a point at which the distinction between these two allegedly different types of rules disappears.

It was recognized both in the law and in the enforcement policy of OPA that the unintentional violations were just as inflationary in effect as the wilful ones. Effective enforcement required that nonwilful violations had to be curbed just as much as wilful ones, a recognition of the principle that the social consequences of behavior are largely independent of the individual's motivation. Enforcement action in the case of unintentional and open violations of OPA regulations relied largely upon the use of the injunction. The purpose of the injunction was simply to prevent violations of "any rule, regulation, order or subpoena" issued upon authority of the two above laws.

The most common use of the injunction without the use of other sanctions in the preretail meat industry in Detroit was in connection with the open violation of the general provisions of Maximum Price Regulation 574. This regulation established overriding ceiling prices for live cattle and calves purchased for slaughter. It also established maximum amounts which slaughterers could pay for all cattle slaughtered during an accounting period. In addition, it allowed the administrator to establish the maximum percentage of "choice" and "good" cattle which a slaughterer could slaughter or deliver for meat during an accounting period. This regulation was important as a measure to control the price which the ultimate consumer paid for his beef; to prevent a disproportionate disappearance of the lower grades of beef through upgrading of the lower to the higher grades; and to prevent the smaller slaughterers from being driven out of business by the integrated large packers, who also process their kill. The small slaughterers account for only about 15 per cent of wholesale cattle slaughter but are extremely important in local operations. OPA believed that enforcement of MPR 574 was largely successful in accomplishing these objectives.

About twenty-five instances of violation of MPR 574 were proceeded against in the Detroit district OPA office. All save one

[5] See Livingston Hall, "Statutory Law of Crimes, 1887–1936," *Harvard Law Review*, L (February, 1937), 616–57. Hall shows that in many states one may be committed to prison without the protection of either or both of the rules of criminal intent and the presumption of innocence, for a number of offenses. Some of these are statutory rape, bigamy, adultery, uttering and publishing, the sale of mortgaged property, negligent homicide.

[6] *Bowles* v. *Rack*, 55 F. Supp. 865, U.S. Dist. Ct., District of Nebraska, July 7, 1944.

were open violations, in that the record-keeping and report-filing requirements were met. The source of the cattle, the prices paid, and the descriptions required were all properly recorded. The exceptional case, an attempt at evasive violation of MPR 574 through the hidden ownership of a farm and the clandestine slaughter of uninspected cattle thereon, was proceeded against criminally, all defendants being found guilty after a jury trial and sentenced to fines and prison terms.

One may question whether an open violation, unintentional in motivation, which could readily be discerned by an inspection of purchase invoices should be considered criminal. In answer to this, the declared purposes of the Second War Powers Act should be recalled. The object of MPR 574 was to implement this law so far as the price of beef and the distribution of beef were concerned. Since these violations resulted in a serious and substantial diversion of rationed meats, their effect upon the rationing program resulted in as much harm to the public welfare and to civilian food planning and were as damaging to the war effort as if they had been intentional. Indeed, in ration-suspension proceedings, which involved a much more serious sanction than the injunction, it was held that a failure to observe the rules relating to food processing, rationing, and distribution was demonstrative of incapacity to serve as a trustee of scarce rationed commodities, since the trust involved heavy community responsibilities. In addition, these violators obtained through their illegal acts a distinct competitive advantage over those slaughterers who observed the law.

It is concluded, on the basis of the above discussion, that those acts in which there is an absence of intention to violate are nevertheless criminal acts if they meet the tests of formally defined social injury and of the possibility of legal sanctions.

The Emergency Price Control Act and the Second War Powers Act provided a variety of sanctions in the case of violations. Specifically, they are: a License Warning Notice, injunction, criminal contempt, monetary damages, suspension of dealing in rationed commodities, suspension of license to deal in controlled commodities, fine, imprisonment, and both fine and imprisonment.

The types of violations were: open overceiling sales or purchases, evasive overceiling sales or purchases, and violations in reporting or recording. The last type was not a substantive violation but was often indicative of evasive violations and was usually so considered in investigations. Table 1 is a summary of the violations committed and formal sanctions imposed in the Detroit wholesale meat industry for the period December, 1942, through June 30, 1946, as indicated by an exhaustive search of OPA records. It includes only those cases in which a formal sanction was applied. Consequently, it excludes a number of serious cases still in litigation at the time this study was completed, as well as those which were dropped or dismissed.

Several interesting facts are revealed in Table 1 and the data on which the table is based. For one thing, these offenses tend to resemble more usual criminal offenses in several ways: they range from systematic to technical violations; there are both single offenders and repeated offenders. Table 1 shows that 83 different firms and 132 personal (not corporate) defendants had 122 cases charged against them in which they committed 195 offenses, for which 233 sanctions were imposed by the courts and by OPA. The 122 cases do not by any means tell the whole story of offenses committed. This is because one case usually included a number of separate offenses. In court proceedings, the number of counts was as high as 19, each count representing 1 violation. If all these counts had been totaled, the number of offenses would have been in excess of 1,000. The category "Violations: total," therefore, is only the total of three types of offenses —open, evasive, and record-keeping. It can be stated without qualification that all evasive violations were wilful, in that the

perpetrators of them knew that they were offending and took pains to avoid detection. It cannot be said that all open violations were inadvertent, because there is good evidence to show that a number of them were as studied and deliberate as were the evasive ones. Open violations did not result in criminal prosecution. In 16 cases of suspension-order proceedings, however, violations led to the imposition of this serious sanction. Suspension of the right to deal in certain commodities, for a stipulated period, was often at least as serious as a fine.

On the other hand, open violations and violations in record-keeping were sometimes wholly inadvertent and technical. Violations in record-keeping were always diligently investigated because they might have been indicative of evasive violations.

A second significant item in Table 1 is that only 2 of the 132 personal defendants had a previous criminal record. Neither of these two men, however, could in any way have been regarded as a gangster or a racketeer; neither of the convictions was for activities related to the meat industry, and both had been committed outside Michigan some years previously. The violations in the Detroit wholesale meat industry were committed by persons more or less well established in the different levels of the industry, from slaughterers to processors to wholesalers and to peddlers. It is this fact which, to a greater extent than any other, leads to the conclusion that the established businessman or firm was the black-marketeer. The importance of this for a general theory of criminality is great. Without going into a detailed discussion, the following may be indicated. There is the problem of accounting for the commission of offenses by persons who have not previously offended, so far as is known.[7]

[7] Violations of local ordinances and state laws are not included in this study. These cases number in the hundreds over a period of a few years. One large packer, for example, has been found guilty about thirty times in three years of violating Michigan pure-food laws!

If these cases are criminal and typical of OPA violations—and it is the position of this writer that they are—it becomes necessary to incorporate the description and

TABLE 1

SUMMARY OF VIOLATIONS AND SANCTIONS IN THE DETROIT WHOLESALE MEAT INDUSTRY

DECEMBER, 1942, THROUGH JUNE 30, 1946

No. of cases	122
No. of concerns	83
No. of personal defendants	132
Persons having previous criminal records*	2
Violations:	
a) Open overceiling	65
b) Evasive overceiling	58
c) Record-keeping	72
Total†	195
Damages paid: total	$132,811.71
Range of damages‡	$40.00–$6,000.00
Fines paid: total	$97,500.00
Range of fines‡	$100.00–$15,000.00
Sanctions imposed:	
a) License Warning Notice	45
b) Injunction	63
c) Damages	58
d) Prison only	3
e) Prison and fine	12
f) Fine only	22
g) Suspended sentence	6
h) Probation	8
i) Suspension order§	16
Total	233
Prison terms: total months	105–77
Range of prison terms‡	3 mo.–1 yr.

* As indicated by a check of Detroit Police Department and Federal Bureau of Investigation records.

† Not the actual number of *offenses* but the total of the three types of violations, tallying one complaint for an injunction or one criminal information as one case, regardless of the number of counts alleged.

‡ Exact limits not given, so as to avoid possible identification.

§ Estimated total days of partial or total suspension of business: 2,129.

analysis of these offenses and offenders into the field of criminology. From this it follows that a perhaps drastic modification of now accepted criminological generalizations and theories becomes necessary. This is indicated because the current generalizations are based upon a biased sample of offenders. There is no available informa-

tion on white-collar offenders as far as the usual "factors" are concerned: broken home, childhood experiences, race, nativity or nationality background, amount of formal education, occupational training and experience, physical characteristics *à la* Hooten and Sheldon, and the like. Imagine what a cry of outraged ego would have electrified Congress, if, upon establishing an evasive overcharge, the OPA had inquired into the businessman's love life to ascertain if he were frustrated; or had investigated at what grade he had quit school; or had measured his cephalic index and his mesomorphy; or had tried to obtain any of the usual items that comprise the subject matter of current empirical studies of offenders. To restate Sutherland, the study of white-collar crime will not so much reform the criminal as it will the criminologists. It should be stated specifically that current criminological theory fails to account for the offenders whose acts have been studied in this paper. "Factors" in crime, such as broken home, race and nativity, amount of formal education, and the like, seem to be practically meaningless as far as these offenders are concerned. Shaw's approach, excellent as it is so far as institutionalized crime is concerned, is of little use here. Perhaps the two approaches of most promise are those of Sutherland and Taft.[8] The violations studied in this paper are systematic in Sutherland's meaning of that term. It is not clear, however, as to just how adequately "differential association" plus "opportunity" will account for them. In regarding crime as a product of American culture, Taft's approach faces the problem of accounting for the fact not only that a high proportion of businessmen and firms did not violate OPA regulations but also that many deliberately refused to do so when they thought it was safe. At any rate, the approaches of Sutherland and Taft are infinitely to be preferred to the psychoanalytic. The latter viewpoint is of no help here, at least as it is expounded by Aichhorn, Alexander, Abrahamsen, Healy, and Lindner, because it insists that antisocial behavior—whatever that may be!—is the criterion of crime. (One would like to see the concept of infantile sexuality applied to the company which falsified its records.)

We may now consider another point, namely, a special characteristic of OPA violations which is not found in the usual criminal offenses and which makes them of peculiar significance both to the community at large and to a theory of criminality in particular. Summarily stated, an OPA violation in its very nature not merely involved one offense (by one individual or concern in the conduct of its business affairs) but began a progressive chain of offenses which did not stop until the ultimate consumer paid the financial amount involved in all the offenses of the given chain.

Table 2 illustrates this feature of white-collar offenses. This table is a partial census made by this writer, through a search of Detroit district office OPA records, of the sources of supply of a firm we shall call "Company 219."[9] This firm was involved in three OPA cases, with the following total of sanctions imposed on it: two injunctions, $12,000.00 in fines, twenty-four months' imprisonment and nine years' probation. Table 2 refers to only one of three cases of Company 219. We were able to establish, through a search of Detroit OPA records, that at least four Detroit retail outlets were involved in OPA actions as a consequence of selling at overceiling prices the poultry which they had bought from Company 219 at prices in excess of their legal purchase prices. This poultry had been purchased by the company in the deals listed in Table 2. This table shows

[8] See Edwin H. Sutherland, "A Theory of Criminology," *Principles of Criminology* (4th ed.; Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1939), chap. i; and Donald R. Taft, "Crime as a Product of American Culture," *Criminology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), chap. xv.

[9] All data have been so modified as to make identification of the firm impossible.

the following in round numbers where the data were obtainable from OPA records: the weight of live pounds of poultry purchased, the amount of the ceiling price, the amount of the illegal side-money paid by the company and received by the sources, and the action taken against the sources by OPA. These actions are summarized as the last item in the right-hand column.

wholesalers and the retail outlet were progressively involved. If the violation were by a secondary wholesaler, all the stages after him were involved. One may make an analogy here with a pebble dropped into a pond, which sets up a series of successive waves. No wholesaler could commit a violation "by himself," so to speak, but must inevitably have directly involved other

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY, AND SANCTIONS IMPOSED ON, SOURCES OF SUPPLY OF ONE CRIMINAL VIOLATOR

Sources	Pounds of Poultry	Ceiling Price	Illegal Side-Money	Action Taken by OPA
1	41,000	$14,000.00	$ 2,200.00	Charged as co-conspirator, but not co-defendant
2	20,000	7,000.00	700.00	?
3	33,000	?	1,700.00	Treble damages of $5,100.00; License Warning Notice
4	52,000	?	3,600.00	One year and one day in prison; $3,000.00 fine; six months in prison; $150.00 fine (two defendants)
5	25,000	?	1,100.00	Treble damages of $3,300.00; License Warning Notice
6	22,000	?	500.00	Double damages of $1,000.00; License Warning Notice
7	10,000	?	300.00	Treble damages of $900.00; injunction
8	3,200	?	300.00	Double damages of $600.00; License Warning Notice
9	?	20,000.00	2,000.00	Charged as co-conspirator but not co-defendant
10	?	?	?	?
11	?	?	?	?
12	?	?	?	?
13	11,500	?	300.00	Statute of limitations
14	12,500	?	300.00	Statute of limitations
15	2,000	?	50.00	Statute of limitations (apparently nonwilful)
16	23,000	?	750.00	Treble damages of $2,250.00; License Warning Notice
17*	70,000	?	2,100.00	Treble damage suit; judgment of $6,300.00 collected
Total	325,200	.....	15,900.00	$22,600.00 damages and fines; 2 prison terms, 1 injunction, 5 License Warning notices, 2 charges of co-conspiracy

* Does not include seven other larger shipments of source 17.

It may be stated almost categorically that any preretail or wholesale firm engaged in price-ceiling violations set into operation a series or chain of price violations which eventually resulted in the ultimate consumer's paying more for his goods than he should have had to under the law. If, at any stage in the process of putting goods into the possession of the ultimate consumer, a price violation occurred, this violation was passed on to the succeeding stages. If the violation were committed by the primary wholesaler or processor, all the succeeding secondary

firms in his violation. The retailers who paid above the ceiling legally allowed them, in the course of trade or business, were thereby violating OPA regulations. Let it not be assumed that they all absorbed this excess price and sold to the ultimate consumer, at *their* legal ceiling price—thereby breaking even or perhaps losing money. The chain of violations was completed by their overcharges to their customers. As a matter of fact, in its enforcement program, the OPA often "worked" this chain of violations from the middle to both ends and from one end to the other. The retail cus-

tomers of a violating wholesaler were investigated. The wholesale suppliers of violating retailers were investigated. It was possible to establish the existence of these chains by following through OPA investigations, as we did in the case of Company 219.

This chain effect was by no means unique to the wholesale meat industry in Detroit. Not only the meat industry nationally but the entire business community subject to OPA control in which there are two or more steps in the handling of goods before the ultimate purchaser obtained them would show this characteristic. We found this to be the case not only in wholesale meat but also in fish, poultry, eggs and dairy products, produce, groceries, and sugar. The investigation of all these categories, save meat, has been partial but still intensive enough to establish an empirical basis for the above generalization. It may be remarked, incidentally, that each industry, apparently spontaneously, developed techniques, particularly in evasive violations, which were peculiar to it and designed for its "needs." In addition, it may be indicated that the necessary involvement of others and the setting into operation of a chain of violations are not unique to OPA violations. This would be true of certain other laws regulating business. OPA violations, in their chain effect, are similar to the bribing of policemen and the operation of organized vice, in that neither of these types of activities can be carried through by the initiator of the illegal deeds but must necessarily involve other persons. This writer is not presently attempting a theory of either criminality in general or of white-collar crime in particular but is merely throwing the problem open for discussion, so to speak. Perhaps part of the answer is to be found in a typological approach to offenses and offenders.[10]

In summary, we may make the following points: (1) Violations of OPA regulations in the preretail meat industry are criminal acts, in that they meet the criteria of formally defined proscribed and prescribed acts and of punishability. (2) The distinction between civil and criminal sanctions is held not to distinguish between two different types of sanctions. (3) Wilfulness or deliberate intent to violate is not essential to making a white-collar offense a criminal act. (4) At least in the industry considered in this paper, the commission of an offense almost always necessarily involved the commission of another, similar, offense by a different party.

WAYNE UNIVERSITY

COMMENT

ERNEST W. BURGESS

The theory of white-collar crime implicit in this paper is that little or no distinction should be made between different violations or violators of all laws or regulations which have the sanction of a penalty. It is a legalistic and not a sociological position to regard these as one and the same.

Many years ago Edward A. Ross made a distinction between crimes recognized by law for generations and disapproved by the mores and what he called "criminaloids," which are new offenses as the result of recent legislation or of regulations by governmental agencies, carrying with them a penalty for violation. If all persons violating traffic regulations, health ordinances, etc., are to be considered criminals, then the numbers of criminals in the population undoubtedly greatly outnumber those who have never committed an act that is against the law or the regulations of some governmental agencies.

The point, then, is not to consider all violators of statutes, ordinances, and regulations as a homogeneous group. The differences are far greater than the resemblances between the

[10] See Alfred Lindesmith and H. Warren Dunham, "Some Principles of Criminal Typology," *Social Forces*, XIX (March, 1941), 307–14.

automobilist who exceeds the speed limit, the OPA violator, and the burglar. Legally, they all violate a law or a regulation and are subject to a penalty. Sociologically, they are different, and it is the differences that are significant. OPA violations in the Detroit wholesale meat industry are unsatisfactory evidence of crime in any but the technical legal sense of the word. The following are outstanding differences between these violations and offenses generally recognized as criminal by the community.

1. There is no evidence presented that OPA violators conceived themselves as criminal or were so considered by the public. In fact, for only 2 out of 122 is a previous criminal record reported.

2. The Emergency Price Control Act and the Second War Powers Act were suddenly imposed upon businessmen, defining many business transactions as offenses which had previously been legal.

3. No concerted organized effective attempt was made by civic leaders, churches, schools, the press, and governmental agencies to apply social condemnation to violations by businessmen and to purchases by consumers. Consequently, these acts were not stigmatized by the public as falling in the same category as murder, burglary, robbery, forgery, and rape.

4. Large sections of the population, comprising perhaps over half the adults, participated in black-market purchases during the war.

5. Few cases of violation (only 6.4 per cent) drew prison sentences, and these were very light as compared with nonwhite-collar "crimes," averaging only from three months to one year.

The attempt to make little or no distinction between white-collar crime and other offenses promises confusion rather than clarification in criminology. It is important to distinguish between offenses which carry with them strong public disapproval and those violations of regulations (or recently enacted statutes) in which large sections of the public are willing accomplices.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

REJOINDER

FRANK E. HARTUNG

The opponents of the concept of white-collar crime are in disagreement as to why it should be opposed. Paul W. Tappan is opposed to the concept because, he says, its proponents are sociological and not legalistic. Professor Burgess objects because "it is a legalistic and not a sociological position."

Professor Burgess makes the point that all violators of all statutes carrying a penalty are not a homogeneous group. With this I agree, particularly as in footnote 10 of the article I specifically referred to a typological approach to offenses and offenders. However, why should not traffic-ordinance violators be considered as criminal, since upon conviction, they are subject to fine or imprisonment or perhaps both? In its "Offense Classifications" *Uniform Crime Reports* has four classifications for traffic offenses. More important, though, and quite fundamental is Professor Burgess' rejection of the proposition that all who are found guilty of violating criminal laws are to be considered criminals. He says that the violations referred to in the article are "unsatisfactory evidence of crime in any but the technical legal sense of the word." On what other but a "technical legal" basis should one be adjudged criminal? Professor Burgess argues as if violations of the mores should be considered criminal; presumably this is why he alleges that the present article is not sociological. It is anomalous that today a sociologist should defend an informal definition of crime. The ludicrous position taken by the psychoanalysts on "infant criminality" is an example of where the informal definition leads one. In psychoanalysis the newly born infant is said to be criminal because of his antisocial conduct: antisocial behavior is criminal; the infant defecates in public and has no respect whatever for the rights and wishes of others; this is antisocial, and, therefore, the infant is criminal! It is high time for sociologists, for everyone, to discard the "antisocial" and "mores" approach to crime. Anyway, it is against the mores to violate the law.

Let me now briefly consider Professor Burgess' numbered comments:

1. Although it is not included in the present article, I have considerable evidence that OPA violators and the public both considered OPA violations to be criminal. I hope to publish some of this material soon, based upon extensive

interviews with both violating and nonviolating meat wholesalers and an areal sample of more than 600 Detroit adults (see my *Law and Social Differentiation* [microfilm; University of Michigan, 1949], chap. vi, pp. 203–96).

2. Not all OPA "controls" were so sudden as many people suppose. The two statutes and the regulations discussed in this article incorporated numerous laws which had been enacted as long ago as 1906 and which were supported by the vast majority of the packing industry. The law against selling uninspected meat is an old one; so, too, is the local law against selling contaminated meat. The new and sudden provisions in OPA were rationing and ceiling prices.

3. A number of public opinion studies made during and just after the war showed that the public defined OPA violations as being criminal.

4. To assert that "perhaps over half the adults participated in black-market purchases" is simply romanticism.

5. Many people will doubtless find it reasonable to believe that an "outstanding difference" between white-collar and nonwhite-collar crimes is that the former result in fewer and lighter prison terms. (Is not Professor Burgess saying here that white-collar crimes are *really* crimes?) However, because of the complete absence of any comparative studies I myself will be very wary of accepting this assertion as true. It is estimated that only about 3 per cent of the major crimes committed in this country result in prison terms. And, of course, not all these sentences are for the legally allowable maximum term.

If the proposition is true that the concept of white-collar crime promises confusion in criminology, as Professor Burgess claims, it is only because it calls into question the doubtful generalizations based upon the older and biased samples of the criminal population. In my opinion, Dr. Sutherland's analysis of white-collar crime is the most significant advance in criminology since Goring's *The English Convict* and Healy's *The Individual Delinquent*. It has definite implications for sociological theory in general and for urban sociology in particular.

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CONCLUDING COMMENT

E. W. BURGESS

A criminal is a person who regards himself as a criminal and is so regarded by society. He is the product of the criminal-making process. Professor Hartung gives no evidence that the so-called "white-collar" criminal that he studied could be included under this definition. Under his definition of criminals the great majority of adults are criminals. But that is only because he employs a legalistic and not a sociological definition of the criminal. My point that half the adult population participated in black-market transactions is one not of "romanticism" but of fact.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A DEDUCTIVE IDEAL-TYPE METHOD

ARNOLD M. ROSE

ABSTRACT

The deductive ideal-type method, so successfully used in economics to produce valid predictions, can also be utilized in sociology. The method involves finding a truism relevant to significant social phenomena and applicable to existing social conditions. Usually cast in the form of an equation, the truism permits the deduction of predictions when one of its component variables is altered. The predictions should be valid to the extent that the assumptions behind the truism approximate social conditions. Use of the method should not only provide practical predictions but also aid in systematizing empirical generalizations.

The purpose of this paper is to indicate how a method which has received wide application in economics can be applied to sociological problems. In economics a deductive method was developed by Adam Smith, the utilitarians, Jevons, Marshall, and others before Roscher, Veblen, Commons, and other "institutionalists" arrived at an inductive method.[1] The deductive method is still in wide use in economics, but little effort has been made to apply it in sociology. Sociologists like Weber, von Wiese, and Becker have made significant application of ideal-type methodology, but they have not considered it within their province to associate deduction with it.

The inductive method in economics used by the German historical school and the American institutionalist school consists in observing an economic phenomenon with a variety of instrumental aids, such as statistics, interviews, participant observation, summarizing it descriptively as a historical phenomenon and stating causal relations as a set of functions of unknown magnitude. For example, the American labor movement might be described in terms of the number of persons belonging to unions, the types of leadership and internal organization, the means of achieving its aims. Usually, a conclusion of such a study would be in general causal terms: The strength of the American labor movement varies with the numbers who join, the "friendliness" of the courts, the degree of organization or monopoly by the employers, the number of unemployed, etc., and each of these things is causally dependent on the other. This sort of conclusion could be put in the form of the following type of mathematical equation: $Y = a + bX_1 + cX_2 + \ldots zX_n$, where Y is the strength of the labor movement; X_1, X_2, and X_n are causal factors or interrelated sets of causal factors; b, c, and z are the "weights" (or measures of importance of their respective factors), and a is a constant.[2]

In contrast, the deductive method was based less on observation than on rigorous logic and on truisms, that is, tautologies,

[1] These two methods are perfectly antithetical only in a logical sense and not in actual application. The greatest of the classical economists were keen observers of actual life, and the institutionalists did not forget their classical training. It should not be taken that the classical and institutional methods are the only ones used by economists. Another important method combines induction and deduction into a method that goes under the name, "mathematical," exemplified by the work of Henry Schultz on *The Measurement of Demand*. It is also necessary to recognize that adherents of each of the methodological schools which we are considering were not in perfect agreement with one another as to the specific nature of their method.

[2] This type of equation can, of course, be put into an "ideal" form, plotted, and compared with observable empirical conditions. This became the "mathematical" method, used successfully in biophysics and the older natural sciences and introduced into economics by Walras. The type of deductive equation considered in this paper follows the pattern of the English "classical" economists rather than that of Walras and his successors in the "mathematical" tradition.

sometimes called "self-evident truths." Observation was necessary only to set some fairly accurate and simple assumptions. The crucial point in deductive economics was to arrive at a significant truism within the limits set by the assumptions. It was not easy to arrive at practical truisms, since such must be stated in terms of a few basic and manipulable variables. Two of the most important truisms developed by deductive economics have been: (1) If the demand for and supply of an item can be put in the form of a price-frequency schedule, the price of that item will occur at the point at which the amount demanded equals the amount supplied. (2) The total amount of money spent in a given time will equal the sum of the prices of all the items purchased with that money. Or, in another form, the total national income equals the total money value of the national product. To exemplify the deductive method, we shall develop the latter truism because it is the easier one of the two and because it provides two distinct sets of deductions and predictions.

The assumptions underlying the second truism are: a circumscribed economy involving exchange of goods for money, the practical absence of barter and gift, the practical absence of hoarding money, the possibility of allocating resources and money to producers' goods as well as to consumers' goods, the possibility of varying prices, and the amount of money and goods. We say that these are assumptions of the truism, even though a truism is universally true, because without them the truism is only a logical exercise and useless. It is to be noted that these assumptions are validated for the most part by actual conditions in Western countries. There is some barter, gift, and hoarding, but not enough to make the truism useless. To the extent that actual conditions deviate from the assumptions, the truism becomes useless, and no useful predictions can be deduced from it. These assumptions are very much the same as those necessary for the first truistic law of economics—the law of supply and demand. It was the limitations imposed by the assumptions which prompted the economist Adolph Lowe to remark: "Far from presenting a pure theory appropriate to any social conditions, so simple a law as the law of supply and demand, as soon as we take it in its exact meaning, depicts the essential features of a very concrete society: the liberal society of early capitalism."[3]

The first statement of the truism is valuable when it is cast into the form of the equation of exchange: $MV = PT$. That is, the amount of *money* in existence multiplied by the *velocity* of its turnover (MV = total amount of money spent) is equal to the average *price* of an average item[4] multiplied by the number of *transactions* of that item (PT = sum of all the prices of all the items sold for money). This "equation of exchange" is a powerful tool of the economist. It enables him to predict, for example, that any increase of money, say by printing or by importation, which is actually used to buy goods will result in a rise in the price level because an increase in one side of the equation automatically means an increase in the other side of the equation. Any increase in the circulation of money, such as is involved in a general increase of wages, unless there is a corresponding increase in goods produced, will also result in an increase in the price level. It is to be noted that the equation is not based upon statistical summary of a large number of cases or upon historical examination of the factors which create a given price level at a certain time. The equation is based, rather, upon pure logic: Assuming a closed economy in a specified period of time where money is used as a medium of exchange, we find that the total amount of money passed from hand to hand is equal to the sum of the prices of all goods and services exchanged. This propo-

[3] *Economics and Sociology* (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1935), p. 59.

[4] This abstract term "average price of an average item" is more commonly known as the "price level."

sition is necessarily and inevitably true. It is, in fact, a tautology, since the last part of the statement simply repeats, in different words, the meaning of the first part. Generalizations, in this case the equation, based on tautologies are logical deductions and are therefore inevitably true. However, no known economy is completely closed, and there are such items as hoarding or a foreign demand for dollars which can prevent the issue of new money from driving up the price level under many circumstances. Probably there has never been a time or an economy in which a change in the amount of money circulating is followed by an exactly proportional change in the price level. Nevertheless, in our society, the equation is constantly used for prediction, and the predictions come true—unless "some new factor enters."

The second statement of the truism has been employed by Wicksell and Lindahl[5] in the form: $I - S = CP$. That is, "that part of the total national *income* which is not *saved* is always equal to the amount of *consumption* goods sold, multiplied by their *price* level." To arrive at this statement, the economists had to break up the national income into the amount "spent" and the amount "saved," and the national product into "consumer goods" (e.g., food, luxuries) and "producers' goods" (e.g., machinery, construction). It is truistic that money could only be saved or spent, and that which was saved went for producers' goods—since no hoarding was assumed—and that which was spent went for consumers' goods. With this tool the economist could predict, for example, that an increase in savings would lower the price level of consumers' goods.

Thus, in economics, truisms which are significant in terms of realistic assumptions and controllable variables have been used to deduce very useful relationships. Valid predictions have been made from these logical deductions. While probably most economists find the method useful, practically no contemporary economist would claim that it is the only scientific method or that it should be used independent of empirical observation. The best uses of the deductive method have been made by those who have been the keenest observers of what is significant in actual social life, and much of the current criticism of the method among economists points to the frequent failure to relate the assumptions to concrete social reality. Sociologists, on the other hand, have long been aware of the need to test every assumption and hypothesis with empirical evidence. But they have not yet taken advantage of the deductive method so brilliantly employed by the theoretical economists.

Sociologists thus far have used inductive methods analogous to those employed by historical and institutional economists, and their conclusions are usually in the form that the causes of a given phenomenon are such and such. Speculation has been employed by sociologists, but largely to arrive at hypotheses which can be tested by inductive methods or to generalize from empirical data. Where speculation has been used by sociologists in connection with the ideal-type method, it has followed Max Weber's injunction to engage in *Aufsteigung*—or "stepping up" to an extreme certain characteristics of an observable phenomenon. The stepped-up ideal types have two characteristics in common with the truisms discussed in this paper: (1) they are practically never realized in acutality; (2) they are tools found valuable in gaining understanding of important variables. The ideal types differ from the truisms in that they do not take the form of an equation and in that they have not been employed deductively.

In casting about for situations studied by sociologists to which the deductive method might be applied, we encountered two unusual difficulties. First, sociologists do not agree as to what are the central phenomena of their discipline in the way

[5] See Gunnar Myrdal, *Monetary Equilibrium* (London: William Hodge & Co., Ltd., 1939), p. 22.

that economists regard price and exchange. Second, sociologists do not have a central and universal unit in the way that economists have the dollar (or its equivalents in foreign currencies). Because of these unusual conditions, the writer was forced to be arbitrary in the choice of subject matter and units; this arbitrariness may nullify the conclusions of the present paper in the eyes of some sociologists. Others will recognize, however, that the arbitrariness does not make for intrinsic weakness in the deductive method, but simply reflects current weakness in sociological theory.

Our first sociological example is the following truistic proposition: If action is based on prejudice (or sentiment) rather than on rational self-interest, then some action works against self-interest. Whether or not *all* prejudiced or sentimental action works against self-interest is not important; it is sufficient to define prejudiced or sentimental action as not being based *solely* on rational self-interest. This simple proposition can be put into equation form: $A - PT = R$, where A is all action of a given individual or a given group or society, P is action based on prejudice, T represents the proportion in which prejudice is based on pure tradition or sentiment (that is, the proportion of prejudice which is not in accord with rational self-interest); and R is rational action for self- or group-protection or enhancement. By transposing the second element in the equation, the reader can see that the proposition takes the form: $A = R + PT$, that is, all action can be classified into rational and irrational action, and—in respect to intergroup relations—irrational action can be considered as prejudiced action (P) to the extent (T) that it is irrational or based on sentiment or tradition. Let us specify the conditions under which the proposition would be strictly and completely applicable. Methodologically, such conditions can be treated as assumptions: (1) the individual or group places a high value on self-protection and self-enhancement; (2) the individual or group is not psychopathically bent on self-destruction; (3) the individual or group is not so rigid that its patterns of behavior cannot be changed; (4) some of the prejudiced behavior is irrational in motivation in the sense of being based on tradition or sentiment (the more this is true—that is, the closer T is to 100 per cent—the more useful is the proposition); (5) an outside force arises to threaten the individual or group. These assumptions are fairly applicable to the United States today, and therefore the proposition should allow for a correct prediction about the behavior of the American people as a group. Some prejudiced behavior of the dominant group in the United States works against the group self-interest: Discrimination against minorities in industry and the armed forces prevents the most efficient use of their manpower; the presence of disaffected minorities in the population weakens national unity, or at least gives the dominant group the feeling that it does; preoccupation with giving vent to sadistic or other discriminatory behavior against minorities takes attention and time away from a real outside threat. According to the proposition, a need for increasing rational action to meet the force of an outside threat should either reduce prejudiced behavior (P) or reduce the proportion of prejudiced behavior working against rational self-interest (T).

This prediction has been borne out in the past;[6] whenever the United States faced an outside enemy, its prejudiced behavior against minorities declined, at least temporarily. The Revolutionary War led to a strong movement, successful in all northern states, to abolish slavery and to the Constitutional provision outlawing the slave trade after 1808. The Civil War led to the abolition of slavery, to the enlistment of Negroes as "necessary" for the successful prosecution of the war, and to

[6] Facts supporting the historical conclusions of this paragraph may be found in summarized form in Arnold and Caroline Rose, *America Divided* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948), esp. chaps. ii and xi.

the movement to secure the franchise and civil rights for Negroes. The first World War opened factory jobs to Negroes, secured them higher positions in the armed forces, extended their acceptance in limited areas of life, reduced peonage, and re-extended the franchise to a small proportion. The second World War greatly increased their job opportunities, extended the franchise, made more equal the treatment by the judicial and executive arms of the government. Correspondingly, there have been lapses into increased prejudiced behavior as memories of these wars have receded. A critic of these observations would probably admit that the Mexican and Spanish-American wars represented too little threat to the United States to have any effect, but he would raise the realistic question: How does the proposition explain the increased anti-Negro behavior in the South during the War of 1812 and as the Civil War drew near, and the anti-Japanese behavior during World War II? These occasions of tightening the caste restrictions represent the second possibility of the proposition—namely, the tendency to eliminate all sentimentality from prejudice (T approaches zero) so that unremunerated work or wealth is exacted from the minority groups at the same time that the group is much more rigorously bound into a separate caste so that it cannot endanger the majority group.

The proposition helps to clarify certain aspects of current developments. The United States considers Russia to be a serious outside threat and probably at no time since the Revolutionary War has the feeling of this threat penetrated so deeply to the masses of the people. Under this circumstance, in so far as the United States desires and intends to meet this felt threat with a show of opposing power, the prediction is that either (1) the prejudiced behavior restricting the efficient use of minorities and diminishing their loyalty will rapidly diminish or (2) a fascist-like development will ruthlessly suppress any change toward integration of minorities into various areas of life and will herd them into a highly exploitative slavery (such as the South did with its Negroes between 1830 and 1864) or into concentration camps, as was done with American citizens of Japanese ancestry during World War II, or kill them off as Germany did Jews and other alleged "internal enemies." It will be especially interesting to observe whether events conform to these predictions or not, because the general expectation today seems to be that the position of minorities is unlikely to change at all or that reductions in prejudiced behavior will occur only gradually. Such expectations arise from simple extrapolation of past trends rather than from logical analysis of forces working in a certain type of situation.

It is to be noted that the prediction says nothing about the *attitude* of prejudice itself but simply speaks about prejudiced *behavior,* sometimes called "discrimination." A certain amount of empirical evidence exists to indicate that a change in behavior is followed by a conforming change in attitude.[7] To determine whether or not the changes in behavior predicted by the logical proposition will result in changes in the attitude of prejudice will require further empirical study, not simply logical analysis. The logical proposition under consideration simply indicates that where certain conditions (assumptions) exist certain consequences logically follow. These conditions seem to exist in significant degree at the present time—and empirical

[7] There are, for example, the studies supporting the James-Lange theory of emotions, which show that a change in expression is usually accompanied by a change in mood (e.g., deliberate laughter is usually accompanied by a happier mood). There is also the process of rationalization whereby a forced or accidental change of behavior is accompanied by verbal justification of the change; see, for example, the study by Gerhart Saenger, "Customer Reactions to the Integration of Negro Sales Personnel," paper read at the Fifty-sixth Annual Meeting of the American Psychological Association, September 8, 1948 (copy made available through the courtesy of the Commission on Community Interrelations, New York City).

measurement should be carried on to see to what extent they actually do exist—and therefore certain predictions about human behavior seem to be in order. Assuming the continuance of these conditions, therefore, it would seem likely that prejudiced behavior will be diminished rapidly (*P* declines) or that prejudiced behavior will be rapidly systematized and deprived of traditional or sentimental elements (*T* declines).

To illustrate the application of the deductive method to an entirely different area of social behavior we shall take a proposition mentioned incidentally by Burgess and Locke.[8] These authors distinguish a psychogenic aspect of personality from a sociogenic component. The former consists of noncultural reactive tendencies determined by prenatal and postnatal conditioning. These tendencies grow out of the contacts the baby has with his external world when there is no social communication. Sociogenic traits, on the other hand, grow out of social communication with other persons and are therefore largely determined by the existing state of society and culture. Marital conflict, say Burgess and Locke, may arise out of conflict between roles of husband and wife either on a psychogenic level or on a sociogenic level. Their proposition is that to the extent that a society is disorganized, interpersonal conflicts are likely to result mostly from clashes of nonmeshing sociogenic roles. Conversely, to the extent that a society is well organized, interpersonal conflicts are likely to result mostly from clashes due to psychogenic differences. This proposition is a truism, or tautology, and one which allows valid predictions to be made. Its tautological nature is revealed by the assumption that a disorganized society is one in which communication is hampered by differences in values, in frames of reference, and in the very meaning of words. In such a society sociogenic personalities could not mesh properly since there is inadequate communication between them, and there are no strong cultural demands which define for both persons how they should behave toward each other. Conversely, in a society in which cultural demands are strong and are clearly understood by all members of the society and in which interpersonal communication is facilitated by everyone's having the same values and meanings, interpersonal conflict is at a minimum and whatever there is of it is due to psychogenic differences which are not subject to much cultural control. The usefulness of this proposition, at least in so far as it applies to "disorganized" American society, is seen in its directing investigators of interpersonal conflict to seek its causes primarily in a conflict of assumed social roles.[9]

On the basis of extensive investigation of drug addicts, Lindesmith[10] concluded that there were certain conditions that inevitably led to uncontrollable drug addiction. These conditions included taking a "habit-forming" drug a number of times (usually to assuage pain), experiencing withdrawal symptoms (the usual physical pains and mental depression), and recognizing that the withdrawal symptoms would be relieved if the drug were taken again. Lindesmith could not find a single exception to his finding that a person who experienced all of these conditions would, sooner or later, revert to use of the drug. Apparent exceptions were found actually to be persons who did not know what it was they had taken at first, or who did not connect the withdrawal symptoms with not taking the drug, or who did not realize that taking the drug again would remove the withdrawal symptoms. While Lindesmith

[8] Ernest W. Burgess and Harvey J. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Co., 1945), pp. 559–60.

[9] See Leonard S. Cottrell, "Roles and Marital Adjustment," *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, XXVII (1933), 107–15; see also Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939).

[10] Alfred R. Lindesmith, *Opiate Addiction* (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, Inc., 1947).

did important empirical work in his study, his central generalization seems to be a specific form of a truism. One must accept the validity of the truism even if one rejects Lindesmith's empirical conclusions. In its most general form, this truism can be stated thus: If one remembers a past experience and it has significance for him, that memory plays a role in all his future actions. A more specific form of the truism is: Given the fact that an addict wishes to avoid withdrawal symptoms, if he knows what will eliminate them he will take such action as will avoid them. The assumption behind this truism is that a mental state is a cause of outward behavior, which assumption is entertained by practically all psychologists. The main value of the truism lies in the suggestion it gives to look for the behavioral consequence of a memory. It also declares that every memory has a compulsive influence on behavior and that there is always a one-to-one relationship between memory and behavior if one analyzes them in the proper way. Lindesmith has provided a brilliant example of this type of analysis as it applies to the memory of how a drug relieves pain and depression and to the mechanism of drug addiction, even though he fails to distinguish the truistic from the empirical elements in his conclusion.

Starting from an empirical generalization by the anthropologist Oscar Lewis,[11] the writer has developed the following truism: If the possession of wealth is an important basis of status in society, and there are conditions making for differences in the wealth of various members of the society, then status differences (social class) will vary directly with wealth differences. From this proposition we can predict that if wealth differences increase, class differentials will be sharper, and that if wealth differences are reduced, class lines will become blurred.

While many other examples could be cited, the general character of truistic propositions can now be summarized. Their essential character is that they are based on logical relationships rather than on empirically observed ones. Thus they can never be proved, although they can be improved. Since they are inherently true, the criterion of a good truism is not its truth but rather its relevance and its usefulness. It may be useful to clarify certain relationships by pointing out their logical character, to suggest certain types of facts to look for, and to make valid predictions if the assumptions on which they are based have some correspondence with reality. The deductive method may aid in building up a systematic theory of sociology, as it has done for economics—but of this we cannot be sure until it is tried. Since a useful truism is based on realistic assumptions, empirical research can aid significantly in indicating which truisms are likely to be useful. But the method itself is essentially an exercise in logical deduction.

It would be a mistake to conclude from anything in this paper that the basic methods of social-science research should not remain empirical. Detailed observation and systematic fact-collecting in conjunction with carefully developed theory will and should continue to be the main ways of getting information about social life. Statistics, experiment, and historical summary will and should continue to be the main ways of drawing generalizations. But this method of logical, ideal-type deduction may have a future role as a way of drawing out more implications, and more useful implications, from existing knowledge than we have hitherto thought possible. Also, a specification of the nature of the method allows the social scientist to distinguish a logical generalization (a truism) from an empirical generalization and to formulate a systematic theory of discrete empirical generalizations. An excellent example of this can be drawn from a paper written some years ago by the distinguished anthropologist, Radcliffe-Brown. While he indicates that he hopes to establish four

[11] Mentioned to the author in personal conversation, May, 1948.

hypotheses on an empirical base, actually we can see that propositions 2 and 4 are really truistic generalizations. They are logically valid without empirical research, provided the assumptions contained in propositions 1 and 3 are demonstrated to be valid by empirical research:

Now if we leave aside altogether the question of the possible origin or origins of totemism, and try instead to discover its laws, we reach a theory of an entirely different kind, and if you will permit me I will illustrate the matter by a brief statement of my own theory of totemism, in the form of a few general statements which I think it may be possible in the future definitely to prove by the ordinary logical methods of induction:

(1) In primitive societies any things that have important effects on the social life necessarily become the objects of ritual observances (negative or positive), the function of such ritual being to express, and so to fix and perpetuate, the recognition of the social value of the objects to which it refers.

(2) Consequently, in a society which depends entirely or in some large measure for its subsistence on hunting and collecting, the various species of animals and plants, and more particularly those used for food, become the object of ritual observances.

(3) In differentiated societies of certain types (as, for example, tribes divided into sibs or clans, i.e., into groups of kindred) the different segments tend to be differentiated from one another by differences of ritual, observances of the same general type for the whole tribe being directed to some special object or class of objects for each one of its segments.

(4) Consequently, while in undifferentiated societies (such as the Andaman Islanders) the ritual relation to the animals and plants used for food is a general undifferentiated relation between the society as a whole and the world of nature as a whole, in differentiated societies the general tendency is to develop special ritual relations between each of the social segments (clans or other groups) and some one or more species of animal or plant, or occasionally some special division of nature in which a number of species are included.[12]

It would thus seem possible that sociologists could develop a system of interconnected logical propositions from which important deductions and predictions could be derived that have as much validity as their original assumptions. The full development of such a body of propositions might have to await the determination of a basic unit of measurement, but experimentation with the method of deductive logic to find some simple propositions that are useful can proceed immediately.

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[12] A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, "The Methods of Ethnology and Social Anthropology," *South African Journal of Science*, XX (1923), 124–47.

CHANGES IN POPULATION DISTRIBUTION SINCE 1940[1]

DONALD J. BOGUE

ABSTRACT

This study provides a broad picture of some of the principal population changes which have taken place during the war and immediate postwar years. An "extensive" technique is used to estimate the postcensal population as of July 1, 1947, of several categories of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas in each of the states, geographic divisions, and regions. Rates of change since 1940 are computed for each of these categories and are compared with corresponding rates for 1930–40 and 1920–30. The estimates and estimated rates indicate that some very striking changes in the patterns of population growth and distribution have taken place since 1940.

During the war and postwar years the population of the United States has been shuffled and reshuffled so thoroughly that the results of the 1950 census are being awaited eagerly in order to measure the principal changes in population distribution which have taken place since April, 1940, when the last census enumeration was made. By January 1, 1948, a total of 14,174,000 noninstitutionalized veterans, or the equivalent of about 33 per cent of the civilian male labor force as of that date, had been discharged from military service and were residing in the United States, with liberal benefits for obtaining further education or vocational training, for compensation while seeking desirable employment, and for financial aid in purchasing housing or becoming farmers or proprietors. An acute and prolonged shortage of manpower in centers of war production during the war years gave the residents of chronically depressed areas an opportunity to migrate to areas which promised a better livelihood, if they desired to do so. The full extent of actual population shifts will not be known until the results of the approaching census are released. Meanwhile, statisticians are carefully scrutinizing many indexes of population change.

The relative size of major population changes is of course unknown in each postcensal period. Although fairly reliable procedures for estimating the current population of individual places have been devised,[2] these estimating procedures cannot easily be adapted to the general study of population trends, for most of them require a large amount of computing to yield a single estimate. The study of trends requires an estimated population for a large number of places in order that these populations can be summed by various categories which have proved meaningful in the past in explaining or describing patterns of growth. The amount of labor required to determine the postcensal growth of even a few major categories of population by these refined methods would exceed the resources of most demographers. Recently the author experimented with an almost-forgotten suggestion for making postcensal estimates by using current natality and mortality statistics

[1] This study is one of several being conducted by Scripps Foundation in a program of research on the subject of population distribution. A portion of the funds for this study have been granted by the Rockefeller Foundation. I wish to acknowledge that the population estimates which have been reported were prepared by Sarah Frye, Virginia Snyder, Isabelle Brittain, and Donald Burkholder, working under the supervision of Ruth W. Smith, statistician, of the Scripps staff.

[2] For a description of the various methods and a comparison of the results which may be obtained by each method see Henry S. Shryock, Jr., and Norman Lawrence, "The Current Status of State and Local Population Estimates in the Census Bureau," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, June, 1949. See also Hope T. Eldridge, *Suggested Procedures for Estimating the Current Population of Counties* ("Population Special Reports, Series P-47," No. 4 [Washington: Bureau of the Census, April 30, 1947]).

and demonstrated that, although better methods exist for making population estimates for single cities and counties, quite accurate estimates can be made for *groupings* of cities or counties by its use in a modified form.[3] Because this technique requires much less labor than the "intensive" methods, and must depend upon the errors of the estimates for individual units to cancel each other when summed, it has been classified as an "extensive" technique of estimating. The estimates obtained by its use are trustworthy only when summed into broad population categories. Since the basic data are the vital statistics prepared by the National Office of Vital Statistics, the estimates can be made only for the last year for which a count of registered births and deaths, by county of residence, is available. Such data are now available for the year 1947, and unless otherwise specified the discussion of trends which follows is based upon vital statistics estimates of the population of groupings of cities and counties as of July 1, 1947.[4]

In order to summarize the major changes in population distribution which have taken place since 1940, two major categories of area are recognized—"metropolitan areas" and "nonmetropolitan areas." The census recently defined 87 "Standard Metropolitan Areas" for use in summarizing data from the 1947 Census of Manufactures. Each of these areas consists of a city of 50,000 or more inhabitants plus the surrounding population which is shown to be closely integrated with the city, provided the total population of the city and the surrounding area equals 100,000 or more inhabitants. In most cases these units follow county boundaries. For a few cities, adjacent counties also have been included in the metropolitan area where it has been demonstrated that such counties are closely integrated with the central city. For the 1950 Census of Population and Housing this list is to be supplemented by the addition of several cities and their environs which qualify as metropolitan areas under the definition. Because the census has not yet defined the boundaries of these additional metropolitan areas, for the purposes of the present study the author added to the list of 87 metropolitan areas those additional counties which had a large proportion of their population lying in a metropolitan district in 1940.[5] The counties which remained after the metropolitan areas were selected were defined as nonmetropolitan areas. The present article is concerned primarily with the estimated rate of change, 1940–47, of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas, and of various subclassifications of each. Only incidental attention will be given to the regional aspects of population change, for the latter have been described in several releases by the Bureau of the Census.

GROWTH OF METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS

It is estimated that as of July 1, 1947, 78,835,000 persons, or 55 per cent of the

[3] Donald J. Bogue, "A Vital Statistics Technique for Making Postcensal Population Estimates for the Study of Population Change," to be published in *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, June, 1950. This first article is methodological; the present one is a substantive report of an attempt to make use of the device in solving a real problem in population trends. The reader is requested to study the methodological statement, which lists some possible errors, biases, and imperfections, before deriving from the tables which follow any conclusions which have not been explicitly stated in the text.

[4] The National Office of Vital Statistics kindly provided me with an advance listing of the necessary data for births and deaths. These data are now published by the National Office of Vital Statistics as *Vital Statistics of the United States, 1947:* Part II, *Natality and Mortality Data Tabulated by Place of Residence* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), Table 1.

[5] Since the list was devised for temporary use in summarizing the present estimates, and only approximates the areas which eventually will be defined as metropolitan areas by the census, the populations which have been estimated to reside in each category of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan area are not presented here; only percentages and rates of change appear in the tables which follow. A listing of the counties included in each metropolitan area, and the estimated 1947 population of each category of area shown in the tables, will be furnished on request.

total population of the United States, were residing in the metropolitan areas. Whereas the population of the United States had increased by 8.9 per cent from 1940 to 1947, the population of the metropolitan areas increased by 16.6 per cent, or at a rate almost twice that of the nation (Tables 1 and 2). The nonmetropolitan counties, on the other hand, which contained 45 per cent of the population, had made almost no growth since 1940 (0.8 per cent). Stated in another way, the equivalent of almost all the increase since 1940 of 11,745,000 persons accrued to the large cities and their environs, and during the seven-year period the broad nonmetropolitan area, taken as a whole, succeeded only in maintaining about the same population it had in 1940.

There are marked regional differentials in the comparative rates of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan growth. In the New England states, the two rates were positive and of almost equal magnitude. In the Middle Atlantic and the Pacific divisions, metropolitan growth was moderately greater than nonmetropolitan growth. The greatest differential between the growth rates of these two types of areas has been in the South, Central, and Mountain divisions. Here there were differences as large as 29 percentage points between the rate of growth of metropolitan areas and of nonmetropolitan areas. While it is true that the growth of metropolitan areas is related to the overall rate of growth of the division, a low divisional rate of growth does not necessarily mean an equally low rate of metropolitan growth. The divisions of the South, for example, have had low rates of growth, but within them metropolitan areas have had higher rates of growth. In spite of the fact that many rural areas were suffering a decrease in population as a result of it, the cencentration of the population in metropolitan areas has proceeded rapidly. Table 2 reveals this to have been a common trend in the great majority of states.

If the nonmetropolitan counties are grouped into classes according to the size of the largest city in each county in 1940, one may learn whether or not the counties which contain larger hinterland cities have suffered the same stagnation as the nonmetropolitan areas as a whole. Table 1 shows that the nonmetropolitan counties which contained a city of 10,000 or more in 1940 tended to grow at about the national rate in 1940–47; that the counties containing a

TABLE 1

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS, 1940–47, BY GEOGRAPHIC DIVISIONS

Geographic Division	All Areas	All Metropolitan Areas	All Nonmetropolitan Areas	Nonmetropolitan Counties Classified by Size of Their Largest City in 1940		
				10,000 or Over	2,500–9,999	No City
United States total	8.9	16.6	0.8	8.9	− 1.5	− 9.3
New England	8.3	9.1	6.7	9.2	− 0.3	− 3.0
Middle Atlantic	6.4	7.4	1.8	2.9	− 0.9	4.8
East North Central	9.8	15.3	1.8	6.7	− 2.0	− 5.5
West North Central	1.4	16.4	− 5.7	2.7	− 5.3	−12.6
South Atlantic	8.2	23.6	0.5	9.2	− 0.8	− 8.4
East South Central	0.2	12.8	− 3.5	4.5	− 2.2	− 9.2
West South Central	6.0	27.6	− 2.0	9.5	− 4.9	−11.6
Mountain	5.9	23.0	1.2	11.5	0.9	−12.2
Pacific	40.9	45.5	30.9	36.0	28.0	12.3

TABLE 2

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS, 1940–47, BY STATES

State	All Areas	All Metropolitan Areas	All Nonmetropolitan Areas	Nonmetropolitan Counties Classified by Size of Their Largest City in 1940		
				10,000 or Over	2,500–9,999	No City
New England:						
Maine	4.5	13.7	2.6	8.8	−4.4	0.0
New Hampshire	8.5	11.0	7.5	9.4	0.0	−6.2
Vermont	1.9	.....	1.9	0.7	5.5	−5.4
Massachusetts	7.4	7.4	7.4	7.7	2.4	0.0
Rhode Island	4.5	2.8	14.6	14.6	.....	.....
Connecticut	15.5	16.8	12.3	12.9	3.1	.....
Middle Atlantic:						
New York	5.1	6.0	0.4	1.8	−3.4	0.0
New Jersey	11.2	10.5	18.5	20.1	7.4	36.8
Pennsylvania	6.2	8.0	0.5	1.4	−0.1	−8.0
East North Central:						
Ohio	11.1	16.4	2.1	6.1	−0.7	−7.3
Indiana	11.9	21.3	5.6	10.1	2.3	2.0
Illinois	6.3	11.2	−4.8	−1.2	−7.3	−8.7
Michigan	15.5	20.3	6.8	14.9	0.3	−5.3
Wisconsin	3.5	9.3	0.6	5.5	−3.5	−9.0
West North Central:						
Minnesota	3.4	13.5	−3.6	1.5	−2.2	−10.3
Iowa	2.1	14.8	−2.1	6.9	−5.1	−7.0
Missouri	3.1	16.1	−8.8	−1.9	−7.8	−13.6
North Dakota	−15.7	.....	−15.7	−7.0	−10.7	−21.4
South Dakota	−10.1	.....	−10.1	3.7	−9.6	−17.1
Nebraska	−2.4	10.9	−7.3	4.2	−7.5	−12.6
Kansas	6.9	32.9	−0.9	4.4	−1.6	−6.8
South Atlantic:						
Delaware	9.0	13.3	0.0	.....	0.0	.....
Maryland	17.5	22.4	6.2	7.6	6.3	2.6
District of Columbia	29.9	29.9	.....	.....	.....	.....
Virginia	12.0	39.0	−0.7	6.7	2.6	−7.4
West Virginia	−1.1	5.8	−3.4	2.9	−2.7	−11.8
North Carolina	3.5	11.8	1.8	8.1	1.7	−8.1
South Carolina	2.7	23.5	−0.2	6.4	−3.2	−9.7
Georgia	0.4	15.0	−5.5	5.6	−5.8	−10.1
Florida	22.7	37.3	13.1	24.7	4.6	−5.2
East South Central:						
Kentucky	−2.3	14.4	−7.0	2.8	−5.0	−11.9
Tennessee	6.0	11.6	3.2	7.4	5.6	−2.5
Alabama	0.0	13.0	−4.7	6.5	−5.4	−12.3
Mississippi	−4.0	13.1	−4.9	1.5	−4.6	−9.0
West South Central:						
Arkansas	−1.9	25.6	−4.2	3.7	−2.5	−15.2
Louisiana	7.6	17.1	3.6	25.4	−1.8	−6.7
Oklahoma	−2.2	24.4	−8.4	−2.2	−12.2	−14.0
Texas	10.7	31.7	−0.3	13.5	−4.5	−11.0

TABLE 2—*Continued*

State	All Areas	All Metropolitan Areas	All Nonmetropolitan Areas	Nonmetropolitan Counties Classified by Size of Their Largest City in 1940		
				10,000 or Over	2,500–9,999	No City
MOUNTAIN:						
Montana	−12.7	.....	−12.7	− 5.0	−11.0	−22.6
Idaho	0.0	.....	0.0	8.7	− 7.9	− 4.8
Wyoming	5.6	.....	5.6	14.3	5.6	− 3.4
Colorado	1.9	16.1	− 8.7	− 2.7	− 8.9	−16.5
New Mexico	2.8	.....	2.8	18.9	0.8	−14.2
Arizona	29.1	47.8	17.5	50.7	9.6	2.7
Utah	16.4	16.5	15.9	29.2	19.3	−12.3
Nevada	26.4	.....	26.4	34.4	47.5	− 2.6
PACIFIC:						
Washington	35.8	46.0	24.6	31.4	16.0	12.7
Oregon	41.7	48.1	37.3	39.8	39.0	16.9
California	42.1	45.1	31.7	37.4	26.9	10.1

largest city of 2,500–9,999 suffered a slight loss of population; and that the counties which did not contain a city lost population at the rapid pace of approximately 9.3 per cent. The extent of the relative gains and losses experienced by each of these size-classes of nonmetropolitan counties varies from state to state and from division to division. Counties containing cities of 10,000 or more have maintained their numbers exceedingly well in relation to the divisional rate of growth in all divisions. On the other hand, the tendency for counties which contain cities of less than 10,000 to lose population is present in all divisions except the Mountain and Pacific. The completely rural counties have had their most serious losses in the West North Central, Mountain, West South Central, and East South Central divisions.

The flow of population toward the larger cities is everywhere in evidence. Even the rapidly growing West has drawn proportionately more migrants into its metropolitanized and urbanized counties than into its more rural areas; the westward movement in this decade has also been primarily a cityward movement.

METROPOLITAN POSTWAR GROWTH

For more than a century the drift of people into metropolitan areas has been one of the outstanding traits of population redistribution. There are several questions which one may ask in an attempt to place the postwar manifestation of this trend in its proper relationship to the past: Have large metropolitan areas grown more rapidly than smaller ones? Have central cities grown more rapidly than their suburbs? Have large suburban cities grown more rapidly than the small city and open-country parts of the suburbs? How are the relative rates of growth of central cities and of suburbs related to the size of the metropolis? How are all these facts related to the corresponding changes which occurred during the 1920–30 and the 1930–40 decades? The rates of growth estimated for the 1940–47 period and data for earlier decades required to answer these questions are contained in Table 3, where growth rates are presented for the central cities and the "rings" (remainder of the metropolitan area) of five sizes of metropolitan areas. In this table the ring is further broken down into three groups of satellite cities, classified

TABLE 3

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1940–47, BY SIZE OF METROPOLIS IN 1940 AND TYPE OF METROPOLITAN AREA, WITH CORRESPONDING CHANGES FOR 1930–40 AND 1920–30

Size of Metropolis and Type of Metropolitan Areas	Percentage Change			Ratio of Percentage Change to National Rate of Growth during Same Period		
	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30
All Metropolitan Areas	16.6	8.4	27.3	1.9	1.2	1.7
Central cities	11.8	5.2	23.5	1.3	0.7	1.5
Rings	25.2	14.5	35.2	2.8	2.0	2.2
Large satellite cities	*18.5*	*6.2*	*45.4*	*2.1*	*0.9*	*2.8*
50,000 or more	14.5	3.4	43.4	1.6	0.5	2.7
25,000–49,999	17.9	6.3	44.1	2.0	0.9	2.7
10,000–24,999	22.7	8.8	48.0	2.6	1.2	3.0
Remainder of ring	28.4	19.1	30.2	3.2	2.7	1.9
Central Cities of 1,000,000 or More	33.8	7.8	36.1	1.6	1.1	2.2
Central cities	7.0	5.1	27.0	0.8	0.7	1.7
Rings	28.6	14.2	63.9	3.2	2.0	4.0
Large satellite cities	*19.6*	*7.7*	*63.9*	*2.2*	*1.1*	*4.0*
50,000 or more	17.8	5.3	58.2	2.0	0.7	3.6
25,000–49,999	20.0	7.5	59.7	2.2	1.0	3.7
10,000–24,999	21.8	11.4	77.4	2.4	1.6	4.8
Remainder of ring	37.3	21.3	63.9	4.2	3.0	4.0
Central Cities of 500,000–999,999	18.1	6.9	20.9	2.0	1.0	1.3
Central cities	11.5	3.4	14.5	1.3	0.5	0.9
Rings	27.3	12.1	32.2	3.1	1.7	2.0
Large satellite cities	*20.0*	*4.3*	*36.2*	*2.2*	*0.6*	*2.2*
50,000 or more	11.2	1.4	29.2	1.3	0.2	1.8
25,000–49,999	17.9	4.0	36.7	2.0	0.6	2.3
10,000–24,999	30.6	7.9	45.0	3.4	1.1	2.8
Remainder of ring	33.0	19.0	28.8	3.7	2.6	1.8
Central Cities of 250,000–499,999	20.3	10.3	26.6	2.3	1.4	1.7
Central cities	16.0	6.1	24.8	1.8	0.8	1.5
Rings	29.9	20.8	31.0	3.4	2.9	1.9
Large satellite cities	*12.5*	*5.4*	*24.2*	*1.4*	*0.8*	*1.5*
50,000 or more	−0.7	2.8	17.4	−0.1	0.4	1.1
25,000–49,999	10.4	4.3	22.3	1.2	0.6	1.4
10,000–24,999	25.1	12.8	31.7	2.8	1.8	2.0
Remainder of ring	34.6	26.1	33.5	3.9	3.6	2.1
Central Cities of 100,000–249,999	15.1	8.7	22.9	2.1	1.2	1.4
Central cities	17.2	5.2	24.6	1.9	0.7	1.5
Rings	22.5	15.3	19.8	2.5	2.1	1.2
Large satellite cities	*14.4*	*4.8*	*25.2*	*1.6*	*0.7*	*1.6*
25,000–49,999	19.1	9.8	39.0	2.1	1.4	2.4
10,000–24,999	10.9	2.3	17.5	1.2	0.3	1.1
Remainder of ring	23.8	17.1	18.9	2.7	2.4	1.2
Central Cities of 50,000–99,999	15.3	10.4	21.0	1.7	1.4	1.3
Central cities	15.7	7.6	24.7	1.8	1.1	1.5
Rings	14.7	13.9	16.6	1.7	1.9	1.0
Large satellite cities	*14.4*	*6.6*	*27.7*	*1.6*	*0.9*	*1.7*
25,000–49,999	4.2	4.4	11.5	0.5	0.6	0.7
10,000–24,999	15.8	7.0	31.0	1.8	1.0	1.9
Remainder of ring	14.8	15.0	15.3	1.7	2.1	1.0

according to the number of inhabitants they had in 1940, and the "remainder of ring," which consists of the cities of less than 10,000 and the rural portions of the metropolitan areas.

The comparative size of the estimated 16.6 per cent gain of metropolitan areas between 1940 and 1947 can be appreciated more readily if the rates for all periods are reduced to an average rate per year or if the rates are expressed as ratios of the national rate.[6] The average annual rate of growth for metropolitan areas was almost three times as large in 1940–47 as it was in 1930–40. It was slightly smaller than the rate of growth of these same areas in 1920–30. Although the depression slackened the rate at which population was being drawn into metropolitan areas, the predepression tempo in this type of population shift was almost fully restored in the first seven years of the present decade. A similar finding may be made for each of the principal parts of the metropolitan area. Central cities grew at the rate of about 11.8 per cent in 1940–47. On a per annum basis this is more than three times the rate of the 1930's and is only moderately less than the rate of the 1920's. This similarity between the yearly growth rates of 1940–47 and 1920–30 is even more impressive when one realizes that the nation as a whole had a considerably smaller average yearly rate of growth in 1940–47 than it had during the 1920's. In order to accomplish these rates of growth during the war and postwar years, it was necessary that a larger proportion of the total population increase be drawn into metropolitan areas than was the case in either of the two preceding decades. Hence, compared to the national level of growth, the intensity of the shift of population toward metropolitan areas was relatively greater during the war and immediate postwar years than it was during either 1920–30 or 1930–40.

The medium-sized metropolitan areas, with central cities of 100,000–249,999 or 250,000–499,999, appear to have attained the largest rate of growth. The groups immediately above and below had rates of growth which were slightly smaller than those of these medium-sized groups. A large share of these differences could have been due to estimating error, however. It is known that in the group of the largest size, the Los Angeles and Detroit metropolitan areas have experienced an unusually rapid growth. The evidence concerning size of central city and rate of growth thus shows only a very broad tendency toward a slower growth rate for the larger areas.

In all groups, the central cities appear to have grown more slowly than their surrounding ring or suburban area. The estimates show a rate of growth 1.3 times the national rate for all central cities and of 2.8 times the national rate for the ring. The extent of this differential in growth is definitely related to the size of the metropolis, however. In the largest metropolitan areas the rate of growth of the rings was 4.1 times the rate of growth of the central cities. This ratio was smaller for the smaller metropolitan areas. In other words, the smaller the size of the central city in a metropolitan area, the greater was its ability to approach the growth rate of its own ring. Central cities of less than 100,000 appear to have grown about as fast as their own rings.

This tendency toward a greater peripheral than central growth is also not new. During the 1920's the rings of the metro-

[6] In interpreting these tables, one should make a distinction between rate of change and rate of change relative to the national rate. The fact that the level of population growth for the entire nation is higher during some decades than it is during others should not be permitted to obscure the fact that significant changes in the pattern of population distribution are accomplished by areas growing at rates which are higher or lower than the national rate. The ratios of Table 3 are presented to assist in making this interpretation. In presenting data for the 1920–30 and the 1930–40 decades for comparison with the 1940–47 period, data have been summarized for the units as of their 1940 classification. Thus, each place falls into the same classification in all three periods, regardless of its growth experience. This is also true of similar tables which follow.

politan areas grew about 50 per cent more rapidly than the central cities, and the same difference between the growth of large and of small metropolitan areas noted for the 1940–47 period was as pronounced as during the more recent time. The depression years of the 1930's brought a great deceleration of central city growth rates while permitting the rates of suburban growth to remain fairly high, with the result that rings grew 2.8 times as fast as central cities. The years since the war have witnessed a balance between central cities and suburban growth which resembles the 1920–30 decade more than it does the 1930–40 decade. Central cities appear to have regained, during the war and postwar years, some of their former ability to amass more population than they lose to their suburbs. Whether this was only a wartime phenomenon or a continuing trend cannot easily be determined. Certainly the acute shortage during the war of gasoline, tires, automobiles, and building materials favored a centripetal growth pattern for most metropolitan areas. But the years since 1947 have witnessed extensive building programs and the easing of the problems of local transportation. The "doubled-up" families so common in 1946 and 1947 are nowadays more often voluntary living arrangements. It is possible, therefore, that the rates of growth for central cities shown here are of about the magnitude which will be found for these places in 1950. This would assume that during the 1947–50 period out-migration to suburbs will equal the combined natural increase and in-migration to central cities.

During the 1930's large satellite cities in the rings of metropolitan areas grew only 0.9 times as fast as the nation, 1.2 times as fast as central cities, and 0.7 times as fast as metropolitan areas. This represented a marked departure from the 1920's, when they grew 2.8 times as fast as the nation, 1.9 times as fast as central cities, and 1.7 times as fast as metropolitan areas. Since 1940 the large satellite cities have grown 2.1 times as fast as the nation, 1.6 times as fast as central cities, and 1.1 times as fast as metropolitan areas. Thus it would appear that during 1940–47 the large satellite cities in the ring regained some, but not all, of their former ability to grow very rapidly in comparison with the nation, with central cities, and with metropolitan areas. It is the larger metropolitan areas which exhibit this particular pattern. In the smaller metropolitan areas, where the larger outlying cities grew at about the same rate as the smaller ones, it is almost absent. This was also generally true of these smaller metropolitan areas during 1920–30 and 1930–40.

The "remainder of the ring" areas, consisting of the satellite cities of less than 10,000 inhabitants in 1940 and of the rural-nonfarm and rural-farm population of metropolitan counties, have continued the high rate of growth relative to the national rate which they attained during the 1930's. The estimates indicate that between 1940 and 1947 they grew at 3.2 times the national rate. The areas where the rates were highest, and in which the pattern of the 1930's was most nearly continued, were in the rings of the metropolitan areas with central cities larger than 250,000 inhabitants, which consistently grew faster than the large satellite cities of these metropolitan areas during both the 1920–30 and the 1930–40 decades. Since 1940 the rate of growth in the small city and rural portions of metropolitan rings has been as high, on a per annum basis, as it was during the 1920's. Compared to the national level of growth, the intensity of this shift has greatly exceeded that of the 1920's in all but the exceedingly large size metropolitan areas, where it was already under way in the 1920's.

The rate at which a satellite city has grown since 1940 is associated with its size: The smaller the city, the larger its rate of growth. Satellite cities of 10,000–24,999 have grown at 2.6 times the national rate. During the 1920's the differences in growth rates between large and small satellite cities were not very large. The differences became quite sharp during the 1930's and have

persisted into the 1940's. The pronounced tendency for the least congested portion of suburban areas to achieve the greatest rate of growth is as characteristic of the present decade as of the 1930's, which is most extreme in the metropolitan areas whose central cities contained from 250,000 to a million persons in 1940.

GEOGRAPHIC DIFFERENTIALS IN POPULATION GROWTH

In order to study the geographic differentials in detail, the metropolitan areas of each of the geographic divisions have been subdivided into their principal parts: the "central city" and the "ring" areas. The nonmetropolitan areas have been subdivided by a "size of largest city contained" classification. Table 4 reports a 1940–47 rate of change for each of these categories for each of the nine geographic divisions.

The factors which make for the growth or decline of central cities may be expressed in terms of the relative attractiveness of the region in the national economy, of the metropolitan area in the regional economy, and of the central city in the metropolitan economy. Between 1940 and 1947 all three of these conditions adversely affected the growth of central cities in the New England and Middle Atlantic divisions, where central cities increased by only 5.1 and 3.7 per cent, respectively. Neither of these geographic divisions grew as rapidly as the nation. Within the metropolitan areas of these divisions the central cities were not able to capture as large a share of the total metropolitan increases as did the central cities in other divisions. In the Pacific division, on the other hand, the attractiveness of the region to the nation appeared to be more effective than anything else in promoting the growth of the metropolitan areas and of the major parts. The West North Central and the East South Central divisions have recently proved themselves unable to attract very much of the nation's growth. Nevertheless, central cities within these divisions have made a fairly rapid growth since 1940 because of the unusually great ability of their metropolitan areas to attract population in excess of the divisional rate of growth. This particular growth combination could have been occasioned only by very large population movements within the division.

TABLE 4

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS OF THE UNITED STATES, 1940–47, BY TYPE OF AREA AND GEOGRAPHIC DIVISION

Type of Area	Estimated Percentage Change, 1940–47, by Region									
	All Divisions	New England	Middle Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific
TOTAL, ALL AREAS	8.9	8.3	6.4	9.8	1.4	8.2	0.2	6.0	5.9	40.9
METROPOLITAN AREAS	*16.6*	*9.1*	*7.4*	*15.3*	*16.4*	*23.6*	*12.8*	*27.6*	*23.0*	*45.5*
Central cities	11.8	5.1	3.7	10.6	12.3	14.9	10.0	26.5	16.6	35.2
Rings	25.2	13.2	13.5	25.0	28.7	40.8	17.6	31.1	36.1	59.3
Large satellite cities	18.5	9.4	9.1	17.3	12.8	40.6	6.0	50.9	.....	57.2
Remainder of ring	28.4	16.6	15.9	30.3	32.6	40.8	20.2	29.7	36.1	60.5
NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS	*0.8*	*6.7*	*1.8*	*1.8*	*−5.7*	*0.5*	*−3.5*	*−2.0*	*1.2*	*30.9*
Largest city 25,000 or more	13.0	9.5	4.1	10.6	3.3	12.2	8.0	22.3	23.1	35.6
Largest city 10,000–24,999	6.5	8.3	2.3	3.5	2.5	7.8	2.8	5.1	5.8	36.6
Largest city 5,000–9,999	0.2	−0.6	−0.2	−0.9	−3.2	0.5	−2.4	−3.4	7.6	28.3
Largest city 2,500–4,999	−3.3	2.1	−2.6	−3.8	−7.4	−2.1	−2.0	−6.4	−6.5	27.8
Containing no city	−9.3	−3.0	4.8	−5.5	−12.6	−8.4	−9.2	−11.7	−12.1	11.9

Table 4 also presents a more detailed classification of nonmetropolitan counties by size of their largest city than is shown in Table 1. The counties which contain largest cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants have grown more rapidly than the counties which contained cities of 10,000–24,999. In fact, these nonmetropolitan counties containing the larger hinterland cities have grown more than three-fourths as rapidly as the metropolitan areas, which they approach in population size, density, composition, and economic functioning. For most of the geographic divisions, the additional detail concerning size of largest city contained merely strengthens the hypothesis already developed that the presence and size of a hinterland city are closely related to the rate of population loss or gain which has taken place in a county since 1940 and illuminates the amount of change which took place in each class of unit along the continuum. One should note also that the most severe losses to the completely rural areas and to counties containing only small cities occurred in the five divisions in which one-third or less of the population resides in metropolitan areas: the West North Central, South Atlantic, East South Central, West South Central, and Mountain divisions. Here the metropolitan areas grew much more rapidly than the nation. It can only be presumed that in each of these divisions the metropolitan populations were expanding at the expense of their own small cities and rural areas.

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES

The preceding tables have demonstrated that there appears to be both a size and a regional differential in the rates at which metropolitan areas and their principal parts have grown since 1940. By grouping metropolitan areas into those with central cities of more than 500,000 inhabitants in 1940 and those with less, it becomes possible by combining the nine geographic divisions into four broad regions, and then by computing growth rates for the principal parts of both large and small metropolitan areas in each of the four regions, to separate partially the regional component from the size component. Growth rates for 1940–47, 1930–40, and 1920–30, together with corresponding ratios to the national rate, are shown in Table 5.

Regional differences, rather than differences in size, account for a large share of the growth for metropolitan areas since 1940, because the interregional differences between the growth rates of metropolitan areas are much larger than the differences between the size groups within each region. Low rates of growth characterize both large and small metropolitan areas in the Northeast; high rates of growth characterize both large and small metropolitan areas in the West and South. Both large and small metropolitan areas in the North Center had intermediate rates of growth.

On the other hand, there are some internal aspects of metropolitan growth which seem to differentiate large and small metropolitan areas, regardless of the region in which they are found. As a group, small central cities have grown faster than large since 1940. This is true in all regions except the South, where the growth of the two classes is about equal. The rings of large metropolitan areas have grown faster than those of small metropolitan areas in all four regions. This difference is particularly characteristic of the "remainder of the ring," for it has sharply differentiated the growth pattern of the rings of large from the growth pattern of the rings of small metropolitan areas during each of the three periods for which data are presented.

It must be concluded that during the war and postwar years regional factors have been important in determining the general growth level of the total metropolitan area and that size factors have been important in determining the specific pattern of growth within the metropolitan areas. The major relationships between size and pattern of internal growth have persisted since 1920 to the present. The most significant shift in the regional pattern of

TABLE 5

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF METROPOLITAN AREAS, 1940–47, BY SIZE OF METROPOLIS IN 1940, TYPE OF METROPOLITAN AREA, AND REGION, WITH CORRESPONDING CHANGES FOR 1930–40 AND 1920–30

Region, Size of Metropolis, and Type of Metropolitan Area	Percentage Change			Ratio of Percentage Change to National Rate of Growth during Same Period		
	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30
UNITED STATES TOTAL	8.9	7.2	16.1	1.00	1.00	1.00
NORTHEAST:						
Large metropolitan areas	*7.7*	*5.3*	*22.4*	*0.87*	*0.74*	*1.39*
Central cities	2.7	3.9	16.3	0.30	0.54	1.01
Ring	15.8	7.6	34.5	1.78	1.06	2.14
Large satellite cities	9.7	2.4	31.6	1.09	0.33	1.96
Remainder of ring	21.0	12.5	37.3	2.36	1.74	2.32
Small metropolitan areas	*8.0*	*3.0*	*12.5*	*0.90*	*0.42*	*0.78*
Central cities	7.3	−0.1	8.4	0.82	−0.01	0.52
Ring	8.8	6.8	17.7	0.99	0.94	1.10
Large satellite cities	6.6	1.2	17.5	0.74	0.17	1.09
Remainder of ring	9.4	8.3	17.7	1.06	1.15	1.10
NORTH CENTER:						
Large metropolitan areas	*15.4*	*5.1*	*34.3*	*1.73*	*0.71*	*2.13*
Central cities	8.7	1.3	26.2	0.98	0.18	1.63
Ring	31.9	15.5	63.7	3.58	2.15	3.96
Large satellite cities	17.4	5.9	78.1	1.96	0.82	4.85
Remainder of ring	46.9	27.7	48.6	5.27	3.85	3.02
Small metropolitan areas	*15.8*	*5.8*	*21.7*	*1.78*	*0.81*	*1.35*
Central cities	15.1	2.3	21.6	1.70	0.32	1.34
Ring	17.2	13.3	22.2	1.93	1.85	1.38
Large satellite cities	14.9	1.6	28.8	1.67	0.22	1.79
Remainder of ring	17.7	16.1	20.6	1.99	2.24	1.28
SOUTH:						
Large metropolitan areas	*28.9*	*23.8*	*16.4*	*3.25*	*3.31*	*1.02*
Central cities	18.3	17.8	10.3	2.06	2.47	0.64
Ring	59.2	44.9	44.3	6.65	6.24	2.75
Large satellite cities	57.4	27.0	27.6	6.45	3.75	1.71
Remainder of ring	59.0	47.3	47.1	6.63	6.57	2.93
Small metropolitan areas	*21.3*	*17.1*	*36.1*	*2.39*	*2.38*	*2.24*
Central cities	17.6	12.7	44.7	1.98	1.76	2.78
Ring	28.8	27.2	20.0	3.24	3.78	1.24
Large satellite cities	21.6	20.7	41.1	2.43	2.88	2.55
Remainder of ring	29.5	27.9	17.9	3.31	3.88	1.11
WEST:						
Large metropolitan areas	*44.0*	*19.1*	*83.1*	*4.94*	*2.65*	*5.16*
Central cities	30.8	13.2	65.9	3.46	1.83	4.09
Ring	60.7	27.6	114.4	6.82	3.83	7.11
Large satellite cities	57.1	22.5	124.7	6.42	3.13	7.75
Remainder of ring	64.5	33.4	104.4	7.25	4.64	6.48
Small metropolitan areas	*41.3*	*15.8*	*26.5*	*4.64*	*2.19*	*1.65*
Central cities	35.1	9.5	22.1	3.94	1.32	1.37
Ring	51.6	28.3	36.2	5.80	3.93	2.25
Large satellite cities	59.6	29.5	63.0	6.70	4.10	3.91
Remainder of ring	51.2	28.3	35.1	5.75	3.93	2.18

metropolitan growth since 1920 is the deceleration of metropolitan growth in the Northeast and the very sharp acceleration of metropolitan growth in the South.

POPULATION GROWTH IN NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS

In Table 1 it was noted that the vast nonmetropolitan area had managed only to sustain its 1940 population and that such population growth as has been made in such areas has taken place primarily in counties which contained in 1940 a city of at least 10,000 inhabitants. This section analyzes the phenomenon further and relates it to comparable changes during the two preceding decades. Table 6 presents data for such an analysis. This table shows that the nonmetropolitan area grew 40 per cent as rapidly as the nation in 1920–30 and 85 per cent as fast as the nation during 1930–40. The impressive fact about the data for the years of World War II and immediately after is that they indicate a rate of growth which is only one-eleventh as fast as that of the nation—a rate which is very much smaller than that of either of the two preceding decades. Such a change indicates a very heavy out-migration from at least some of the nonmetropolitan areas, for these areas have been noted for their yearly natural increase resulting from higher birth than death rates. An unusual drain of population did not occur in either the Northeast or the West, for each of these regions exhibits a pattern resembling that of the two preceding decades. It is the regions of the South and the North Center which appear to be the major locus of the change. The South changed from a rate of gain which was equal to the national rate in 1930–40 to a loss which was 0.2 times the national rate of gain. A similar though less drastic change took place in the North Center.

An examination of the ratios of the rates of growth of each of the losing regions to the national rate reveals that the greatest change has come about in the rate of growth of counties which contained no city or only very small cities. In the South, for example, the completely rural counties lost no population during the period of rapid urbanization of the 1920's and grew at almost three-fourths the national rate during the 1930's. Since 1940, however, this group of counties appears to have lost population at a rate which was slightly larger than the rate of growth of the national population. Although the rural counties of the North Center lost population during the 1920's and the 1930's, the rate of loss relative to the national rate of increase has increased almost fourfold since 1940, as compared to what it was in 1930–40. Similar though less drastic changes took place in the counties which contained cities of 2,500–4,999 inhabitants in 1940. Even the counties which contained cities of 5,000–9,999 inhabitants in 1940 have sustained, in both regions, sizable rates of loss since 1940. Conversely, the counties which contained cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants have suffered almost none of the loss experienced by the more rural areas. In relation to the national rate of growth, they have maintained their 1920–30 or their 1930–40 position. Although the counties which contain cities of 10,000–24,999 have not fared as well in these regions as the counties which contain even larger cities, they have fared much better than the less urbanized counties. The data presented here indicate that between 1940 and 1947 there was a wholesale desertion of the least urbanized parts of the Midwest and South. A similar though less intense change has taken place in the Northeast.[7]

In the West, nonmetropolitan regions have grown rapidly in keeping with the

[7] A review of two census releases, *Urban and Rural Residence, Age, Sex, Color, and Veteran Status of the Civilian Population of the United States* ("Current Population Reports; Population Characteristics: Series P-20," No. 9 [April, 1947]) and *Population Characteristics of Metropolitan Districts* ("Current Population Reports; Population Characteristics: Series P-21," No. 35 [April, 1947]), provides additional details of the rural-urban patterns of growth from 1940 to 1947.

trend for the entire region. Yet even here the nonmetropolitan areas containing large cities have grown faster than those which contain only small cities. Those which contain no city have actually lost population. A similar pattern, though one in which the differentials were far less than those of the 1940–47 period, existed during the two preceding decades. The data of Table 6 support and add detail to the generalization made earlier that the westward movement has ceased to be a movement to less intensively occupied land in this decade and has been primarily a movement toward metropolitan cities and urbanized areas. This sets a new pattern of growth.

TABLE 6

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS, 1940–47 COUNTIES, CLASSIFIED BY REGION AND BY SIZE OF THEIR LARGEST CITY, WITH CORRESPONDING CHANGES FOR 1930–40 AND 1920–30

Counties, Classified by Region and Size of Their Largest City	Percentage Change			Ratio of Percentage Change to National Rate of Growth during Same Period		
	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30
United States total	8.9	7.2	16.1	1.00	1.00	1.00
All Regions:						
Nonmetropolitan areas	*0.8*	*6.1*	*6.5*	*0.09*	*0.85*	*0.40*
25,000–49,999	13.0	9.9	17.1	1.46	1.38	1.06
10,000–24,999	6.5	7.9	13.1	0.73	1.10	0.81
5,000– 9,999	0.2	5.7	5.5	0.02	0.79	0.34
2,500– 4,999	− 3.3	4.8	2.3	−0.37	0.67	0.14
No city	− 9.2	3.2	− 0.6	−1.03	0.44	−0.04
Northeast:						
Nonmetropolitan areas	*3.6*	*4.1*	*5.7*	*0.40*	*0.57*	*0.35*
25,000–49,999	7.3	4.5	9.5	0.82	0.63	0.59
10,000–24,999	3.7	3.7	5.6	0.42	0.51	0.35
5,000– 9,999	− 0.3	3.5	2.6	−0.03	0.49	0.16
2,500– 4,999	− 1.8	4.9	0.4	−0.20	0.68	0.02
No city	1.1	6.1	2.0	0.12	0.85	0.12
North Center:						
Nonmetropolitan areas	*− 1.6*	*2.7*	*1.5*	*−0.18*	*0.38*	*0.09*
25,000–49,999	9.3	6.8	13.4	1.04	0.94	0.83
10,000–24,999	3.1	4.5	5.9	0.35	0.63	0.37
5,000– 9,999	− 1.9	3.8	− 1.1	−0.21	0.53	−0.07
2,500– 4,999	− 5.7	1.8	− 2.6	−0.64	0.25	−0.16
No city	−10.6	− 2.2	− 3.1	−1.19	−0.31	−0.19
South:						
Nonmetropolitan areas	*− 1.4*	*7.1*	*8.9*	*−0.16*	*0.99*	*0.55*
25,000–49,999	14.2	14.0	24.8	1.60	1.94	1.54
10,000–24,999	5.9	10.3	20.7	0.66	1.43	1.29
5,000– 9,999	− 1.8	6.2	10.9	−0.20	0.86	0.68
2,500– 4,999	− 3.7	5.2	5.0	−0.42	0.72	0.31
No city	− 9.4	5.2	0.2	−1.06	0.72	0.01
West:						
Nonmetropolitan areas	*15.5*	*15.5*	*15.9*	*1.74*	*2.15*	*0.99*
25,000–49,999	31.4	22.2	32.9	3.53	3.08	2.04
10,000–24,999	22.2	17.7	28.0	2.49	2.46	1.74
5,000– 9,999	18.1	13.7	10.8	2.03	1.90	0.67
2,500– 4,999	7.6	14.3	5.2	0.85	1.99	0.32
No city	− 5.9	9.3	3.9	−0.66	1.29	0.24

TABLE 7

ESTIMATED PERCENTAGE CHANGE IN THE POPULATION OF NONMETROPOLITAN CITIES AND THE REMAINDER OF NONMETROPOLITAN COUNTIES, 1940–47, BY SIZE OF CITY AND REGION, WITH CORRESPONDING CHANGES FOR 1930–40 AND 1920–30

Region, Size of Nonmetropolitan City and Remainder of Counties	Percentage Change			Ratio of Percentage Change to National Rate of Growth during Same Period		
	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30	1940–47	1930–40	1920–30
UNITED STATES TOTAL	8.9	7.2	16.1	1.00	1.00	1.00
ALL NONMETROPOLITAN AREAS	0.8	6.1	6.5	0.09	0.85	0.40
Cities	*15.5*	*9.2*	*22.0*	*1.74*	*1.28*	*1.37*
25,000–49,999	15.1	7.9	22.3	1.70	1.10	1.39
10,000–24,999	15.8	10.1	21.7	1.78	1.40	1.35
Remainder of counties containing cities of	*− 2.0*	*5.5*	*4.1*	*−0.22*	*0.76*	*0.25*
25,000 and over	11.4	12.3	13.2	1.28	1.71	0.82
10,000–24,999	0.6	6.4	8.2	0.07	0.89	0.51
Rural and urban under 10,000	− 4.2	4.6	2.3	−0.47	0.64	0.14
NORTHEAST	3.6	4.1	5.7	0.40	0.57	0.35
Cities	*7.6*	*1.2*	*8.4*	*0.85*	*0.17*	*0.52*
25,000–49,999	8.0	1.3	9.2	0.90	0.18	0.57
10,000–24,999	7.4	1.1	7.8	0.83	0.15	0.48
Remainder of counties containing cities of	*2.1*	*5.2*	*4.7*	*0.24*	*0.72*	*0.29*
25,000 and over	7.0	7.4	9.9	0.79	1.03	0.61
10,000–24,999	1.9	5.0	4.7	0.21	0.69	0.29
Rural and urban under 10,000	− 0.5	4.2	2.0	−0.06	0.58	0.12
NORTH CENTER	− 1.6	2.7	1.5	−0.18	0.38	0.09
Cities	*10.9*	*6.1*	*17.3*	*1.22*	*0.85*	*1.07*
25,000–49,999	11.1	5.3	19.4	1.25	0.74	1.20
10,000–24,999	10.7	6.6	15.7	1.20	0.92	0.98
Remainder of counties containing cities of	*− 4.3*	*2.0*	*− 1.3*	*−0.48*	*0.28*	*−0.08*
25,000 and over	6.8	8.6	6.6	0.76	1.19	0.41
10,000–24,999	− 2.4	3.1	− 0.3	−0.27	0.43	−0.02
Rural and urban under 10,000	− 5.9	1.2	− 2.2	−0.66	0.17	−0.14
SOUTH	− 1.4	7.1	8.9	−0.16	0.99	0.55
Cities	*19.4*	*16.7*	*36.8*	*2.18*	*2.32*	*2.29*
25,000–49,999	17.7	15.6	36.2	1.99	2.17	2.25
10,000–24,999	20.4	17.4	37.1	2.29	2.42	2.30
Remainder of counties containing cities of	*− 3.9*	*6.0*	*6.4*	*−0.44*	*0.83*	*0.40*
25,000 and over	11.5	12.1	16.4	1.24	1.68	1.02
10,000–24,999	− 1.9	7.1	13.9	−0.21	0.99	0.86
Rural and urban under 10,000	− 5.3	5.5	4.7	−0.60	0.76	0.29
WEST	15.5	15.5	15.9	1.74	2.15	0.99
Cities	*33.1*	*14.9*	*33.8*	*3.72*	*2.07*	*2.16*
25,000–49,999	33.2	10.2	30.8	3.73	1.42	1.91
10,000–24,999	33.1	18.4	36.3	3.72	2.56	2.25
Remainder of counties containing cities of	*11.4*	*15.7*	*12.3*	*1.28*	*2.18*	*0.76*
25,000 and over	30.2	34.4	33.8	3.39	4.78	2.10
10,000–24,999	14.9	16.8	23.5	1.67	2.33	1.46
Rural and urban under 10,000	6.7	12.3	6.7	0.75	1.71	0.42

GROWTH OF HINTERLAND CITIES

After inferring, from Table 6, that one of the requirements for the sustained growth of nonmetropolitan population seems to have been the presence of a sizable hinterland city, one should also ask the further question: Which part of such areas grew most rapidly—the large hinterland city or the remainder of the county which contains it? Table 7, which presents separate rates of growth for hinterland cities and the balance of the nonmetropolitan counties which contained cities of 10,000 or more in 1940, permits a tentative answer to this question. The nonmetropolitan cities of 10,000 or more grew by 15.5 per cent from 1940 to 1947. This was 1.74 times the national rate of growth, and a little less than the rate of growth for metropolitan areas. It also represented a considerable gain relative to the national rate of growth over the rate of growth of hinterland cities during the 1920–30 and the 1930–40 decades. That portion of the county which lay outside the cities made a much smaller gain, the larger gain taking place in the remainder of counties whose largest city was 25,000 inhabitants or more.

The hinterland (nonmetropolitan) cities have grown more rapidly in the South and West than in the Northeast and North Center. In no region does there appear to have been a great difference in the relative growth of hinterland cities which contained more and those which contained less than 25,000 inhabitants in 1940. In each case, the difference in growth rates between the two categories of counties lies in the tendency for the remainder of the counties containing cities of 25,000 or more inhabitants to grow more rapidly than the remainder of the counties whose largest cities are smaller than this.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

As an experiment in trying to keep better informed of current changes in population distribution, a fairly simple "extensive" technique of making postcensal population estimates was used to estimate the population, as of July 1, 1947, of several types of metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas in each of the states, geographic divisions, and regions. Rates of change since 1940 were computed for the population of each of these categories of area. These rates were compared with corresponding rates for the 1930–40 and 1920–30 decades. The estimates and estimated rates indicate that some very striking changes in the pattern of population growth have taken place since 1940. Yet the changes which are noted are all of the type that have taken place before; it is their intensity, the region of their occurrence, and the combinations in which they have taken place that distinguish them from trends in earlier decades.

Because this undertaking was experimental, and because a completely rigorous test of the estimating technique used cannot be made until after the 1950 census, the specific findings should be accepted with reservations. It is to be hoped that further experimentation will be made along these lines and that during the next decade an effort will be made to maintain current estimates of the major changes in population distribution.

SCRIPPS FOUNDATION FOR RESEARCH
IN POPULATION PROBLEMS

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1949

According to reports received by the *Journal* from 65 departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 92 doctoral degrees and 304 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1949.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

Salah El Wahab Abd, A.B. Cairo School of Social Work, 1943; M.A. North Carolina, 1946. "The Tennessee Valley Authority: Regional Study, Analysis and Application." *North Carolina.*

Robert A. Anglin, A.B. Evansville College, 1945; M.S.Ed. Indiana, 1946. "The Sociological Analysis of a Pressure Group." *Indiana.*

William S. Banks, A.B. Dillard, 1937; M.A. Fisk, 1940. "The Rank Order of Discriminations of Negroes in Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State.*

Bernard Barber, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1942, "'Mass Apathy' and Voluntary Social Participation in the United States." *Harvard.*

Edwin Theodore Bauer, A.B. Iowa Wesleyan College, 1928; M.A. Drake, 1935. "College and University Textbooks in Marriage and the Family: An Analysis of their Conceptual Content and Organization." *Iowa.*

Eleanor Bernert, A.B. North Carolina, 1942. "The Chicago Labor Force, 1910–40." *Chicago.*

Hubert Bonner, A.B. Ohio State, 1925; A.M. Ohio State, Harvard, 1926, 1929. "Paranoia and Paranoid Condition: A Social-psychological Study of the Paranoic Personality." *Chicago.*

Chandra M. Chattergee, B.A., M.A. Lucknow, U.P., India, 1927, 1929. "Relationship of Hindu Festivals to Rural Life in the United Provinces." *Cornell.*

Sister May Roderic Chisholm, F.S.P.A., A.B. Mount Mary College, 1943. "Ideological Implications of Current Definitions of a Social Problem." *Catholic.*

Robert C. Clark, M.S. Ohio State, 1938. "Factors Associated with Satisfaction Success and Performance of 4-H Club Volunteer Leaders in New York State, 1946–48." *Iowa State.*

John Clausen, A.B., A.M. Cornell, 1936, 1939. "Soldiers' Plans and the Prediction of the Postseparation Activities of Veterans." *Chicago.*

Emilio Cofresi, A.B. West Virginia, 1927; M.A. Illinois, 1932. "Differential Fertility in Puerto Rico." *Duke.*

Tilman C. Cothran, M.A. Indiana, 1942. "Negro Stereotyped Conceptions of White People." *Chicago.*

Orrie M. Dalton, M.A. Chicago, 1946. "A Study of Informal Organization among the Managers of an Industrial Union." *Chicago.*

F. James Davis, A.B. Iowa, 1941. "The Iowa Juvenile Court Judge: A Study in Role Conception and Definition." *Iowa.*

William J. Dee, B.S.J., A.M. Washington (St. Louis), 1935, 1939. "The Social Effects of a Public Housing Project on the Immediate Community." *Chicago.*

Bernard N. Desenberg, A.B. Stanford, 1937; M.A. Southern California, 1940. "Study of Trends and Textbooks in the Family Area." *Ohio State.*

Otis Dudley Duncan, A.B. Louisiana State, 1941; A.M. Minnesota, 1942. "An Examination of the Problem of Optimum City Size." *Chicago.*

Richard Edward Du Wors, A.B. Bates College, 1939; M.A. Harvard, 1943. "Values as an Heuristic Concept in Community Analysis: A Comparative Study." *Harvard.*

Rosalind Falk Dymond, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1945, 1946. "Empathic Ability: An Exploratory Study." *Cornell.*

Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, A.B., S.T.L. Woodstock College, 1936, 1944; A.M. Fordham, 1941. "The White-Collar Worker on Wall Street." *Harvard.*

Vernon Fox, A.B., M.A. Michigan State College, 1940, 1943. "Impact of the War on a State Prison Serving an Industrial Area." *Michigan State College.*

Felton Dale Freeman, A.B., M.A. North Caro-

lina, 1940, 1947. "Attainable Program of Intercultural Relationships in the United States." *North Carolina.*

William A. Gaines, A.B., M.A. Pennsylvania, 1932, 1933. "Some Social Aspects of Auxiliary Punishments in the United States." *Pennsylvania.*

Hugh Ghormley, M.S. Iowa State, 1945. "Changing Profile of Church Leadership in Polk County, Iowa." *Iowa State.*

Arnold Green, A.B. Clark, 1937; M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1939. "Henry Charles Carey—Mid-Century American Sociologist." *Pennsylvania.*

Edward Gross, A.B. British Columbia, 1942; M.A. Toronto, 1944. "Iniormal Relations and the Social Organization of Work in an Industrial Office." *Chicago.*

William H. Hale, B.S. Langston, 1940; M.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "The Career Development of the Negro Lawyer in Chicago." *Chicago.*

Frank Hartung, A.B. City College of Detroit, 1933; A.M. Michigan, 1934. "A Study in Law and Social Differentiation as Exemplified in Violations of the Emergency Price Control Act of 1942 and the Second War Powers Act, in the Detroit Wholesale Meat Industry." *Michigan.*

David Lincoln Hatch, A.B. Dartmouth College, 1933; M.A. Harvard, 1948. "Changes in Structure and Function of a Rural New England Community since 1900." *Harvard.*

Louisa Pinkham Holt, A.B., A.M. Radcliffe College, 1937, 1939. "Psychoanalysis and the Social Process." *Radcliffe College.*

Carl Edward Hopkins, A.B. Dartmouth College, 1933; M.A. Harvard, 1935. "Harvard Pediatric Service: An Experiment in Directed Social Change in Organization for Medical Care." *Harvard.*

Bernard L. Hormann, A.B., M.A. Hawaii, 1927, 1931. "Extinction and Survival: A Study of the Reaction of Aboriginal Populations to European Expansion." *Chicago.*

Richard Allen Hornseth, B.A. Carroll College (Waukesha), 1937; M.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "An Index of Negro-White Discrimination: A Critique." *Wisconsin.*

Paul B. Horton, A.B. Kent State, 1939; M.A. Duke, 1941. "Marriage Conceptions of 400 Marriage License Applicants." *Ohio State.*

Lawrence R. Hugo, A.B., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1941. "Food Patterns and Their Relation to Urbanism." *Pittsburgh.*

Alex Inkeles, B.A., M.A. Cornell, 1941, 1946. "Mobilizing Public Opinion in the Soviet Union." *Columbia* [1948].

Julius Jahn, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1938, 1942. "Principles and Methods of Area Sampling Applied to a Survey of Employment, Housing, and Place of Residence of White and Nonwhite Ethnic Groups in Seattle, Washington, July–October, 1947." *Washington (Seattle).*

John James, B.S. Connecticut, 1936; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1942. "An Experimental Study of Tensions in Work Behavior." *Washington (Seattle).*

Noni Gopal Dev Joardar, B.A., M.A. Calcutta, 1917, 1923. "The Indian Christians of Lucknow." *Yale.*

Harry Morton Johnson, A.B., M.A. Harvard, 1939, 1942. "The Fall of France: An Essay on the Social Structure of France between Two Wars." *Harvard.*

Joseph Herman Johnson, A.B. Richmond, 1927; M.A. North Carolina, 1933. "Social Control of Syphilis: A Study of the Alabama Program." *North Carolina.*

Ira O. Jones, Ph.B. Chicago, 1916; M.A. Omaha, 1938. "Sociological Factors Influencing Guidance Counseling in a Midwest Metropolitan High School." *Nebraska.*

Rigdon Wayne Kernodle, A.B., M.A. North Carolina, 1943, 1945. "The Effect of World War II on the Incidence of Marriage in the Hampton Roads–Peninsula Area." *North Carolina.*

Lewis M. Killian, A.B., M.A. Georgia, 1940, 1941, "Southern White Laborers on Chicago's West Side." *Chicago.*

Peter Klassen, A.B. Denison, 1931; M.A. Chicago, 1938. "Internal Migration in Relation to Literacy and Language." *Chicago.*

Bernard Lander, A.B. Yeshiva College, 1936; M.A. Columbia, 1943. "A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in Baltimore." *Columbia.*

S. Martin Lipset, B.S. City College of New York, 1943. "Agrarian Socialism, a Study of the Co-operative Commonwealth in Saskatchewan." *Columbia.*

George A. Lunday, A.B., M.A. Hardin-Simmons, 1938, 1941. "A Study of Parole Prediction." *Chicago.*

Rita LeBille Lynn, A.B. Trinity College (Washington, D.C.), 1943; M.S.S.W., Catholic, 1945. "The National Catholic Community Service." *Catholic.*

Rev. Leo Martin, S.J., B.A. Loyola (Chicago),

1940; M.A. Fordham, 1943. "Causal Theory in Sociology." *Fordham.*

Walter T. Martin, B.A., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1943, 1947. "Rural-Urban Fringe: A Study of Adjustment Patterns in a Marginal Area." *Washington (Seattle).*

Milton A. Maxwell, B. A. Elmhurst College, 1929; M.A. Texas, 1944. "Social Factors in the Alcoholics Anonymous Program." *Texas.*

James E. McKeown, A.B., M.A. Wayne, 1941, 1945. "The Dynamics of the Childhood Families of Small, Highly Selected Groups of Male and Female Schizophrenics, Behavior Problems and Normals." *Chicago.*

Omar Moore, A.B. Doane College, 1942; A.M. Washington (St. Louis), 1946. "Schemes for the Classification of Empirical Concepts: With Special Application to Those of Sociology." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Sister Miriam Therese Murphy, B.A. Trinity College (Washington, D.C.), 1932; M.A. Columbia, 1933. "The Study-Action Group in the Co-operative Movement." *Fordham.*

Morton D. Nachlas, A.B. Johns Hopkins, 1939; B.D. Meadville Theological School, 1942; M.A. Ohio State, 1946. "A Study of Attitudes of Parents and Others toward Religious Instruction in the High School." *Ohio State.*

Charles W. Nelson, B.S. Oregon, 1940; M.A. State College of Washington, 1942. "Development and Evaluation of a Leadership Attitude Scale for Foremen." *Chicago.*

Esko Newhill, M.A.Ed. Syracuse, 1948. "Status and Role of the Public School Teacher in a Small Community." *Syracuse.*

Rev. William Nolan, S.J., B.Litt. Xavier, 1931; M.A. Loyola, 1938. "Communist Propaganda and Tactics among Negroes in the United States." *Fordham.*

John E. Owen, A.B. Duke, 1943; M.A. Southern California, 1946. "Sociological Theory of Leonard T. Hobhouse." *Southern California.*

Frank L. Parks, B.A. and B.E., M.A. Colorado, 1929, 1932. "The University Community Assessed in Relation to Mental Health." *Washington (Seattle).*

Harald Ansgar Pedersen, B.A. New Mexico College, 1939; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "Acculturation among Danish and Polish Ethnic Groups in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Samuel Perlman, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1926; Rabbi & M.H.L. Jewish Institute of Religion, 1930. "Guiding Youth for Work and Citizenship: A Study of the National Youth Administration Resident Centers of New Jersey." *Columbia.*

Edward W. Pohlman, A.B. Emmanuel Missionary College, 1937; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "Social Class Organization among the Hindus." *Ohio State.*

Albert J. Reiss, Jr., A.B. Marquette, 1944; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "The Accuracy, Efficiency, and Validity of a Prediction Instrument." *Chicago.*

Bernard Rosenberg, B.A. Michigan, 1945; M.S.Sc. New School. "Thorstein Veblen in the Light of Contemporary Social Science." *New School.*

Alvin H. Scaff, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1936, 1946. "The Internment Camp: A Sociological Analysis of Collective Behavior in the Civilian Internment Camps in the Philippines." *Texas.*

Eugene Victor Schneider, A.B. New Jersey State Teachers College, 1942; M.A. Harvard, 1948. "Ideology and Social Action." *Harvard.*

Alfred Charles Schnur, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1941; Ph.M. Wisconsin, 1944. "The Validity of Parole Selection in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Rev. Andrew L. Seebold, S.M., A.B. Dayton, 1934; M.A. Catholic, 1943. "Social-Moral Reconstruction According to the Writings and Works of William Joseph Chaminade (1761–1850)." *Catholic.*

Ethel Shanas, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1935, 1937. "The Personal Adjustment of Recipients of Old Age Assistance with Special Consideration of the Methodology of Questionnaire Studies of Older People." *Chicago.*

Harold Lloyd Sheppard, M.A. Chicago, 1945. "Managerial Sociology: A Critical Commentary on the Mayo Influence in Industrial Sociology." *Wisconsin.*

Robert L. Skrabanek, B.S., M.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1942, 1947. "Social Organization and Change in a Czech-American Rural Community: A Sociological Study of Snook, Texas." *Louisiana State.*

Erwin Smigel, A.B. North Carolina, 1939; M.A. New York, 1942. "Unemployed Veterans in New York City: A Study of Unemployment in the Midst of Job Plenty." *New York.*

Anna Greene Smith, A.B. Cumberland College, 1928; M.A. George Peabody College, 1936. "Fifty Years of Southern Writing." *North Carolina.*

Harvey L. Smith, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1941,

1947. "The Sociological Study of Hospitals." *Chicago.*

Allen Spitzer, A.B. Rollins College, 1934; M.A. Stanford, 1944. "Social Change in a University Town: An Ecological Inquiry into Disorganizational Patterns in Palo Alto, California, 1940–47." *Stanford.*

Donald Dean Stewart, B.A., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1935, 1940. "Local Board: A Study of Volunteer Participation in a System of Military Conscription." *Columbia.*

Robert C. Stone, A.B. California, 1940; A.M. Chicago, 1946. "Vertical Mobility and Ideology: A Study of White-Collar Workers." *Chicago.*

Bartlett Hicks Stoodley, A.B., Dartmouth, College 1929; LL.B., M.A. Harvard, 1932, 1947. "The Theoretical System of Sigmund Freud and Social Motivation." *Harvard.*

Herbert E. Stoss, A.B. Baker, 1938; B.D. Southern Methodist, 1941. "Community Integration and the Church in Colorado." *Denver.*

John L. Thomas, A.B. St. Louis, 1933; A.M. Montreal, 1936. "Factors Involved in the Breakdown of Catholic Marriage." *Chicago.*

F. Bernadette Turner, B.S. Minnesota, 1926; M.A. Northwestern, 1938. "College and University Courses on the Family." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Parin H. Vakharia, B.A. St. Xavier's College (Bombay), 1943; M.Sc. New York School of Social Work, 1948. "Child Care in India." *New School.*

Gerard H. Veringa, Studies at University of Groningen (Holland); M.A. Fordham, 1947. "From General to Special Prevention: The Development of Child Legislation in the Netherlands." *Fordham.*

Alexander S. Vucinich, B.A. University of Belgrade, Yugoslavia, 1938; M.A. California, 1940. "Yugoslav Society: The Tribal Period." *Columbia.*

Eugene Wilkening, B.S., M.A. Missouri, 1937, 1939. "The Acceptance of Certain Agricultural Programs and Practices in a Piedmont Community of North Carolina." *Chicago.*

Josephine J. Williams, A.B. Bryn Mawr College, 1933; A.M. Radcliffe College, 1935. "The Professional Status of Women Physicians." *Chicago.*

Sister Frances Jerome Woods, C.D.P., A.B. Our Lady of the Lake College, 1940; M.A. Catholic, 1945. "Mexican Ethnic Leadership in San Antonio, Texas." *Catholic.*

Donald Wray, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1940, 1942. "The Foreman in Modern Industry." *Chicago.*

Douglas S. Yamamura, B.E., M.E. Hawaii, 1938, 1941. "A Study of Some Factors Contributing to the Status of Contemporary Hawaiians." *Washington (Seattle).*

MASTER'S DEGREES

Lilialyce Sink Akers, B.A. Wheaton College, 1942. "A Sociological Analysis of the Peasant-Land Relationship in Three Balkan Countries." *Kentucky.*

Joan Aldous, B.A. Kansas State College, 1948. "UNESCO: A Sociological Analysis." *Texas.*

Bilquis Fatima Muhammed Ali, B.A., M.A. Osmania University, India. "The Pakistan Reform Movement." *Columbia.*

Douglas Anderson Allred, B.S. Brigham Young, 1947. "An Investigation of Some of the Conditions Relative to the Behavior of Adult Probationers of Provo City, Utah, over the Ten-Year Period 1938–47, Inclusive." *Brigham Young.*

Martin S. Allwood, B.A., M.A. Cambridge, England, 1938, 1947; M.A. Stockholm, Sweden, 1942. "Eilert Sundt, a Pioneer in Sociology and Social Anthropology." *Columbia.*

Albert Altman, B.S. City College of New York, 1942. "The Israel Commune: A Nonauthoritarian Rational Economy." *Columbia.*

Maurine Marjorie Anderson, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1941. "Those Who Can: A Sociological Study of the Exodus from the Teaching Profession." *Colorado.*

Amalia Angeloni, A.B. Connecticut, 1947. No thesis. *Connecticut.*

Ruth Stoneman Atkins, B.A. Kent State, 1948. "A Comparison of Negro Prejudice and Its Correlates in Kentucky and Massachusetts College Students." *Kentucky.*

Robert Badinter, A.B. Sorbonne (Paris), 1947; LLB. Paris, 1948. "Leadership in Informal Groups: A Study in Methodology." *Columbia.*

Henry Bagish, A.B. California (Santa Barbara), 1948. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles).*

Robert Ketcham Bain, A.B. Chicago, 1947. "A Study of the Social Factors of the Work Situation." *North Carolina.*

Charlotte Marie Bakken, B.A. Montana State, 1944. "Preliminary Investigation at the Outlet Site (DA 3)." *Wisconsin.*

David Bass, A.B. Lincoln, 1942. "A Study of a Negro Residential Suburb." *Chicago.*

Grace D. Beacham, A.B. Texas, 1938. "A Statistical and Sociopsychological Analysis of Ethnic Groups in the American Southwest, with Special Emphasis on the Social Position of the Negro." *Texas.*

Rev. Theodore L. Beauchamp, B.Litt., B.Theol. Montreal, 1926, 1932. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Howard Becker, Ph.B. Chicago, 1946. "The Professional Dance Musician in Chicago." *Chicago.*

Leopold Becker. "The Characteristics of 'Racial Jokes': A Preliminary Analysis (Report)." *Chicago.*

Sylvia Berry, A.B. Wayne, 1946. "A Study of the Social Characteristics and Types of Adjustment of Migrants to Detroit." *Wayne.*

Arthur Bierman. "A Sociological Analysis of Affiliation and Subsequent Disaffiliation of a Group of American Intellectuals with Marxism (Report)." *Chicago.*

Joseph N. Bivona, A.B. Alabama, 1947. "A Study of 322 Federal Juvenile Offenders Appearing before the United States District Court, Northern District of Alabama, 1938–47." *Alabama.*

James Edward Blackwell, B.S. Western Reserve, 1948. "A Comparison of Five Negro 'Store-Front' Churches in Cleveland." *Western Reserve.*

Marilyn A. Blake, A.B. Michigan, 1944. "A Study of the Relationships between Costs and Complaints of the Wayne County Juvenile Court, 1920–45." *Wayne.*

Leonard U. Blumberg, A.B. Wayne, 1947. "A Study of the Interrelationship between Mental Deficiency and Juvenile Delinquency." *Wayne.*

Edgar Borgatta, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1947. "The Social System of a Garment Plant in New York City." *New York.*

Sybilla Ruth Bostwick, B.S. Purdue, 1943. "A Study of the Movie Habits of the Fifth-, Sixth-, and Seventh-Grade School Pupils of the Public Schools of Lafayette, Indiana." *Purdue.*

Elise Boulding, A.B. New Jersey College for Women. "Factors in Family Situations Which Influence the Course of Adjustment to War Separation and Reunion." *Iowa State.*

Faye McClellan Boyer, B.A. Prairie View A. & M. College, 1944. "The Association of Mental Health and Behavior Characteristics of Elementary-School Pupils." *Prairie View A. & M. College.*

Bernard Thomas Boyle, B.A. Florida, 1947. "The Social Philosophy of *Rerum novarum* and Its Metaphysical Basis." *Florida.*

Charles Peter Brambilla, A.B. St. Michael's College, 1947. "Adjustment and Development of the Boys at Father Flanagan's Boys' Home of Boys Town, Nebraska." *Catholic.*

Charles L. Braucher, B.S. Philadelphia College of Pharmacy and Science, 1947. "The Social Composition of the National Political Conventions of 1948." *Nebraska.*

Norman Brice, A.B. Cornell College, 1947. "Homogamy in Temperament and Marital Success." *Chicago.*

Orville G. Brim, Jr., B.A. Yale, 1947. No thesis. *Yale.*

Charles Browning, A.B. Bethany-Peniel College, 1944. "Comparative Study of Family Adjustment and Home Conditions in Families Where There Is Delinquency and Where There Is None." *Southern California.*

Louise Browning, B.S. Utah, 1947. "The Effects of War on Children and Family Life in Metropolitan Salt Lake." *Utah.*

John W. Buck, B.S. Purdue, 1940. "The Indiana Forger: A Sociological Study." *Chicago.*

Jack Vincent Buerkle, B.S. Illinois, 1948. "Subjectivity and Objectivity in Sociology." *Illinois.*

Alice Chialing Bumgardner, B.Com. National Fuh Tan University (Chungking). "Emphasis on Scholarship as One of the Most Important Factors Underlying China's Backwardness in Economic Life." *Cornell.*

John H. Bunzel, B.A. Princeton, 1948. "Some Socialist Stock-taking on England's Nationalization Program." *Columbia.*

Peter Edward Burtchaell, B.A. Florida, 1947. "Economic Change and Population at Cedar Key." *Florida.*

Rebecca Eleanor Busch, A.B. Louisville, 1946. No thesis. *Western Reserve.*

S. Francis Camilleri, A.B. Los Angeles City College, 1947. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles)*

Mabel Carlson, A.B. Omaha, 1940. "Certain Areas in Which Omaha High-School Youths Desire Counsel." *Omaha.*

Frances F. Carter, B.A. Rice Institute, 1920. "Problems of American Youth in Fact and Fiction." *Texas.*

Barbara Jean Chartier, A.B. Coe College, 1947. "Weaverton: A Study of Culture and Per-

sonality in a Southern Mill Town." *North Carolina.*

Charlotte H. Chen, A.B. St. Johns (Shanghai), 1947. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Mary Aileen Childers, A.B. Texas, 1948. "E. R. Groves: Pioneer in Marriage and Family Counseling." *Texas.*

Arnold Chinkers, B.S. Niagara, 1948. "A Sociological Analysis of Public Recreation in Niagara Falls, New York." *Purdue.*

Jay B. Christensen, B.S. Utah State Agriculture College, 1941. "A Study of the Religious Practices and Activities of the Married Students on the Campus of the University of Wyoming." *Brigham Young.*

Iris Elaine Clarke, B.A. Prairie View A. & M. College, 1942. "Relations of Operator and Laborer in Rice Culture." *Prairie View A. & M. College.*

Louise R. Cochran, A.B. Kansas, 1945. "The Nondirective Interview as a Social Research Technique." *Kansas.*

Arthur R. Cohen, B.A. George Washington, 1948. "A Qualitative Study of Some Trade-Union Intellectuals." *Columbia.*

Bernard Cohen, A.B. Pittsburgh, 1928. "Social Welfare Attitudes among Jews in Los Angeles since 1920." *Southern California.*

Helen Cohn, A.B. Georgia State Women's College, 1946. "Tactics and Ideologies as They Affect the Growth of Selected Southern Social Movements." *Tulane.*

Brother Cornelius Malachy Collins, F.S.C., B.B.A. Manhattan College, 1935. "A Survey of the Discussion of Some Current Social Questions in Selected Catholic Periodicals." *Catholic.*

John P. Condon, Diploma, University of Athens, 1942. "Labor-Management Relations in Britain's Nationalized Coal Industry." *Columbia.*

Leonard Conner, B.S. Springfield College, 1947. "Comparison of Attitudes of Selected Secretaries and Board Presidents in YMCA." *Southern California.*

William F. Conner. "A Statistical Analysis of the Social Characteristics of Nonrespondents in a Study of Old Age." *Chicago.*

Sister Mary Lourdine Cooke, R.S.M., A.B. St. Xavier College, 1946. "The Expansion of the Social Ideals of Mother Mary C. McAuley in the Work of the Sisters of Mercy of the Union in the United States." *Catholic.*

Robert T. Coughlin, B.S. Wayne, 1940. "A Study of the I Am Cult in Detroit." *Wayne.*

Albert Newton Cousins, A.B. Ohio State, 1942. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Betty L. Cowan, B.S. Lincoln, 1941. "The Relationship between the Incidence of Juvenile Delinquency and Substandard Housing." *Michigan.*

Ward Cramer, A.B. Ohio State, 1948, "An Exploratory Study of the Social and Personal Characteristics of Forty-nine Socioeconomically Privileged Children." *Ohio State.*

Samuel S. Crandell, A.B. Hobart College, 1947. "Individualism versus Collectivism in Wage Incentives (Report)." *Chicago.*

Afton Pope Crocker, B.S. Utah, 1946. "A Study of Desertion during the Prewar, War, and Postwar Periods, Salt Lake County, 1939–48." *Utah.*

William T. Cullen, Jr., A.B. College of the Holy Cross, 1943. "A Sample Study of the Integration of Moral and Religious Values in the Opinion of College Students." *Catholic.*

Jean Adams Curtis, A.B. Wisconsin, 1939. "The Social Effects of Microphotograhy." *Chicago.*

Doris Taylor Daniels, A.B. Texas, 1948. "The Use of Sociograms in Education from the Sociological Standpoint." *Texas.*

David Darvin, B.A. Wayne, 1948. "Science, Sociology, and Social Action." *Indiana.*

Gladys Evelyn David, A.B. North Carolina, 1947. "A Preliminary Inquiry into the Jewish Culture as a Folk Society Surviving and Flourishing within the State Society." *North Carolina.*

James S. Davie, B.A. Yale, 1948. No thesis. *Yale.*

Joan Day, B.S. Ithaca College, 1944. "Levels of Living and Supervisors' Ratings of New York Families on the Rural Rehabilitation Program in 1942." *Cornell.*

Ralph Walter Detrick, B.S. Indiana State Teachers College, 1943. "Motivation in Social Psychology." *Wisconsin.*

Roy H. Dickerson, B.A. Yale, 1947. No thesis. *Yale.*

Simon Dinitz, B.A. Vanderbilt, 1947. "The Role of Alcoholics Anonymous as a Therapeutic Agent." *Wisconsin.*

John Thomas Doby, B.A. Union College, 1946. "The Lawyer as a Political Leader." *Wisconsin.*

Ellen Easley, B.A. Baylor College, 1931. "A Study of Group Adjustment in a Summer Camp for Girls." *Minnesota.*

Edmund R. East, A.B. Brown, 1938. "A Study

in Prediction of Correctional Institutional Adjustment." *New Hampshire.*

Evelyn Thayer Eaton, A.B. California, 1942. "The Concept of Milieu in Catholic Action." *Catholic.*

Albert Elias, A.B. Michigan, 1946. "Class Intermarriage in an Urban Area." *Chicago.*

John Morris Ellis, A.B. Sam Houston State College, 1943. "A Study of Recent Data on Internal Migration Differentials." *Texas.*

Sidney Epstein, LL.B., B.A. Boston, 1925, 1947. "The Communal Colonies of Palestine: Description and Analysis." *Columbia.*

Georgia Ethridge, A.B. Vassar College, 1946. "Editorial and News Coverage of a Selected Issue by Two Knoxville Newspapers." *North Carolina.*

Werdna Wayland Eure, B.S. Virginia Polytechnic Institute, 1943. "A Study of Social Participation in the Vale Neighborhood of Fairfax County, Virginia." *Wisconsin.*

William M. Evan, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1946. "Experimental Method in Sociology: An Examination of Some Problems and a Classification of Experiments." *Nebraska.*

Bernard Farber, A.B. Central YMCA College, 1943. "A Study of Dependence and Decision-making in Marriage." *Chicago.*

Buford E. Farris, A.B. Texas, 1948. "An Institutional Approach to the Texas Cattle Ranch." *Texas.*

Ann Faust, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1947. "A Study of Social Stratification in St. Louis." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Marvin Michael Feuers, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1948. "A Tentative Approach to the Theory of Social Evolution." *Columbia.*

Glen Harry Fisher, A.B. Manchester College (Manchester, Ind.), 1945. "American-Mexican Culture Contacts in a Mexican Village." *North Carolina.*

Herbert Fisher, A.B. Harvard, 1948. "Interviewer Bias in the Recording Operation." *Chicago.*

Michael J. Flach, A.B. Iowa, 1948. "Changes in Attitudes in an Extended Extreme Situation." *Iowa.*

Charles W. Fogleman, B.A. Louisiana College, 1930. "The Negro Baptist Churches in East Baton Rouge Parish; A Socioreligious Study of Their Structures and Functions." *Louisiana State.*

William S. Folkman, B.S. Utah State Agriculture College, 1940. "An Inquiry into the Acceptance of a Governmental Agency: The Soil Conservation Service." *Utah.*

Robert Forman, B.A. Minnesota, 1948. "Informal Social Participation in a Homogeneous Neighborhood." *Minnesota.*

Sidney A. Forsythe, A.B. Kentucky, 1942. "A Study of the Backgrounds and Contributions of Forty-four Letter-writers to the *Louisville Courier Journal* 'Point of View' Column." *Louisville.*

Irving A. Fowler, A.B. Wayne, 1947. "A Small Plant: Its Structure and Social Relations." *Wayne.*

Grace Renee Fox, B.A. Utah, 1947. "The Use of the Fine as Punishment in the Administration of Criminal Justice." *Utah.*

Henry Clay Franklin, A.B. Southern California, 1948. "A Critical Analysis of Theories and Tests of Attitudes." *Southern California.*

Miriam Schnaper Friedman, B.A. New Jersey College for Women, 1947. "Occupational Mobility of Oxford and Cambridge Students between 1752 and 1886." *Kentucky.*

Eugene A. Friedmann. "Some Patterns of Personal Adjustment in Old Age." *Chicago.*

Lawrence Garfinkel, B.B.A. City College of New York. "A Study of the Out-Patient Population of Sydenham Hospital." *Columbia.*

Gilbert L. Geis, A.B. Colgate, 1947. "A Study of Racial Attitudes and Problems in the Educational Program, Provo City, Utah." *Brigham Young.*

Thomas Albert Gilliam, A.B. Columbia, 1941. "Children of Divorced Parents: Conflict of Jurisdiction between Divorce and Juvenile Courts and Proposed Changes." *Colorado.*

Erving Goffman, A.B. Toronto, 1945. "Some Characteristics of Responses to Depicted Experience," *Chicago.*

Charlotte Gilson Gordon. "Effect of Changing Family Roles on Division of Household Duties: An Aspect of Adjustment to Veteran-Student Families." *Chicago.*

Raymond Gordon. "A Study of the Relationship between Verbal Expression of Attitude and the Individual's Conception of Group Norms." *Chicago.*

Marilyn Graalfs, B.A. Mills College, 1946. "A Sociometric Study of Chinese Students in a Polyethnic High School." *Washington (Seattle).*

L. Saxon Graham, B.A. Amherst College, 1943. No thesis. *Yale.*

Robert Mack Gray, B.S. Utah, 1949. "A Study of the Utah State Bureau of Criminal Identification and Investigation." *Utah.*

Virginia Anne Green, B.A. Shorter College, 1945. "The Relation of Personal-Social Problems of Lebanon High School Students to Religious Affiliation." *Vanderbilt.*

Marian Griffith, A.B. Omaha, 1949. "Religious Drama." *Omaha.*

Keith S. Griffiths, B.A. Washington (Seattle), 1947. "The Construction of a Scale To Measure Attitudes toward Defined Racial and Religious Groups." *Washington (Seattle).*

Leon M. Guber, B.S.Com. Temple, 1942. No thesis. *Temple.*

Joseph Gusfield, B.Ph. Chicago, 1946. "Social Role of the Aged in an Urban Society." *Chicago.*

Robert W. Habenstein, A.B. Bowling Green, 1941. "A Sociological Study of the Cremation Movement in the United States." *Chicago.*

Richard William Haley, B.S. Black Hills Teachers College, 1948. "Recreation in the Thirty-one Reformatories of the Elmira Type." *Colorado.*

Mildred Hamann, A.B. South Dakota, 1942. "Indexes of Growth of Total Population in Los Angeles, County, City and Metropolitan Area." *Southern California.*

Eva Hancock. B.S. Utah, 1927. "The Personnel Practices of Twenty-six Health and Welfare Agencies Employing One or More Professional Workers in Salt Lake City, 1948–49." *Utah.*

Robert Heimann, A.B. Princeton, 1948. "Recurrent Themes as Seen Reflected in Contemporary Cinema: A Content Film Analysis." *New York.*

Florence Marie Hennessy, B.S. College of Charleston, 1943. "The Family Rosary and Its Social Implications as Revealed by the Family Rosary Crusade of Rev. Patrick Joseph Peyton, C.S.C." *Catholic.*

Andy F. Henry. A.B. Ohio State, 1942. "An Examination of the Relationship between Orderliness, Obstinacy, and Parsimony." *Chicago.*

Virginia Hertzler, B.A. Lindenwood College, 1947. "A Sociometric Study of Japanese Students in a Polyethnic High School." *Washington (Seattle).*

Gordon K. Hirabayashi, B.A. Guilford College, 1947. "A Sociometric Study of University of Washington Students of Japanese Ancestry." *Washington (Seattle).*

Lorna Holbrook, B.A. Columbia, 1947. "The Machiavellian Myth." *Columbia.*

Charles Holzinger. "Acceptance-Rejection of Belief in Equal Opportunity." *Chicago.*

Harold Scott Huff, B.S. Oregon, 1940. "The Relationship between Church Participation and Personality Adjustment of High-School Students in a Rural Community." *Wisconsin.*

Robert L. Ignasiak, B.S. Michigan State College, 1947. "The Ukrainians in Lansing, Michigan: The Study of an Ethnic Group." *Michigan State College.*

Nancy Koplin Jack, A.B. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1943. "The Process of Ethnic Integration in a Small Urban Community." *Pennsylvania State College.*

Bernard J. James, B.A. Minnesota, 1948. "A Study of the Concepts of Bureaucracy." *Minnesota.*

Warren E. James, B.S.Ed. Ohio State, 1947. "Drug Addiction and Social Participation." *Ohio State.*

Gwendolyn Z. Johnson, A.B. Howard, 1947. "The Transformation of Juvenile Gangs into Accommodated Groups: A Study of Eight Boys' Gangs in Washington." *Howard.*

Walter L. Johnson, B.A. Yale, 1948. No thesis. *Yale.*

Denis Johnston, A.B. California, 1947. "The Ideal Type of Max Weber." *Oregon.*

Elinor F. Jones, A.B. Iowa, 1945. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Eric Josephson, A.B. New York, 1947. "Community Study in Rural Connecticut. *Columbia.*

Herman M. Katz, B.S. New Jersey State Teachers College, 1948. "Structural Factors in Union Militancy: A Case Study of Bloomingdale's Department Store and Local No. 3 Department Store Independent." *Columbia.*

Bernice E. Kaye, A.B. Indiana, 1948. "Differential Association as a Factor in the Smoking and Drinking Behavior of College Women." *Indiana.*

Edward R. Kaynor, B.A. Yale, 1948. No thesis. *Yale.*

Suzanne Becker Keller, A.B. Hunter College, 1948. "Food Habits and Social Class." *Columbia.*

Edith Semat Kemp, A.B. North Carolina, 1947. "A Critical Evaluation of the Applica-

tion of Anthropological Field Techniques to the Study of Modern Society." *North Carolina.*

August F. Kerber, B.S.Ed. Wayne, 1941. "A Study of the American Catholic Sociological Society." *Wayne.*

Richard K. Kerckhoff, A.B. Kent State, 1942. "Race Labeling by Columbus Newspapers." *Ohio State.*

William H. Key, A.B. Southwest Missouri State College, 1942. "A Study of a Religious Institution and Its Relation to the Area in Which It Is Located." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Lewis G. Kidder, A.B. Akron, 1943. "Adjustment Process Found in Experiences of Twenty Formerly Delinquent Boys during and Following Probation." *Southern California.*

Harvey King, A.B. Prairie View A. & M. College, 1948. "Social Patterns of Behavior Revealed in Selected Race Restriction and Resultant Sociological Adjustment." *Southern California.*

Shu-chuang Lu King, A.B. Shanghai, 1937. "The Methods of Psychiatric Social Work in America and Their Application to Modern China." *Oregon.*

Christopher H. Kokolakis, B.S. Alabama, 1947. "A Comparative Analysis of the Results of Probation in Two Groups of Adult Probationers." *Alabama.*

Rev. Benedict Kominiak, O.S.B., B.Ph., S.T.L. Ottawa, 1941, 1943; S.T.D. Catholic, 1948. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Mary Elizabeth Kopley, A.B. Antioch College, 1938. "A Study of Attitudes toward Job Security and Advancement." *Stanford.*

Leo Kuper, A.B. Witwatersrand, 1927. "Aspects of Radio Research: The Chapel Hill Radio Project, 1948." *North Carolina.*

Lawrence B. Lawson, A.B. Toronto, 1927. "Treatment of the Negro by the Chicago White Press." *Chicago.*

Roger L. Leatherman, A.B. Ohio State, 1948. "A Scheme for Artifact Classification." *Ohio State.*

Ruth Vick Leeth, B.S. Alabama, 1942. No thesis. *Alabama.*

Gerard E. Lenski, B.A. Yale, 1947. No thesis. *Yale.*

Edith Lentz, A.B. Chicago, 1947. "Steelville: A Study of Voting Behavior in One Industrial Community." *Chicago.*

Gerald R. Leslie, A.B. Ohio State, 1948. "A Study of Authoritarian versus Equalitarian Family Ideology in a Selected Group of College Students at the Ohio State University." *Ohio State.*

Helen Matthews Lewis, A.B. Georgia State College for Women, 1946. "The Woman Movement and the Negro Movement—Parallel Struggles for Rights." *Virginia.*

Jo Carolyn Lewis, A.B. Texas College of Arts and Industry, 1944. "An Ecological Study of Selected Social Problems in Durham, North Carolina." *Duke.*

John Thomas Liell, B.A. Hofstra College, 1948. No thesis. *Yale.*

Emerson B. Lindamood, A.B. Ohio State, 1946. "Marital Status of 531 Ohio State Graduates of 1939 and Factors Apparently Affecting Their Status." *Ohio State.*

Harry Littmann, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1941. "The Negro Physician, His Training and Status." *New York.*

David O. Lloyd, B.A. Brigham Young, 1948. "A Comparison of the Visiting Habits of Married Couples Living in a Veterans' Housing Project with Married Couples Living in Apartment Houses: A Study in Social Distance." *Brigham Young.*

William Cushing Loring, Jr., A.B. Harvard, 1935. No thesis. *Harvard.*

Dan C. Lortie, A.B. McGill, 1947. "Doctors without Patients: The Anesthesiologist, a New Medical Speciality." *Chicago.*

Harold Moses Love, B.S. Tennessee State College, 1939. "A Study of Social Factors Associated with Lapsed Life Insurance Policies." *Fisk.*

Albert Edsin Lovejoy, A.B. North Carolina, 1947. "An Inquiry into Certain Aspects of the Culture of American 'Friends' as a Symbol of the Folk Society within the State Society." *North Carolina.*

Elmer Luchterhand, B.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "The Nazi Concentration Camps: A Study in Survival and Rebellion." *Wisconsin.*

Amos H. Lytton, A.B. Akron, 1946. "Marriage during the Selective Service Era in Chicago." *Chicago.*

John H. Mabry, A.B. Iowa, 1948. "The Feasibility of Constructing a Quantifiable, Semi-projective Measuring Procedure for the Analysis of Conceptions of Self-Attitudes in Relation to Parental Attitudes." *Iowa.*

L. Malcolm McAfee, B.A. Chicago, 1944; B.D. Yale, 1946. No thesis. *Yale.*

Glenn C. McCann, B.A. Colorado, 1947. "Some Aspects of Social Origins in Carbondale,

Colorado, 1887–1949: A Study of Proposals and Subsequent Developments." *Colorado.*

Mary Cooley McCarthy, S.B. Radcliffe College, 1942. "Moral Judgments of Children by Age, Sex, and Class." *Indiana.*

Jack McCrary, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1948. "Neighboring among Ethnic Groups in Dallas." *Southern Methodist.*

Rev. Alonzo Joseph McDonnell, C.S.P., B.Com., Toronto, 1932. "The Problem of Full Production and Full Employment: A Study Involving a Consideration of Four Theories of Economic Policy." *Catholic.*

Herbert F. McFadden, B.S. Michigan State College, 1920. "A Study of the Central Unit of the Ecclesiastical Corporation of Prophet Jones." *Wayne.*

James B. McKee, A.B. Wayne, 1943. "An Investigation of the Structure of Power in Organized Agriculture in Michigan." *Wayne.*

Muriel Mackeprang, A.B. Hope College, 1944. "Comparison of Marital Adjustment in Couples in One Group of Which the Wife Is Employed." *Southern California.*

William Mark McKinney, B.A. New School, 1948. "Regional Differences in American Higher Education." *Florida.*

Herbert Malley, B.A. California, 1937. "The Social Role of the California Medical Association." *California (Berkeley).*

Jerome G. Manis, A.B. Wayne, 1947. "Situational and Personal Factors Associated with the Publication Productivity of Social Scientists after Entrance into the Academic Field." *Chicago.*

Natalie Siao-Sieu Mao, A.B. Shanghai, 1936. "Ceremonies and Rites of Chinese Marriage (before Republic)." *Catholic.*

Jack C. Maret. "An Analysis of a Selected Set of Population Characteristics by Areas of Commutation to the Central Business District of Chicago." *Chicago.*

Henry H. Marter III, A.B. Wesleyan, 1940. No thesis. *Temple.*

Caterina Edda Elena Martinez, B.A. Queens College (Flushing, N.Y.), 1947. "The Influence of Italian-Americans on the 1948 Elections in Italy: A Study of Immigrant Pressures upon the Homeland." *Cornell.*

Marie Mason, A.B. Meredith College, 1947. "Rural Family Health in a Selected County in Kentucky." *Kentucky.*

Ernest R. Meyers, A.B. Coe College, 1948. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Isadore Meystel, A.B. Roosevelt College, 1947. "Social Factors in the Low Incidence of Inebriation in the Jewish Community." *Chicago.*

David O. Moberg, B.A. Seattle Pacific College, 1947. "Measurement of Attitudes toward the Teaching of Courses in Religion at the University of Washington." *Washington (Seattle).*

Horace W. Mooney, B.A. California (Berkeley), 1947. "The Applicability of the "Discriminant Function" in Dealing with Qualitative Data." *Washington.*

Catharine Baker Moore, B.A. Cedar Crest College, 1946. "A Sociological Analysis of a Federated Women's Club and Its Community Setting." *Kentucky.*

Gladys Morrison, Certificate, London School of Economics, 1941. "An Analysis of Demographic Data of Jamaica, West Indies, as a Background for a Study of Public Health Problems." *Syracuse.*

J. Joel Moss, B.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "A Comparison of the Attitudes of Two University Housing Groups of Married Veterans concerning Family Size and Family Limitation Techniques." *Brigham Young.*

James A. Moss, B.A. New School, 1948. "Effect of Racial Discrimination on the Aspiration Level of the Negro." *Columbia.*

Harold A. Mulford, A.B. Morningside College, 1947. "Bench Parole: A Study of Its Organization and Administration in Iowa." *Iowa.*

Emmett J. Murphy, A.B. Emory, 1948. "An Approach to the Study of Negro Aggression: A Design for Use with the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis." *Emory.*

Kenneth Martin Neilson, B.S. Utah, 1945. "A Sociopsychological Study of Disabled Veterans in Training at the University of Utah." *Utah.*

Ni Ni, B.A. Rangoon, 1943; B.S. Columbia, 1948. "A Suggested Program of Rural Reconstruction for Lower Burma Villages." *Columbia.*

Walter Murray North, A.B. College of William and Mary, 1947. "Concept of the Folk in the Writings of Selected Sociologists and Anthropologists." *North Carolina.*

Richard T. Oldham, B.S. Washington (St. Louis), 1948. "Readings in Introductory Sociology." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Donald Warren Olmsted, B.A. Wisconsin, 1942. "An Analysis of Indicators of Academic Ability of Physical Science and Social Science Undergraduates at the University of Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Leona Ormond, A.B. Oregon, 1948. "Child Labor in Oregon." *Oregon.*

Robert Stanley Ort, B.S. Purdue, 1949. "A Study of Role Conflicts as Related to Happiness in Marriage." *Purdue.*

Revius O. Ortique, Jr. A.B. Dillard, 1947. "Severity of Punishment and Economic Status of States." *Indiana.*

Norman Painter, A.B. Baylor, 1947. "The Assimilation of Latin-Americans in New Orleans, Louisiana." *Tulane.*

Neil M. Palmer, A.B. Texas, 1947. "An Approach to the Ecology of the Lower Rio Grande Valley." *Texas.*

Libbie Parke, A.B. Omaha, 1941. "A Survey of the Leisure-Time Activities of Elementary Schools." *Omaha.*

Jaya Patel, A.B. Bombay, 1947. "A Sociological Study of Mahatma Gandhi's Doctrine of Nonviolence." *Syracuse.*

Jesse A. Pavis, A.B. George Washington, 1942. "The Development of Segregation in the District of Columbia." *Howard.*

Raymond Payne, B.S.A. Kentucky, 1948. "A Study of Prestige of Organizations in Four Kentucky Counties." *Kentucky.*

Judson B. Pearson, B.A., M.P.S. Colorado, 1946, 1947. "An Evaluation of the Theoretical Bases of the Industrial-Relations and 'Human-Relations-in-Industry.'" *Colorado.*

Roland J. Pellegrin, B.S. Louisiana State, 1947. "A Sociological Analysis of Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana: A Study in Social Structure and Organization." *Louisiana State.*

John Albert Pennock, B.S. Utah, 1948. "A Study of the Sexual Attitudes and Behavior of Two Hundred Single College Men." *Utah.*

Barbara Perkins, A.B. Connecticut, 1947. No thesis. *Connecticut.*

Margaret Ruth Perkinson, B.S. Western Reserve, 1947. No thesis. *Western Reserve.*

Joe H. Perry, A.B. Alabama, 1947. "The Institutional Adjustment of Adult Federal Offenders." *Alabama.*

Warren A. Peterson, B.S. Western Michigan College, 1941. "A Study of Occupational Evaluation: Comparative Preference for Independent and Nonindependent Occupations." *Chicago.*

Phillip M. Pittenger, A.B. Evansville College, 1948. "An Analysis of Available Jobs and Some Factors Affecting Work Assignments of Inmates at the Indiana State Penal Farm." *Purdue.*

Richard Pivetz, M.A. Buffalo, 1949. "Evaluation of Teaching Procedures through Group-Measurement Research." *Buffalo.*

Shirley B. Poffenburger, B.A. Colorado, 1944. "Effect of First Pregnancy on Marriage Adjustment." *Michigan State College.*

Thomas Poffenburger, B.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "Marriage Problems during the Pregnancy Period." *Michigan State College.*

Blaine M. Porter, A.B. Brigham Young, 1947. "A Comparative Study of the Marriage and Family Counseling Centers Which Are Formally Organized in the United States." *Brigham Young.*

Dalton Potter, B.S. Chicago, 1942. "Some Aspects of the Social Organization of the Elite in Chicago." *Chicago.*

H. H. Potter, A.B. Sir George Williams College (Montreal), 1945. "Occupations of Montreal Negroes." *McGill.*

Helen Powell, B.A. Trinity, 1946. "Social Worker—Man or Superman?" *Columbia.*

Narbadeshwar Prasad, B.A. Benares Hindu, 1944; M.A. Patna College, 1946. "Studies in the Hindu Caste System." *Columbia.*

Arthur E. Prell, A.B. Redlands, 1948. "A Time Sequence Study of the Development of Urban Communities." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Emogene Broadhead Prescott, B.S. Alabama, 1943. "An Evaluation of the Treatment Program of the Alabama Boys' Industrial School." *Alabama.*

Albert C. Pryor, Jr., A.B. Le Moyne College, 1943. "The Reactions of Negro Veterans to Their Military Experiences." *Chicago.*

Edwin M. Quinn, A.B. Southwestern (Memphis, Tenn.), 1947. "Fraternity Membership and the Conforming Personality." *Chicago.*

Richard S. Rarick, A.B. Panhandle A. & M. College, 1944. "The Consolidation and Development of an Informal Play Group." *Kansas.*

Sylvia H. Ratner, M.B.A. Michigan, 1941. "The Effects of Radio Music: A Survey of Listeners of Station WQXR." *Columbia.*

Robert V. Reed, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1947. "Factors Associated with Willingness To Participate in Intergroup Activities." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Leo G. Reeder. "Significant Factors in the Grievance Process (Report)." *Chicago.*

Jessie Reichel, B.A. Indiana, 1946, "A Study of In- and Out-Group Choices of High-School Students of Jewish Background." *Washington (Seattle).*

George Henry Reid, A.B. Virginia Union, 1936. "Negro Gains in the United States, 1933–45." *Columbia.*

Telli Riemersma, B.S. Technische Hoogeschool, Delft, 1943. "Calvinism and Commercial Capitalism in the Netherlands, 1550–1650." *California (Berkeley).*

Walt P. Risler, A.B. Upsala College, 1948. "Familiocentrism: Prolegomena to an Extensive Study." *Chicago.*

Williard E. Rodd, A.B. Southern Illinois, 1948. "Materials and Examinations for an Introductory Course in Sociology." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Jerome Rosenbaum, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1947. "A Programmatic Analysis of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." *Columbia.*

Frank Ross, A.B. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1931. No thesis. *Western Reserve.*

Jean M. Rustin, A.B. Iowa, 1948. "The Duties and Responsibilities of the Graduate Nurse in the Publicity Supported American Medical Institution: A Study of Status and Role-playing." *Iowa.*

James William Ryan, A.B. Siena College, 1947. "Claude McKay—Negro Poet and Racial Thinker." *Catholic.*

David J. Scheider, B.S. Bus. Admin., Notre Dame, 1947. No thesis. *Fordham.*

Leonard Schmidt, A.B. Tennessee, 1940. "Recreation Habits of Children in High-School Communities of Hamilton County." *Tennessee.*

Robert J. Schmidt, B.S. Minot State Teachers College, 1946. "Differential Aspects of Church and Sunday-School Attendance Reported by Farm Families in Three Iowa Counties." *Iowa State.*

Goldelie Schneider. "A Study in the Changes in Housing Conditions in Relation to the Negro Invasion into a Section of the North Lawndale Community of Chicago." *Chicago.*

Julia Schuler, A.B. Iowa, 1948. "Adjustment to Barracks Living in Terms of the Personal-Social Framework of Barracks Population." *Iowa.*

Robert Grissom Schultz, A.B. Florida, 1947. "A Study of the Reactions of Southern Textile Communities to Strikes, 1929–40." *North Carolina.*

Taylor C. Scott, B.A. Florida, 1947. "The Mennonites of Sarasota, Florida." *Florida.*

Fred Shanley, B.A. Notre Dame, 1935. "Application of the Techniques of Scale Analysis to the Investigation of the Attitudes of a Group of University of Washington Students toward the Sociology Teaching Process." *Washington (Seattle).*

Mildred Cooley Shaw, A.B. Northwestern, 1948. "An Investigation of the Reliability of a Content Analysis Technique." *Northwestern.*

Edith Mary Sherman, B.M.E. Colorado, 1939. "A Study of Family and Institutional Care of the Aged in the City of Denver." *Denver.*

James F. Short, Jr., A.B. Denison, 1947. "Foster Park Baptist Church: The Study of a Church and Its Community." *Chicago.*

Lucile Shropshier. "Juvenile Delinquency among Negroes in Jacksonville, Florida, 1940–47." *Omaha.*

James Silverberg, B.A. Wisconsin, 1947. "The Cultural Position of the Kickapoo Indians." *Wisconsin.*

Pauline Jedlik Sinclair, B.A. Iowa State, 1926. "The Social Service Exchange: Its Policies and Uses." *Utah.*

Robert Henderson Smith, B.A. Southern, 1947. "Property as a Criterion of the Integration of the Negro into American Society." *Illinois.*

Ted Clifford Smith, B.A. Utah, 1948. "A Study of the Functional Role of Social Psychology in Secondary-School Instruction." *Utah.*

Charles R. Snyder, B.A. Yale, 1944. No thesis. *Yale.*

Norman Frank Solomon, B.A. Florida, 1947. "A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in Dade County, Florida." *Florida.*

Otto L. Sonder, Jr., B.A. American, 1948. "Social Status in a University Veterans' Community, 1949." *Bucknell.*

Barbara E. Sternberg, B.A. London, 1947. "Toward an Urban Sociology of Denver." *Denver.*

Gertrude Dole Stevens, A.B. Middlebury College, 1937. "Application of Content Analysis Technique to Anthropological Field Needs." *North Carolina.*

Murray Arnold Straus, B.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "Mental Ability, Residence, and Social Class as Factors in the Occupational Choice of Wisconsin High-School Seniors." *Wisconsin.*

Marvin B. Sussman, B.A. New York, 1941. No thesis. *Yale.*

Alma Gardner Swenson, B.S. Utah, 1940. "A Comparative Study of the School and Vocational Adjustments of East High School Pupils with and without Work Permits." *Utah.*

Esther F. Talcott, A.B. Fenn College, 1942. "The Origins of Industrial-Social Welfare Leadership in a Midwestern Community." *Iowa.*

Florence M. Tam, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan, 1947. "The Role of Personnel Services in the Maintenance of Employee Morale: A Case Study in the Personnel Policies and Practices of the Quaker Oats Company, Cedar Rapids, Iowa." *Iowa.*

Judith Tannenbaum, A.B. Hunter College, 1947. No thesis. *Radcliffe College.*

Ruby Oncken Taylor, A.B. Texas, 1945. "Attitude-Value Systems and Sociocultural Change: An Analysis of Race Relations in the South." *Texas.*

Safiye Bilge Temel, A.B. Brown, 1948. "Greek-Turkish Population Exchange: An Analysis of the Conflict Leading to the Exchange." *Stanford.*

Milton Henry Tew, B.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "Some Socioeconomic Background Factors and Problems of Adjustment of Recipients of Old-Age Assistance in Tippecanoe County, Indiana." *Purdue.*

Jackson Toby, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946. No thesis. *Harvard.*

John Tracey, A.B. Lincoln (Lincoln University), 1940. "Class Differentials as Exhibited in Teen-Age Groups." *New York.*

Sister M. Corleen Trares, S.N.D., B.S.E. Sisters College (Cleveland), 1936. "The Effect of Poor Home Environment on the Educational Progress of the Young Child." *Catholic.*

Harrison Miller Trice, B.S. Louisiana State, 1946. "A Sociological Approach to Labor Turnover." *Wisconsin.*

George Paul Vuckan, B.S. Appalachian State Teachers College, 1942. "An Atlas for Orange County, North Carolina." *North Carolina.*

Andrew L. Wade, A.B. Linfield College, 1947. "The Training and Practice as Marriage Counselors of Protestant Ministers in Four Oregon Cities." *Oregon.*

Kwei-Lin Wang, A.B. West China Union, 1943. No thesis. *Iowa.*

Kenneth E. Wepprecht, B.S.Ed. Illinois State Normal, 1948. "Trends in Women's Page of a Selected Newspaper." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Albert F. Wessen, B.A. Yale, 1948. No thesis. *Yale.*

Charles M. Westie, B.S.Ed. Central Michigan College, 1945. "The Reactions of Railroad Workers to Technological Change." *Ohio State.*

Elijah White, B.S. Memphis State College, 1946. "The Family Migrant Zone of Cleveland, Ohio." *Chicago.*

Marguerite B. Whitten, B.S. Southern Methodist, 1942. "An Occupational Study of Elevator Girls in Dallas, Texas." *Southern Methodist.*

Ernst A. Wiener, B.A. Queens College (Flushing, N.Y.), 1947. "The Sociological Theory of Hans Freyer: A Critical Examination." *Columbia.*

Harold L. Wilensky, A.B. Antioch College, 1947. "Local 166: A Study of a Union's Influence on the Political Orientation of Its Membership." *Chicago.*

Raymond Wilkie, A.B. Louisville, 1947. "A Study of Comic-Strip Reading in Louisville, Kentucky." *Louisville.*

Frank Richard Willsey, Jr., B.S.A. Purdue, 1935. "Accidents to Farm People in Selected Indiana Counties." *Purdue.*

Theodore William Wirths, B.A. Yale, 1947. "Expressions of Faculty Members at a Southern University on Proposals To Admit Negro Students." *Kentucky.*

Dorothy Thomas Wiseman, A.B., B.S. Youngstown College, 1942, 1943. No thesis. *Western Reserve.*

Irving M. Witt, A.B. California, 1942. "The Division of Labor between Student Husbands and Their Employed Wives." *Chicago.*

George K. Yamamoto, A.B. Hawaii, 1947. "Social Adjustment of Caucasian-Japanese Marriages in Honolulu." *Hawaii.*

Basil Zimmer, A.B. Michigan, 1947. "A Study of Family Migration and Mobility." *Michigan.*

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN SOCIOLOGY

The following list of doctoral dissertations in preparation in universities and colleges in the United States is compiled from returns sent by twenty-nine departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 215. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them. Because an increasing number of departments no longer require a thesis for the Master's degree, our Editors have decided to discontinue the listing of Master's candidates.

Everett Merle Adams, Jr., A.B. Doane College, 1945. "Social Stratification as an Institutional Pattern." *Harvard.*

Franz Adler, Dr. Jur. Vienna, 1933; M.A. American, 1942. "The Diffusion of Legal Systems." *Wisconsin.*

Leta Adler, B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1942; M.A. Washington State, 1946. "A Quantitative Research in Social Behavior." *Wisonsin.*

Wylie Alford, A.B., M.A. Texas Christian, 1948, 1949. "Scientific Study of Social Change." *Duke.*

Charles H. Anderson, B.S., M.S. Utah, 1940, 1942. "Social Structure of the 'Arid West.'" *Harvard.*

George W. Baker, A.B. Delaware, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "A Sociocultural Study of Representational Patterns of Selected Social Groups: An Analysis of Symbol Systems in Terms of Structure and Function of Concrete Social Groups in the Housing Process." *North Carolina.*

Henry Allen Baker, B.A. Kansas, 1935. "Urban Consumer Co-operatives." *Yale.*

George W. Barclay, B.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1945. "A Demographic Study of Taiwan (Formosa) as a Case of Colonial Development." *Princeton.*

Russell, Bayliff, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1929; S.T.B. Boston, 1932; M.A. Ohio, 1939. "Factors in the Marital Adjustment among Industrial Workers." *Ohio State.*

Margaret M. Bedard, B.A. Montreal, 1937; M.A. Catholic, 1946. "A Sociological Analysis of Best Sellers, 1940–47." *Catholic.*

John Belcher, B.S. Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1943; M.S. Louisiana State, 1945. "Urbanization and Secularization in the United States." *Wisconsin.*

Ivan C. Belknap, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1940, 1944. "Age-Role Sequence Analysis in Sociology." *Texas.*

John R. Bergrand, B.S., M.S. Texas Technological College, 1940, 1941. "Selected Social and Psychological Factors Related to Academic Success in a School of Agriculture." *Cornell.*

John Bethune, A.B. Franklin and Marshall College, 1935; M.A. Theological Seminary, Lancaster, Pa. *Pittsburgh.*

Don Blackiston, A.B. Illinois College, 1930; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "The Judge, the Defendant, and Criminal Law Administration," *Chicago.*

Herman D. Bloch, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1938. "The Negro and Socioeconomic Discrimination in the City of New York." *New School.*

Jean K. Boek, B.S. Cornell, 1946; M.A. Michigan State, 1948. "Dietary Practices of Participants and Nonparticipants in the Farmers' Home Administration Program." *Michigan State College.*

Walter E. Boek, B.S. Cornell, 1946; M.A. Michigan State, 1948. "Evaluation of the Farmers' Home Administration Program in the Community of Reading, Michigan," *Michigan State College.*

Selma M. Borchardt, A.B. Syracuse, 1922; M.A. Catholic, 1937. "The American Child and the Law: A Study of the Laws Affecting the American Child, from Colonial Times to the Present Day, and an Interpretation of the Social Trends Reflected in Those Laws." *Catholic.*

Alvin Boskoff, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1945; M.A. Columbia, 1948. "Prerequisites for a Sociological Theory of Planning: A Structural Functional Approach." *North Carolina.*

John O'Hara Boynton, A.B., M.A. Florida State, 1934, 1946. "Function of the 'Poor

White' in the American Race Problem." *Duke.*

Earl D. C. Brewer, B.D. Emory, 1941; M.A. Duke, 1947. "Church and Sect in American Methodism." *North Carolina.*

Margaret L. Bright, A.B. California, 1941; M.A. Missouri, 1944. "The Occupational Choices of High-School Juniors and Seniors." *Wisconsin.*

James C. Brown, B.A. Minnesota, 1946. "Cooperative Group Formation: A Problem of Social Engineering." *Minnesota.*

James Stephen Brown, A.B. Berea College, 1937; M.A. Harvard, 1941. "The Social Organization of an Isolated Kentucky Mountain Neighborhood." *Harvard.*

Roy Buck, B.A., M.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1942, 1947. "Identification Differential in a Minnesota Trade and Service Area." *Minnesota*

Robert P. Bullock, A.B., M.A. Colorado State College, 1928, 1932. "Social Correlates of Job Satisfaction." *Ohio State.*

John N. Burrus, B.A. Mississippi, 1942; M.A. Louisiana State, 1944. "Differential Mortality in Mississippi." *Louisiana State.*

Frank Alan Burtner, Jr., A.B., M.A. Texas, 1938, 1939. "The Changing Structure of American Regionalism." *North Carolina.*

William B. Cameron, B.A., M.A. Butler, 1943. "Insecurity." *Wisconsin.*

Bernard Moffett Cannon, A.B. Wofford College, 1941; A.M. Harvard, 1948. "Differential Factors Which Impede or Promote Unionization in Two Southern Textile Mills." *Harvard.*

Harold R. Capener, B.S., M.S. Utah State College, 1942, 1946. "Social Processes in a Community Program." *Cornell.*

Eugene W. Carlen, A.B. Dayton, 1929; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1945. "Theory of Social Change and the Writing of Pius XII." *Pittsburgh.*

Harriet Carr, A.B. New York, 1939; M.S.S.W. Catholic, 1944. "A Study of Discriminatory Practices Relative to Jewish People in Semi-public Institutions." *Catholic.*

Betsey P. Castleberry, B.A. Christian College, 1928; B.S. Missouri, 1932; M.S. Louisiana State, 1942. "The Social Psychology of Clothing Behavior." *Michigan State College.*

Ai-li S. Chin, A.B. Wellesley College, 1941; M.A. Radcliffe College, 1943. "Ideology of Stratification in China's 'New Literature.'" *Radcliffe College.*

Courtney Cleland, B.A. Carleton College, 1942. "A Sociological Critique of the 'Co-operative Movement' in Minnesota." *Minnesota.*

Albert Kircidel Cohen, A.B. Harvard, 1939; A.M. Indiana, 1942. "Juvenile Delinquency and the Social Structure." *Harvard.*

Martin L. Cohnstaedt, B.S. Rutgers, 1941; M.A. North Carolina, 1943. "Social Movements in Rural America." *Wisconsin.*

A. Lee Coleman, B.A. Emory, 1938; M.A. North Carolina, 1940. "The People's View of the Extension Service in Relation to Extension Objectives and Problems." *Cornell.*

Klara R. Cook, Dr.Theol. Zurich, 1945. "Sociological Interpretation of Marxism." *Wisconsin.*

Albert Newton Cousins, A.B. Ohio, 1942. "The Stability of the Urban Family Unit." *Harvard.*

Boyce Harry Creamer, A.B. Furman, 1939; M.A. Tennessee, 1947. "The Ecological Position and Structure of Durham, North Carolina." *Duke.*

Donald R. Cressey, B.S. Iowa State College, 1943. "Violation of Financial Trust." *Indiana.*

John Richard Crist, A.B. Pacific College, 1943; M.A. Iowa, 1944. "A Study of the Dating Complex of High-School Students." *Missouri.*

Mrs. Jerry Daniel, A.B. Antioch College, 1936; M.A. North Carolina, 1941. "Cultural-Intellectual Status of North Carolina." *North Carolina.*

Morris J. Daniels, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1941; M.A. Texas, 1942. "The Relation of the Means-End Schema and the Structural-Functional Approach." *Texas.*

R. G. Davis, B.A., M.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1939, 1941. "Value Systems and the Socialization Process in a Rural Chinese Village." *Michigan State College.*

LeRoy J. Day, B.A. Minnesota, 1939; B.D. Colgate-Rochester Divinity School, 1943; M.A. Wisconsin, 1944. "Town-Country Community: A Restudy of Community Relations in Walworth County, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

William A. DeHart, B.S. Brigham Young, 1937; M.A. Minnesota, 1941. "Factors Influencing the Attitudes of Wisconsin Rural Youth toward Farming, Rural Life, and Education." *Wisconsin.*

Sidney Denman, A.B. Mississippi College, 1947.

"Community Conflict and the Repatterning of Social Relationships." *Duke.*

Ralph W. Detrick, B.S. Indiana State Teachers College, 1943; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "Some Aspects of Motivation in Voting Behavior." *Wisconsin.*

Roy H. Dickerson, B.A. Yale, 1947. "Kinship as Affecting Adult Behavior in Modern American Society." *Yale.*

Simon Dinitz, B.A. Vanderbilt, 1947; M.S. Wisconsin, 1949. "The Tavern as a Factor in Various Forms of Social Disorganization." *Wisconsin.*

Robert Miller Dinkel, A.B. Notre Dame, 1930; M.A. Minnesota, 1937. "Factors in Regional Fertility Changes, 1910–40." *North Carolina.*

John T. Doby, B.A. Union College, 1946; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "The Influence of Prejudice in Perception." *Wisconsin.*

Floyd Dotson, B.A. Reed College, 1942. "The Associations of City Workers." *Yale.*

Joseph T. Drake, B.S. Davidson College, 1934; M.A. North Carolina, 1940. "Sociology of the Retirement of Aged Farmers." *North Carolina.*

Willis J. Dunn, B.A. Asbury College, 1935; M.A. Michigan State College, 1937. "A Study of Secularization in Rural Protestant Areas of Isabella County, Michigan." *Michigan State College.*

Glaister A. Elmer, A.B., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1946, 1947. "Measurement of Social Cohesiveness of an Industrial Community." *Ohio State.*

Hugo B. Engelman, B.A. Wisconsin, 1941. "The Theory of Social Cultural Change." *Wisconsin.*

Jean-Charles Falardeau, L.Ph., L.Soc.Sci. Laval University, 1941. "Sociological Study of a French-Canadian Urban Parish." *Chicago.*

Abbott Lamoyne Ferriss, B.J. Missouri, 1937; M.A. North Carolina, 1943. "North Carolina Trade Centers, 1910–40; The Changing Pattern of Economic Services." *North Carolina.*

Father Albert Sidney Foley, A.B., M.A. St. Louis, 1936, 1948. "The Border City Church and the Negro." *North Carolina.*

Clinton L. Folse, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State, 1932, 1935. "Differential Fertility in Illinois." *Louisiana State.*

Rev. David H. Fosselman, C.S.C., A.B. Notre Dame, 1939; M.S.S.W. Catholic, 1947. "Transitions in the Development of a Downtown Catholic Parish: A Study of Adaptations to Ecological Change in St. Patrick's Parish, Washington, D.C." *Catholic.*

Roy G. Francis, B.A. Linfield College, 1946; M.A. Oregon, 1948. "Some Methodological Problems in the Theory of Prediction." *Wisconsin.*

Francis J. Friedel, A.B. Dayton, 1917; M.A. Catholic, 1935. "Institutional Patterns." *Pittsburgh.*

Carl Martin Frisen, A.B. College of the Pacific, 1939; M.A. Northwestern, 1941. "The Postcensal and Intercensal Estimation of the Populations of Certain Areas by the Use of Mortality Data." *Stanford.*

Harold Garfinkel, B.S. Newark, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1942. "The Jew from a Phenomenological Standpoint." *Harvard.*

Ann Garver, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1945. "Intervening Opportunities: A Study Relating Mobility and Distance." *Minnesota.*

Rev. William T. Gaughan, C.M.A.B. St. Mary's Seminary, 1938; M.A. De Paul, 1946. "The Social Theories of St. Antoninus." *Catholic.*

Nathan Goldman, A.B., A.M. Clark, 1929, 1930. "The Differential Selection of Juvenile Offenders for Court Appearance." *Chicago.*

John R. Gordon, A.B., M.A. Baylor, 1929, 1932. "The Public Education Movement in the United States." *Texas.*

Bernard J. Gorrow, B.S. New York State Teachers College (Buffalo), 1942; M.A. St. Lawrence, 1944. "The Social and Cultural Dynamics of the Mexican Revolution of 1910." *Nebraska.*

John A. Griffin, A.B., M.A. Emory, 1935, 1938. "The Study of Adult Education in Georgia." *Wisconsin.*

John Griswold, B.A. Montana, 1940; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1946. "Subregional Migration, Washington State, 1935–40." *Washington (Seattle).*

George Herbert Grosser, Vienna, 1937; M.A. Harvard, 1943. "Social Structure and Its Influence on Types of Juvenile Delinquency." *Harvard.*

Sister M. Jeanine Gruesser, O.S.F., B.S.Ed. St. Clare College, 1938; M.A. Catholic, 1942. "Categorical Valuations of Views among Catholic Parochial School Children." *Catholic.*

Malak Guirguis, B.S. Cairo, 1946; M.S. Wisconsin, 1948. "The Effectiveness of the Social Interrelation of Schizophrenics To Carry Normal Social Relationships." *Wisconsin.*

Herbert L. Hackett, A.B. Drury College, 1938; M.A. Michigan, 1939. "The Processes of Communication in Teaching Social Sciences." *Michigan State College.*

Michael Hakeem, B.S. Soc. Ad., M.A. Ohio State, 1942, 1945. "Comparisons of Judgments on Parole Outcome and Bases for Judgments by Laymen, Classification Experts, Parole Officers, and Prisoners." *Ohio State.*

William Harlan, A.B., M.A. Nebraska, 1938, 1940. "A Study in Changing Characteristics in Old Age." *Chicago.*

Vladimir E. Hartman, A.B. Oklahoma Baptist, 1937; M.A. Drew, 1944. "Newland and the Old Fields of Toe." *North Carolina.*

Edwin R. Hartz, A.B. Southeast Missouri State Teachers College, 1933; B.D., M.A. Duke, 1937, 1938. "Family Life Institute as a Movement." *Duke.*

David Henderson, A.B. Westminster College (New Wilmington, Pa.) 1938; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1941. "Social Status and Mobility of Scholastically Superior Youth." *Pittsburgh.*

Andy Henry, A.B. Ohio State, 1942; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Nature of the Relation between Suicide and Business Fluctuations in the United States and Great Britain." *Chicago.*

Hilda Hertz, A.B. Skidmore College, 1942; M.A. Duke, 1944. "Language and Race Relations." *Duke.*

Adelaide Cromwell Hill, A.B. Smith College, 1944. "The Relation of Minority Status to the Acceptance of Values." *Radcliffe College.*

Gisela J. Hinkle, B.S. American, 1946; M.A. Indiana, 1948. "The Role of Freudianism in American Sociology." *Wisconsin.*

Roscoe Hinkle, Jr., B.A. Elizabethtown College, 1943; M.A. Minnesota, 1948. "Theories of Social Stratification in Recent American Sociology." *Wisconsin.*

Linwood Hodgdon, B.A. American International College, 1941; M.A. Michigan State College, 1947. "Medical Needs of the People in Michigan: A Study of Methodology and Ecology." *Michigan State College.*

Rev. Robert L. Hoggson, S.J., A.B., M.A., Ph.L. St. Louis, 1936, 1939, 1938; S.T.L. Woodstock College, 1945. "Alcoholics Anonymous: A Study in Group Solidarity." *Fordham.*

John B. Holland, B.A. Tulsa, 1942; M.A. Michigan State College, 1946. "The Relationship of Social Structure to Attitudes toward Minorities." *Michigan State College.*

Walter Hollman, B.S. St. Lawrence, 1939; M.A. Columbia, 1940. "The Limits and Distribution of the Population of Metropolitan Chicago." *Chicago.*

John W. Hoskins, A.B. Georgetown College, 1939; A.M. George Peabody College, 1940." "Differential Achievement of the Socioeconomic Classes, Male Undergraduates of Indiana University, 1948 and 1949." *Indiana.*

Ruth A. Hudson, B.A. Rockford College, 1943; M.A. Columbia, 1944. "The Shop Steward: A Study in the Significance of Social Role." *Yale.*

Alexander J. Humphreys, S.J., A.B., M.A. Gonzaga, 1937, 1938. "Differentials in the Relationship between Family and Community." *Harvard.*

Fred Ikle, M.A. Chicago, 1949. "A Study of Decentralization in European Cities with Particular Emphasis on the Impact of War and the Influence of Transportation." *Chicago.*

Alver H. Jacobson, B.S., M.A. Miami (Oxford, Ohio), 1937, 1939. "Divorce and Culture Conflict." *Ohio State.*

Clarence Johanson, B.A. Minnesota, 1946. "Family Relationships: A Questionnaire Study of Roles and Activities." *Minnesota.*

Arthur L. Johnson, B.S. Gustavus Adolphus, 1941. "A Quantitative Study of Criteria of Marital Success in Selected Population Groups." *Minnesota.*

Elmer H. Johnson, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1946, 1948. "Education as an Attribute in Migration Differentials." *Wisconsin.*

Howard Delcour Jolly, A.B. California (Santa Barbara), 1946; M.A. Stanford, 1948. "Determination of Temporal Regularities in Popular Music." *Stanford.*

John Kantner, A.B. Franklin and Marshall College, 1942; M.A. Michigan, 1947. "The Relationship between Social Mobility and Fertility." *Michigan.*

Benjamin Kaplan, B.A., M.A. Tulane, 1928, 1929. "A Comparative Study of Selected Jewish Communities in Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

Father Peter James Kenney, A.B. St. Joseph's Seminary, 1943; M.A. Catholic, 1946. "A Sociological Study of the Negro Churches of New Orleans." *North Carolina.*

Haitung King, B.A. Cheeloo University, Tsinan,

China, 1935; M.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "An Analysis of Selected Demographic Aspects of Chinese-Americans in the United States." *Louisiana State.*

Evelyn Kitagawa, A.B. California, 1941. "Fertility and Reproduction as Related to Economic Status, Chicago, 1920–40." *Chicago.*

Marvin Koller, B.S.Ed. Kent State, 1940; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "A Three-Generation Study of Courtship Patterns." *Ohio State.*

Toimi Kyllonen, A.B., M.A. Bucknell, 1935, 1936. "The Bad Credit Risk as a Phase of Personal Disorganization: A Study in Sociological Methodology." *Minnesota.*

Herman R. Lantz, B.S.Ed. Kent State, 1942; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "Social Correlates of Differential Psychiatric Diagnosis." *Ohio State.*

Herbert R. Larsen, B.A. Brigham Young, 1938. "A Functional Analysis of the Mormon Family with Special Reference to Fertility." *Utah.*

Shu Ching Lee, B.A. Tsing Hua University, 1935; M.A. Wisconsin, 1938. "Special Social Implications of Farm Tenancy." *Chicago.*

Gerard E. Lenski, B.A., M.A. Yale, 1947, 1949. "The Relationship between Wealth and Prestige." *Yale.*

William P. Lentz, B.S. Wisconsin State Teachers College (Oshkosh), 1938; Ph.M. Wisconsin, 1939. "Forgery: A Study in Crimogenesia." *Wisconsin.*

Sydney Lester, A.B., M.A. East Texas State Teachers College, 1947. "An Inquiry of the Status and Trends of Regionalism in the Structure of World Society." *North Carolina.*

Hylan Lewis, A.B. Virginia, 1932; A.M. Chicago, 1936. "Blackways of Kent: A Study of American Subculture." *Chicago.*

Myron F. Lewis, A.B. Quincy College, 1935, M.A. Mercer, 1936. "The Real Estate Man: The Sociology of an Occupation." *North Carolina.*

Erwin Linn, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1935, 1943. "The Business Cycle and Social Change." *Chicago.*

Fu-Ju Liu, B.A. National Southwestern University, Kunming, China, 1939; M.A. Columbia, 1947. "Assimilation of First and Second Generation of Chinese in the United States." *Michigan State College.*

T. Wilson Longmore, B.S. Colorado A. & M. College, 1933; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "Colonization and Immigration in Peru." *Michigan State College.*

William C. Loring, Jr., A.B. Harvard, 1935. "Influence of Physical Elements of Housing in the Resultants of Social Action." *Harvard.*

Elmer Luchterhand, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1948, 1949. "The Nazi Concentration Camps: A Study of Co-operation between Prisoners (a Continuation of a Previous Study 'The Nazi Concentration Camps: A Study of Survival and Rebellion')." *Wisconsin.*

L. Malcolm McAfee, B.A. Chicago; B.D., M.A. Yale, 1946, 1949. "The Function of Social Class in the Social Control of the Protestant Church." *Yale.*

Edmund G. McCurtain, A.B., A.M. Oklahoma, 1935, 1936. "Enemy Personnel in the United States, 1942–46: A Study of Social Conflict and Accommodation." *Washington (St. Louis).*

William Russell McIntyre, B.S., M.A. Northwestern, 1939, 1940. "Social Psychology of Old Age." *Northwestern.*

James B. McKee, B.A., M.A. Wayne, 1943, 1948. "Labor's Structure of Power in an Industrial Community." *Wisconsin.*

David W. McKinney, B.A. A.M. & N. College, 1941; M.A. Wayne, 1946. "A Study of Impairment of Concept Formation in the Institutionalized Schizophrenic and Its Influence on the Function of the Self in Social Behavior." *Wisconsin.*

John C. McKinney, A.B., M.A. Colorado State College, 1946, 1947. "Systematic Sociological Theory in the United States: An Exposition, Analysis, and Synthesis of the Methodological and Substantive Theory of Mead, Merton, Lundberg, Parsons." *Michigan State College.*

Boyd E. Macrory, A.B. Asbury College, 1931; M.A. Kentucky, 1935. "A Sociological Analysis of the Role and Functions of the Tavern in the Community." *Wisconsin.*

Lowell E. Maechtle, B.A. North Central College, 1936; M.A. Wisconsin, 1944. "The Sociopsychological Problems of Adjustment of Conscientious Objectors in Civilian Public Service Camps in World War II." *Wisconsin.*

John Benjamin Magee, Jr., A.B. Michigan, 1938; A.M. Boston, 1940; A.M. Harvard, 1946. "Sri Ramakrishna and John Woolman." *Harvard.*

Floyd Martinson, B.A. Concordia College, 1942; M.A. Minnesota, 1948. "Personality

Differences between Rural Migrants and Nonmigrants." *Minnesota.*

Albert Mayer, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1947, 1949. "Length of Life as Related to Economic Status." *Chicago.*

Paul A. Miller, B.S.Agr. West Virginia, 1939; M.A. Michigan State College, 1946. "Community Organization of Health Care in the United States." *Michigan State College.*

S. Frank Miyamoto, N.A., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1936, 1938. "Career of Intergroup Tensions." *Washington (Seattle).*

Edward O. Moe, B.S. Brigham Young, 1938. "Structural, Cultural, and Social-Psychological Factors Affecting Community Stability: A Study of the Process of Introducing Innovations in a Rural Community." *Cornell.*

Theron E. Montgomery, A.B. Wofford College, 1947; M.A. Duke, 1948. "Sociopsychological Implications of Personnel Policies of the Southern Cotton Textile Industries." *Duke.*

John Kenneth Morland, B.S. Birmingham-Southern College, 1938; B.D. Yale, 1943. "The Cultural Study of a Piedmont Cotton-Mill Community." *North Carolina.*

Bertha M. M. Mugrauer, Ph.B. Loyola (New Orleans), 1945. "A Cultural Study of Negro Girls in Several Washington Alleys." *Catholic.*

Raymond A. Mulligan, B.S., A.M. New York, 1937, 1939. "A Socioeconomic Analysis of the Male Student Body, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, Semester II, 1947." *Indiana.*

Paul Mundy, A.B. Scranton, 1941; M.A. Catholic, 1948. "The Negro Boy Worker in Washington, D.C." *Catholic.*

Joseph E. Muquist, A.B., M.A. Nebraska, 1935, 1936. "The Country Bank: An Analysis of the Sociology of Finance." *Wisconsin.*

Jerome K. Myers, B.A. Franklin and Marshall College, 1942; M.A. Yale, 1947. "The Differential Time Factor in Assimilation." *Yale.*

Bardin H. Nelson, B.S., M.A. Louisiana State, 1942, 1943. "Some Sociopsychological Problems Involved in the Adjustment of Students to the University Community." *Louisiana State.*

Leona Nelson, A.B., A.M. Butler, 1938, 1943. "Sociological Study of a Church-related College." *Chicago.*

Lionel H. Newsom, A.M. Lincoln (Jefferson City), 1939; A.M. Michigan, 1940. "A Sociological Analysis of Two Hundred Cases of Inter- and Intraracial Homicide in St. Louis." *Washington (St. Louis).*

Robert R. Noble, A.B. Coe College, 1942; M.A. Nebraska, 1948. "An Evaluative Study of the Motivations of Criminals." *Nebraska.*

Walter Murray North, Jr., A.B. College of William and Mary, 1947; M.A. North Carolina. "Fifty Years of Change in the South." *North Carolina.*

Ivan Nye, B.A. Willamette, 1946; M.A. State College of Washington, 1947. "Measurement of Parent-Child Relationship." *Michigan State College.*

Paul Oren, Jr., B.A., M.A. Yale, 1944, 1947. "Socioeconomic Status and Ethnic Background as Factors in Adolescent Behavior." *Yale.*

Judson B. Pearson, B.A., M.A. Colorado, 1946, 1949. "Social Derivations and Occupational Career Patterns of Business Leaders." *Washington.*

Nathan Pitts, B.S. Xavier, 1936; M.A. Catholic, 1944. "The Co-operative Movement among the Negroes in North Carolina Communities." *Catholic.*

Reed M. Powell, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1946, 1947. "A Comparative Sociological Study of Two Latin-American Communities." *Michigan State College.*

Orville Quackenbush, B.A., B.S., M.A. Minnesota, 1933, 1935, 1938. "The Development of the Correctional, Reformatory, and Penal Institutions of Minnesota: A Sociological Interpretation." *Minnesota.*

George R. Ragland, Jr., A.B. Langston, 1938; M.A. Iowa, 1939. "Attitudes of High-School Seniors in a Number of Selected Communities toward Marriage, Sex, and Parenthood as Correlated with Standard of Living and Plans for a College Education." *Iowa.*

Franklin E. Rector, A.B. Phillips, 1946; M.S. Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1948. "Community Relations of Public Libraries in Wisconsin." *Wisconsin.*

Richard M. Reser, A.B. King College, 1936; M.A. George Peabody College, 1940. "An Analysis of North Carolina Vocational Education." *North Carolina.*

Oscar W. Ritchie, B.S., M.A. Kent State, 1946, 1947. "Some Factors Involving the Integration of Negro Teachers into the Faculties of the Nonsegregated Colleges and Universities in the United States." *Wisconsin.*

Dorris W. Rivers, M.Ed. Duke, 1947. "Plantation Society in the Mississippi Delta." *Duke.*

Lee Nelken Robins, A.B., A.M. Radcliffe College, 1942, 1943. "The Study of a Conflicted Area of Public Opinion: Sentiments about Liberalizing the Massachusetts Birth-Control Law." *Radcliffe College.*

Leonard H. Robinson, B.S. Wilberforce College, 1935; M.A. Atlanta, 1937. "Negro Street Society." *Ohio State.*

Natalie Rogoff, A.B. Barnard College, 1943; M.A. Chicago, 1947. "A Study of Occupational Mobility." *Chicago.*

Wayne C. Rohrer, B.S., M.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1946, 1948. "A Case Study and Analysis of Rural Hospitals." *Michigan State College.*

Morton Rubin, A.B. Boston, 1946; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "Plantation County." *North Carolina.*

Norman B. Ryder, B.A. McMaster, 1944; M.A. Toronto, 1946; A.M. Princeton, 1949. Generation and Period Techniques in the Measurement of Temporal Variations in Reproductivity." *Princeton.*

Beate Salz, B.A. Ohio State, 1941; M.S.Sc. New School, 1943. "The Human Element in Industrialization: A Hypothetical Case Study." *New School.*

Julian Samora, A.B. Adams State College, 1942; M.S. Colorado A. & M. College, 1947. "Spanish-speaking People: Their Cultural Changes." *Wisconsin.*

Rev. Leonidas Rodriquez-Sandoval, M.A. Catholic, 1943. "The Socioeconomic Life of the Sierra Indians of Ecuador." *Catholic.*

Egbert F. Schietinger, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1940, 1949. "Racial Succession and Changing Property Values in Residential Chicago." *Chicago.*

Frank A. Scholfield, B.S. Southwest Missouri State College, 1946; M.A. Colorado, 1948. "The Formulation of a New Ideology of Capitalism." *Colorado.*

Clarence Schrag, B.A. Washington State College, 1939; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1945. "The Prediction of Prisoner Adjustment by Sociometric Techniques." *Washington (Seattle).*

Richard D. Schwartz, B.A. Yale, 1947. "A Controlled Study of the Social and Psychological Concomitants of Commercialism." *Yale.*

Alice Schwiebert, B.A. Cornell College, 1925; M.A. Northwestern, 1935. "A Sociological Evaluation of the Ohio Farm Bureau Federation's Experimental Program in Group Organization." *Wisconsin.*

Imam Selim, B.S. University of Fonad, Cairo, Egypt; Diploma, Cairo School of Social Work, 1946. "Planned Rural Community for the Nile Valley." *North Carolina.*

Ethel Shanas, A.B., M.A. Chicago, 1935, 1937. "The Personal Adjustment of Recipients of Old Age Assistance with Special Consideration of the Methodology of Questionnaire Studies of Older People." *Chicago.*

Leo Shapiro, A.B. Chicago, 1942. "An Investigation of the Process Whereby Survey Leaders Plan the Opinion or Attitude Survey Interview." *Chicago.*

Van Burton Shaw, A.B. Kansas State College, 1938; M.A. Minnesota, 1946. "A Study of an All-Negro Community." *Missouri.*

Margaret E. Shay, B.A. New Jersey College for Women, 1934; M.S.Sc. Columbia, 1946. "The Asbestos Strike: A Case Study in the Breakdown in Industrial Communication." *Fordham.*

W. Arthur Shirey, A.B. DePauw, 1926; A.M. Indiana, 1932. "The Teaching of Social Ethics in High Schools: A Sociological Analysis." *Duke.*

Alex Sim, B.A. Toronto, 1938; M.A. Columbia, 1943. "The Role of the Leader in a Bureaucratic Structure." *Michigan State College.*

Ozzie Gordon Simmons, A.B. Northwestern, 1941; M.A. Harvard, 1948. "Anglo and Mexican Americans in South Texas: A Study in Dominant-Subordinate Group Relations." *Harvard.*

Abraham J. Simon, A.B. City College of New York, 1931. "Development of Dependent Children." *Washington University (St. Louis).*

George Lee Simpson, Jr., A.B., M.A. North Carolina, 1941, 1943. "Social Biography of a Southern Family." *North Carolina.*

Monroe Sirken, A.B., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1946, 1947. "Costs and Bias in Sampling Surveys of Human Populations." *Washington (Seattle).*

Rev. Casimir Sirvaitis, M.A. Catholic, 1944. "Religious Folkways in Lithuania and Their Conservation among the Lithuanian Immigrants in the United States." *Catholic.*

Alfred G. Smith, B.A. M.A. Wisconsin, 1943, 1947. "Koro-Amok-Latah." *Wisconsin.*

David Soloman, A.B., M.A. McGill, 1939, 1942.

"Career Contingencies of Chicago Physicians." *Chicago.*

Shirley Star, A.B. Chicago, 1939. "The Measurement of Interracial Tension in Urban Areas of Residential Invasion." *Chicago.*

Winfred G. Steglich, A.B. Concordia Seminary, 1942; M.A. Texas, 1945. "The Lutheran Reformation as a Social Movement." *Texas.*

Chester M. Stephenson, B.S.Ed., M.A. Miami (Oxford, Ohio), 1935, 1942. "A Study of the Attitudes toward Negroes of White Prospective Schoolteachers." *Ohio State.*

Fred Louis Strodtbeck, A.M. Miami (Oxford, Ohio), 1940; A.M. Indiana, 1942. "Sex Roles and Interaction Patterns: An Application of Interaction Process Analysis." *Harvard.*

Atlee Stroup, B.S.Ed. Kent State, 1942; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "Validation of the Burgess-Cottrell Prediction Technique on a Random Sample." *Ohio State.*

Solomon Sutker, A.B. Emory, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "The Jewish Community of Atlanta, Georgia, and Its Elite Groups." *North Carolina.*

Kaare Svalastoga, M.A. Oslo, 1940. "International Tensions in the State of Washington." *Washington (Seattle).*

James Tarver, B.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1947; M.S. Wisconsin, 1948. "Owner-Operatorship Succession Processes of Nine Hundred Wisconsin Farm Families, 1848–1948." *Wisconsin.*

Joseph T. Taylor, A.B., A.M. Illinois, 1936–1937. "Interpretation of the Role of the Negro College." *Indiana.*

Frederic W. Terrien, B.A. Stanford, 1938; M.A. Yale, 1947. "Occupational Selectivity as Demonstrated by the Teaching Profession." *Yale.*

Paul M. Thompson, Ph.B., M.S.S.W. Wisconsin, 1947, 1948. "A Crucial Point in Changing Family Values Today." *Wisconsin.*

Jackson Toby, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946; A.M. Harvard, 1949. "A Comparison of Jewish and Irish Delinquency with Respect to Orienting Factors." *Harvard.*

Robert O. Trout, B.A. Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, 1938; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "A Demographic Analysis of the Population of the Hill Section of North Louisiana." *Louisiana State.*

Pablo Vazquez, B.S.A. Puerto Rico, 1940; M.S. Wisconsin, 1946. "Castaner: A Study of Puerto Rican Planned Community." *Wisconsin.*

Frank Vicroy, B.S. Case Institute of Technology, 1932; M.A. Ohio State, 1937. "Rent Differentials and Mate Selection, Louisville, Kentucky." *Ohio State.*

Donald Ezzell Walker, A.B., M.Th. Southern California, 1943, 1947. "Sociometric Components in Cancer." *Stanford.*

Cheng Wang, A.B., M.A. Stanford, 1930, 1931. "The Kuomintang: A Sociological Study of the Demoralization of a Political Elite." *Stanford.*

Ali Husain Wardi, B.B.A. Beirut, 1943; M.A. Texas, 1948. "The Sociology of Ibn Khaldun." *Texas.*

Walter Irving Wardwell, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1940, 1947. "A Study of Tensions in the Social Role of the Chiropractor." *Harvard.*

Doris Eilene West, A.B. Earlham College, 1945; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "A Culture and Personality Study of the Seneca Indians through the Use of Projective Technique." *Duke.*

Frank R. Westie, B.S. Central Michigan College, 1947. "Social Status Differentials and Selected Dimensions of Race Attitudes." *Ohio State.*

James Wilhelm Wiggins, B.S. South Georgia Teachers College, 1937; M.A. Duke, 1943. "Housing and the Ecology of Social Disorganization." *Duke.*

Arthur Wilkens, A.B. Yale, 1939; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "A Study of Personality Characteristics of Women Leaders." *Chicago.*

Raytha L. Yokley, A.B. Kentucky State Industrial College, 1937; A.M. Indiana, 1941. "Development of Racial Concepts in Negro Children." *Indiana.*

E. Grant Youmans, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1937, 1938. "Work Interests of Michigan High-School Youth." *Michigan State College.*

Chester W. Young, B.A. Louisiana State Normal College, 1938; M.A. Louisiana State, 1940; M.A. Harvard, 1948. "A Sociological Study of Rural Life in Haiti." *Louisiana State.*

NEWS AND NOTES

Brooklyn College of the City of New York.—Rex D. Hopper, assistant professor of sociology and anthropology, is teaching in the summer session of the Mexico City College, Mexico, D.F. He will offer courses in Latin-American sociology, social movements, and principles of sociology.

University of California, Berkeley.—S. M. Lipset, of the department of sociology and social institutions, has been invited to teach at Columbia University during the academic year 1950–51.

The University of Colorado Press has published the monograph *Higher Civil Servants in American Society* by Professor Reinhard Bendix of the department of sociology and social institutions.

Duke University.—Donald F. Roy, formerly instructor in sociology at the University of Chicago, has accepted the position of instructor in sociology to take effect in September.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The twentieth annual meeting of the Society, held at Boston University on April 22 and 23, had as its general theme, "A Half-Century of Sociology (1900–1950)."

Sessions were held on community research, marriage and the family, race and cultural relations, graduate teacher-training and research training in sociology, and on reports on current research projects. A demonstration was given of the Harvard Laboratory of Social Relations. At the annual dinner M. F. Nimkoff, of Bucknell University, gave the presidential address, and Harlow Shapley was the guest speaker.

At the business meeting the Society reaffirmed its position of the previous year on academic freedom, indorsed the stand of the American Association of University Professors in expressing opposition to the discharge of college and university teachers because of membership in any lawful political party or other organization, and asked the American Sociological Society to consider similar action.

The following officers were elected: N. L. Whetten, University of Connecticut, president; Mirra Komarovsky, Barnard College, vice-president; Jessie Bernard, Pennsylvania State College, member of the executive committee, and Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, secretary-treasurer. The other members of the executive committee are: Seth Russell, Pennsylvania State College: Wilbert Moore, Princeton; W. Rex Crawford, University of Pennsylvania; and Thorsten Sellin, University of Pennsylvania.

Goddard College.—Using workshop methods of group planning, discussion, and the planning of individual study programs, the summer workshop will open on the Goddard College campus in Plainfield, Vermont, on July 3 and will close August 11. The theme of the 1950 session is "Good Schools and Teaching."

This year's workshop will include lectures by William Heard Kilpatrick, professor emeritus of education at Columbia; Nathaniel Cantor, head of the department of anthropology and sociology at the University of Buffalo; Hans Froelicher, head of the Park School in Baltimore; and Peter Blos of the New School for Social Research. Study at the workshop leads to the M.A. degree.

Information on costs, credits, and scholarships and a descriptive bulletin are available from A. R. Elliott, Jr., Director of Adult Education, Goddard College, Plainfield, Vermont.

The Hebrew University.—At the end of hostilities in Israel, the department of sociology, headed by M. Buber, renewed its activities. The research seminar in sociology, which has been working on the problems of culture contact between the oriental Jews and the modern Jewish community, has expanded its activities and research projects. The work of the seminar is directed by S. N. Eisenstadt. At present the research seminar is working on three research projects:

1. Absorption of immigrants. This is the largest research project undertaken in conjunction with the Jewish Agency. Its main problems are the investigation of different types of absorption and the social and psychological processes involved. The project is based on techniques combining different aspects of anthropological field work, participant-observation, and open-end interviews. It is conducted in eight different new settlements, chosen so as to represent different types of immigrants and socioeconomic structure.

2. Sociological analysis of the communal settlements. This project comprises the analysis of the social structure of the communal settlements and the main trends of development, the relation of private life to the economic-communal organization and of the settlements to national life, the development of democratic charisma, and the problems of democratic self-government.

3. The relation between family types and the sociopsychological problems of adolescence and youth.

The seminar plans to publish the results of its work.

University of Illinois.—W. Ellison Chalmers, acting director of the University of Illinois Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations since September, 1949, has been appointed director. The Institute conducts a research program and extension services to labor and management groups in the state.

Instituto de Pesquizas e Analises Económicas.—Established in 1944, the Institute follows accepted British and United States research and teaching methods to carry out the following program: (1) Research and reports on important economics and relates social problems and changes, including surveys of markets, public opinion, agricultural development in both old and new zones, mapping of resources which offer opportunities for profitable foreign investments, especially in the field of minerals. Recently the Institute investigated the probable benefits to small and medium-sized foreign investors of the antitrust law now before Brazil's congress. (2) Graduate courses in economics, statistics, economic geography, and the social sciences as they bear on business, investment, labor, and Brazilian development. Various British and Americtn specialists, for example, Professor William H. Nicholls of Vanderbilt University, have lectured at the Institute, and others are about to do so. (3) Since March, 1949, the Institute published its scientific magazine, *Revista de pesquisas económico-sociales*, which appears quarterly. Subscriptions are being taken at Cr. $150 (U.S., $7.00) for four numbers. No. 1 contained articles by Brazilian and American scholars on economic and social research, government, and rural sociology. No. 2 offers articles by Nicholls of Vanderbilt, Edward Mason of Harvard, W. H. Sewell of Wisconsin, and J. Gonçalves de Souza, R. Monte Arraes, and Salviano Cruz of the Institute, with emphasis on problems of agriculture, population, labor supply, and marketing research. The Institute's director, Salviano Cruz, has just published a volume on economic research methods as applied to Brazil, with a 110-page bibliography that is the most complete of its kind yet to appear. (4) Maintaining an economic and social science research library which welcomes gifts of technical publications, including the annual reports of companies operating in Brazil.

The Institute welcomes contributions and suggestions for increasing its usefulness to Brazil's expanding economy.

Institute of Sociology.—The Institute is offering a course, "English Town and Countryside Today," to be held at the Country Centre of the Institute, Le Play House, Ledbury, Herefordshire, England. The program is a sociological field study for which the famed Herefordshire region offers exceptional advantages. The course is intended for overseas and British students and will be given from July 17 to 29.

Similar meetings have been organized by Le Play House in the Pyrenees from July 31 to August 16 and in Denmark from August 12 to 29.

For information apply to Mrs. A. Farquharson, Hon. Organizer of Field Studies, Institute of Sociology, Le Play House, Ledbury, Herefordshire, England.

International Journal of Sexology.—The *International Journal of Sexology,* which aims at international coverage of the comparative theories and study of sexual phenomena, is now appearing as a continuation of the former periodical, *Marriage Hygiene,* under the editorship of A. P. Pillay.

International Sociological Association.—The World Congress will be held in Zurich, Switzerland, from September 4 to 9, 1950, in co-operation with UNESCO. The meeting will be held simultaneously with that of the International Sociological Association. The general theme of the Congress is "Sociological Research in Its Bearing on International Relations." The aim of the Congress is to re-establish professional contacts among sociologists all over the world and to explore and advance the potentialities of sociology in contributing to world understanding and integration.

Papers are being invited and should be submitted before July 15 to Mr. Erik Rinde, provisional secretary. Papers may be either original contributions on aspects of the central topic or analytical and critical surveys. Papers will be classified under subthemes for round-table discussion; the following have been suggested: nationalism, displaced persons' problems, immigrants and their adaptation, ethnic groups within nations and their influence on foreign policy, international communications, conditions of intercultural understanding, and problems of international organization.

Papers and all inquiries regarding the Congress should be directed to secretary of the International Sociological Association, Erik Rinde, Grev Wedelspl. 4, Oslo, Norway.

The Israel Institute of Applied Social Research.—This institute has been set up as a result of the expansion of the work of the Israel Institute of Public Opinion Research to other fields of a sociological and sociopsychological nature.

Besides current nation-wide opinion polls, the Institute is now engaged in a study of adjustment problems among new immigrants. An extensive and intensive study on problems, plans, and attitudes of Israel's youth is in preparation. The Institute has been commissioned also to analyze the experience of dwellers in the new housing projects, radio listening, and juvenile delinquency. Projects are accepted from the various government departments and from other civic bodies, as well as market research for private firms and organizations. Basic social research and experiments in survey techniques will be important features of the Institute's theoretical work. It also co-operates in joint projects with scientific organizations in other countries.

The first issue (spring, 1950) of the quarterly bulletin, *What Israel Thinks,* has appeared. Published in the English language, the bulletin gives summaries of the Institute's reports on its continuing opinion surveys, as well as news about social research in Israel for the non-Hebrew reader. The more comprehensive sociological and psychological studies of the Institute will be published separately as monographs in Hebrew and in English.

Annual subscription to the quarterly bulletin is $2.00, with a price of $15.00 for the

annual subscription to the regular opinion studies in Hebrew.

Louis Guttman has recently resigned his post at Cornell University in order to continue as scientific director of the enlarged Institute, while Uriel G. Foa continues as executive director. Communications should be sent to the new address: The Isreal Institute of Applied Social Research, Sergei Building, Melisande Way, Jerusalem, Israel.

University of Michigan.—Gunnar Dybwad, who last year spent two months in Germany as consultant to the Secretary of the Army, has been called back as consultant to the Office of the High Commissioner for Germany for the summer of 1950.

Human Ecology, by Amos H. Hawley, has been published by the Ronald Press.

Guy E. Swanson has been appointed research associate in the Research Center of Group Dynamics on a half-time basis. He is connected with the Center's social change program.

Jitsuichi Masuoka, of Fisk University, is a visiting member of the sociology staff this semester. He is replacing Horace Miner, who is doing field work in North Africa.

Allison Davis, of the University of Chicago, is teaching a course in social stratification in American communities.

The Institute for Human Adjustment, in co-operation with the Extension Service of the University of Michigan, announces the Third Annual Institute on Living in the Later Years to be held in Ann Arbor on June 28, 29, and 30. Session topics are: "Mental Health Problems of an Aging Population," "Medical Problems of an Aging Population," and "Education for an Aging Population." Information may be had from the University of Michigan Extension Service, 4524 Administration Building, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Midwest Sociological Society.—The newly elected officers of the Society are: president, T. D. Eliot, Northwestern University; vice-president, J. Howell Atwood, Knox College; secretary, Herbert F. Lionberger, University of Missouri. New members of the executive committee are: William J. Tudor, Southern Illinois University (Illinois); Joseph B. Gittler, Iowa State College (Iowa); Marston McCluggage, University of Kansas (Kansas); Arnold M. Rose, University of Minnesota (Minnesota); Chester Alexander, Westminster College (Missouri); J. Walter Cobb, University of North Dakota (appointed *ad interim* to fill the unexpired term of Paul Gustafson) (North Dakota); Albert Blumenthal, University of South Dakota (appointed to fill unexpired term of Richard Seaman) (South Dakota). Elected members of research committee are: William H. Sewell, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Stuart Queen, Washington University; and Allen Bates, University of Nebraska.

Morehouse College.—The Fifth Annual Institute on Successful Marriage and Family Living was held here in March. The general theme was "Constructive and Destructive Factors in Successful Marriage and Family Living." Participants included Paul B. Cornely, M.D., Freedmen's Hospital; Esther Milner, Atlanta University; Charles E. King, Bennett College; Charles P. Browning, *Chicago Defender;* Mary E. Langford, Planned Parenthood Federation of America, Inc.; Robert Straus, Section on Alcohol Studies, Yale University; William M. Cooper, Division of Adult Education and Summer Study, Hampton Institute; G. Lewis Chandler, Morehouse College; William A. Mason, director, Health Education for Negroes, Georgia Department of Health; and Madrid T. Hamilton, Columbia Area YWCA, Philadelphia.

Walter R. Chivers, chairman of the department of sociology, and Carrie Cartrell Chivers, instructor in sociology, are director and co-director of the Institute.

National League of Nursing Education.—Under a continued grant-in-aid from the United States Public Health Service, the National League of Nursing Education, in co-operation with the National Organization for Public Health Nursing, is making a

study known as the Psychiatric Nursing Project to establish the qualifications desirable in all mental hygiene and psychiatric nursing personnel. The National League of Nursing Education is attempting to locate all professional registered nurses in psychiatric institutions, public and private, psychiatric units in general hospitals, industry, mental hygiene clinics, schools of nursing, and advanced programs of study. A one-page questionnaire has been mailed to ten thousand nurses in the field of psychiatry in the United States and its territories. This will reveal the nurses' academic and clinical experience. Return of the completed questionnaires by April 15 has been requested, and it is hoped that a full report will be available by July 1.

Comments or suggestions concerning this study will be welcomed. Correspondence may be addressed to Aurelie J. Nowakowski, Staff Assistant, Psychiatric Nursing Project of the National League of Nursing Education, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, New York.

National Office of Vital Statistics.—This division of the Public Health Service, in the Federal Security Agency, is issuing three new reports to augment its previously available data on vital statistics of marriage and divorce. *Vital Statistics Special Reports*, Volume XXXV, No. 3, presents marriage data by county for 1948; the year 1948 is the first year since 1932 for which these data have been available. Volume XXXV, No. 9, presents detailed marriage statistics (month, age, first marriage-remarriage, race, residence status) for a varying number of states. Detailed national marriage statistics have never been available in the United States; and, prior to these 1948 data, detailed statistics for a group of states were not available except for 1939–40. A report presenting some detailed statistics of divorces and annulments for 1948 is also being issued. These reports were made possible through a cooperative project with the State Vital Statistics Offices in as many states as were able to furnish the tables. Comments from readers of the *Journal*, and suggestions on how the tables for subsequent years might be made more useful, will be welcomed by the National Office of Vital Statistics, Washington 25, D.C., for the guidance of the National Office and the participating state offices.

Northwestern University.—Thomas D. Eliot has received a Fulbright Act grant for nine months of research in Norway on selected aspects of the impact of the war on Norwegian life. He will be affiliated with the University of Oslo during his leave of absence.

Joseph F. Kauffman, Sigma Delta Tau Fellow in sociology, has accepted a position as director of the Anti-defamation League's newly established offices in Omaha, Nebraska.

Leonard Reissman, teaching assistant in the department of sociology, has received a Social Science Research Council Predoctoral Fellowship for a study of levels of aspiration and social mobility, to begin in September.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The twelfth annual meeting was held at Ohio State University on April 28 and 29. Officers for the coming year are: president, J. Milton Yinger, Oberlin College; vice-president, J. R. Leevy, Purdue University; secretary-treasurer, William Form, Michigan State College; editor of the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*, Brewton Berry, Ohio State University.

The 1951 meeting will be held at Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana.

Princeton University.—Gerald William Breese, assistant professor of sociology, has been appointed director of the Bureau of Urban Research. Dr. Breese will undertake a survey of the potentialities for industrial location in the area along the Delaware River south of Trenton this summer as a prelude to the program which the Bureau will introduce next year. One phase of this work will involve a study of the flow of populations from home to work in industrial communities.

St. Louis University.—Alvin Walcott Rose, chairman of the graduate department of sociology at North Carolina College, Durham, will give an undergraduate course on race relations in the summer session.

Southwestern Sociological Society.—The annual meeting of the Society was held in Houston, Texas, in April. The program included sections on rural sociology, social disorganization, contributions of sociologists to marriage and family-life education, social theory, and social psychology. Ellsworth Faris gave the address at the closing luncheon.

Officers elected for 1950–51 are: president, W. L. Kolb, Newcomb College, Tulane University; vice-president, Stephen Stephan, University of Arkansas; secretary, Ethelyn Davis, Texas State College for Women; Executive Committee: Wyatt Marrs, University of Oklahoma, and Dean S. Yarbrough, Prairie View A. & M. College; associate editor, *Southwestern Social Science Quarterly*, Walter T. Watson, Southern Methodist University; representative to the American Sociological Society, Harry E. Moore, University of Texas.

Wayne University.—John Biesanz is a visiting associate professor, offering courses in anthropology and the family. Dr. Biesanz is replacing Norman Humphrey, who since January has been a visiting professor of social anthropology at the Escuela Normal Superior, in Bogotá, Colombia, under an arrangement of the United States State Department's International Exchange of Persons. Dr. Humphrey will also make a study of a Colombian village.

Edward Jandy has been assigned to the post of cultural officer with the Public Affairs Division of the United States Department of State and will be stationed in Tel Aviv, Israel, after June 15.

Under a renewed grant from the United States Public Health Service, Joseph W. Eaton is continuing his study of the cultural and psychiatric factors in the mental health of the Hutterites.

H. Warren Dunham has been appointed research director of the Michigan State Psychiatric Research Clinic, where a study is in progress of the problem of the sex deviate in community life.

Donald C. Marsh is developing a bibliography of social science research on the Detroit metropolitan region.

Stephen W. Mamchur is working with the intercollege interdepartmental committees in developing an extensive instructional and experiential program in child development and home and family living. This project, now in the planning stage, is being financed by the Michigan Department of Health. It involves the development of an undergraduate, graduate, and multiprofessional program in the fields indicated.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mémoire et société. By MAURICE HALBWACHS. (*L'Année sociologique* [3d ser.], Vol. I.) Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1949. Pp. 177.

The present work, Halbwachs' somewhat incomplete last treatise, is a continuation of the investigation reported in *Cadres sociaux de la mémoire,* published in 1925. It deals with a theme in the tradition of Durkheim and his colleagues, which was a central concern in Halbwachs' lifework.

A psychologist once referred to the normal human mind as a "fit instrument of reality," as if this organ by itself could reach out and apprehend the nature of things that surround the person. The present study of the social contexts of memory form an extreme contrast to this viewpoint, in that it minimizes the role of the individual. Alone and unaided by an organized set of social relations, the individual does not even achieve a mind. We do not perceive without organization, and the most important part of mental organization is derived from social organizations. Memory is not automatic but depends on an act of organization, of relation to a context, and the large part of the contexts which carry human memory are social. Memory, then, is mainly a collective process, and Halbwachs argues patiently and effectively that this is so also for memories which seem to be private and personal. Even early childhood memories, he contends—memories that involve no other person but only experiences in which the child was alone—are still essentially collective, for they exist only because the child mind is organized by a social process and perceives and remembers within a social context. The argument along this line covers the reasons for the illusion of individuality and originality on the part of persons who entertain thoughts collectively derived.

Groups may in a sense also have collective memory. Not that Halbwachs conceives of a "group mind" in the mystical sense—he states explicitly that individual bodies and brains are necessary parts of the locus of all mental processes—but he maintains, as Durkheim did with "social facts," that there is an exteriority in the whole of a collective history which cannot be found in any one mind and which takes its form in the processes of intercommunication rather than in the mental manipulations of a single person. There is some parallel here with the modern studies in this country of legends and rumors that become simplified and rounded into classical form as they are accepted in the organized collective attitudes and beliefs of a social group.

Halbwachs' approach is Socratic in flavor; although he was not unfamiliar with modern research techniques, he made no use of them here. The material makes heavy reading, not only because of the French idiom, but also because of its integrated character. Halbwachs raises questions which are answered not in the next sentence but only in the whole chapter or in some cases in the whole book. It would be a convenience to interested readers of the English language if someone would translate and condense into a single publication all Halbwachs' discussion of this problem. His contribution is in the European tradition of philosophical theory and is among its finest examples.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS
University of Washington

Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture. Edited by CLYDE KLUCKHOHN and HENRY A. MURRAY. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1948. Pp. xxi+561. $6.00.

Only their modesty led Kluckhohn and Murray to declare themselves merely as the editors of this book. Actually, with but one other exception, it is they who make the important original contribution, namely, their statement of their conception of personality and of what they consider the determinants of personality formation (the first 48 pages). The four determinants which, according to them, permit "a clear and orderly thinking about personality formation" are: constitution, group membership, role, and situation. The author-editors seek to explain their conceptions of personality by means of the following functions of personality: temporal or-

ganization of brain processes, tension reduction, self-expression, reduction of conflicts by scheduling, reduction of aspiration tensions, reduction of conflicts by social conformity and identification, etc. While they succeed in making a good case for this system, it seems deficient to this reviewer when compared with the already available and much more comprehensive Freudian system, on which the editors and most of their contributors lean heavily. Freudian ego psychology—which still goes by the name of "ego defenses," although many of these psychological phenomena are not always necessarily "defensive" in nature—could still shed better light on "personality," the editors' serious effort at elaborating them notwithstanding.

Thirty-seven papers, all but one of them previously published, all presumably supporting the editors' theories and in general shedding light on personality and its formation, compose the bulk of the volume. The papers are organized into three parts, of which the second, on the formation of personality, is by far the most extensive. This second part is divided into seven sections, appropriately named "The Determinants of Personality Formation," "Constitutional Determinants," "Interrelations between Constitutional and Group-Membership Determinants," "Group-Membership Determinants," "Role Determinants," "Situational Determinants," and "Interrelations between the Determinants." Part III, "Some Applications to Modern Problems," contains some of the most interesting papers.

The authors are to be congratulated on their materials, which were plainly selected on the basis of merit alone. They have succeeded in assembling papers not only by some of the recognized scholars in the various fields but also very noteworthy papers by a few lesser known authors. Still, nearly all these papers have appeared previously in well-known scientific journals, or in book form, and most of them are readily available. Moreover, many appeared originally in longer form, permitting the authors to state their cases more successfully. In a few instances the contributors have also published later statements covering the same subjects in what they felt was a more adequate form than the earlier paper included in this volume. Only the excellent paper by Dr. Jurgen Ruesch, discussing social correlates of illness, was specifically written for this volume; but since then it has also appeared in much extended form in one of the scientific journals.

The editors, aware that most of this sourcebook does not present new material, state in the Introduction that it is "directed to an audience of college juniors and seniors and of educated laymen." Yet, while the book is highly acceptable as such on grounds of selectivity and level of scholarship, it is open to question whether it fills the needs of the audience which the editors had in mind. As an introductory text for the study of personality, addressed to the undergraduate students and the educated layman, it may have some serious shortcomings. Chief among them is the abstract way in which a scholar—talking to his colleagues in whom he presupposes long and intimate experience with the field—deals with a highly selected aspect of personality. Often his discussion creates a frame of mind in which the person, the human being, disappears, entirely overshadowed by a particular "determinant" on the abstract concept, "personality." This is not the fault of any one contributing author or of the editors; it is rather the consequence of presenting the reader not with a continuous narrative but with numerous reports of highly specialized investigations in the field no one of which has much to do with the one preceding or following it. While each article sheds new light on the problem of personality, the effect is not a summation, not to speak of an integration, of viewpoints. Instead of a three-dimensional view of human beings in action, a phenomenon "personality," seemingly without body, seems to haunt the reader who tries to take the book *in toto*—and it is for him that the book was compiled, since (as noted above) the student interested only in a particular paper can find it where it was originally published.

Here, then, is a book which, while covering the field of personality study, may lead the reader who is not versed enough in the field to lose the real person, the human being, while supposedly studying personality. Although the authors were well aware of the danger of overstressing the determinants of personality, a mental picture is nevertheless created in which what influences the phenomenon (personality) seems to become its very essence. Moreover, and despite the shortening of some of the papers, there is a great deal of repetition, since these papers were separately written; on the other hand, many unresolved contradictions remain despite the editors' illuminating transitional remarks.

All these shortcomings seem to be inherent in a collection of many papers dealing more or less

with one general field. Nevertheless, when compared with other recent collections of previously published miscellaneous papers, these editors are to be commended for their efforts to guide the reader to the papers and to connect them with one another through seven carefully thought-out introductions (each about two pages long) to the sections of the book and for the additional brief introductory remarks preceding each paper which connect it with the preceding one. This is a real service to the reader and speaks well for the care given the book by the editors. Their system ought to become standard practice whenever a selection of papers is presented in book form.

As mentioned above, most of the papers show a high degree of scholarship, although their selection naturally reflects somewhat the bias of the editors. There was not a single paper to whose inclusion this reviewer could object. The two papers by Erik H. Erikson have lost none of their impressive qualities on being reread. The same is true for the papers by Franz Alexander; G. W. Allport, J. S. Bruner, and E. M. Jandorf; John Dollard; Erich Fromm; Phyllis Greenacre; Jules and Zunia Henry; Margaret Mead, Robert Merton, and Hortense Powdermaker.

Just one or two passages which seem as important today as when originally published may indicate the wealth of thoughtful observations and stimulating remarks contained in the original papers and recalled in reading this book. Unfortunately, they are often buried here in a maze of technical details. Still, very much to the point, and a relief to the reader who becomes fearful that he has lost man in the maze of personality, is it to find Erikson saying:

> Today we face the question of whether the problems of the machine age will be solved by a further mechanization of man's concept of himself or by an increasing humanization of the industrial process, i.e., by ways of integrating productive means with the needs of human organisms and with the fundamentals of social organization. It may well be, however, that such mechanical child training as Western civilization has developed during the last few decades, harbors an unconscious magic attempt to master machines by becoming more like them, comparable to the Sioux' identification with the buffalo, the Yurok's with the river and the salmon. Devised as yet by unconscious magic rather than by research and reason, our child training customs have begun to standardize man, so that he may become a reliable mechanism prepared to "adjust" to the competition for the exploitation of the machine—and of its human manipulators. No wonder, then, that we detect in modern man's ego a tendency to mechanize itself to be entirely free from the very emotions without which no self-regulative experience is possible.

Unfortunately, the emphasis on "personality and its determinants" which characterizes this book, rather than the more human emphasis on "personae," seems to add to this tendency—if not necessarily toward mechanization, than toward depersonalization and abstraction in thinking about human beings. This seems to be one of the most dangerous tendencies in present-day society, including the study of "personality" which seems to take precedence over that of persons.

Equally perspicacious, but in another vein, are Tozzer's remarks on biography and biology in which he shows that an emphasis on "personality in nature" has led not only popular biographers but also so-called "scholars" to look for natural determinants where there never can be any. Tozzer remarks:

> In Mary Baker Eddy we have, according to one writer, "the opposed elements of her inheritance . . . the ultimate sources of the contradictory features in the religion which she founded. . . . The Abigail Ambrose in Mrs. Eddy gave birth to the radiant hopes of Christian Science, and the dark Earth-bound spirit of Mark Baker supplied the doctrine of malicious animal magnetism."
>
> Even occupations seem to carry with them germ plasms which are passed on from father to offspring. Mrs. Ruth Hanna McCormick inherited a "flair for politics." Richard Croker, born in Ireland, was the son of a veterinary; he acquired with his blood and race a passion for horses. President Eliot once said: "My father afterwards became interested in all public plantations, commons, etc. His grandson turned out a landscape architect by a distinct line of inheritance which, unfortunately, skipped me."

These quotations may suffice to show that the careful reader will find enough material in this volume which will help him to avoid the danger of losing the human touch in the jungle of discussions about personality. But can we really expect the undergraduate student or the often conjured "educated layman" to be such a careful reader as to be able to integrate in his mind so many disparate articles, particularly when in many of them the complex apparatus of modern sociology, anthropology, psychiatry, etc., is thrown at him?

BRUNO BETTELHEIM

University of Chicago

The Science of Culture: A Study of Man and Civilization. By LESLIE A. WHITE. New York: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1949. Pp. xx+444. $6.00.

For some time past Leslie White of the University of Michigan has been producing papers in which he was apparently blazing a solitary path in a direction not entirely clear to most of his colleagues. At times he appeared to be attempting a resuscitation of the well-mangled corpse of Lewis Morgan's theory, at others to be translating the dynamic processes of culture into units of energy comparable with those of the physicist, while in still other papers he introduced a remarkable new label—culturology—for the type of social science with which he considered himself concerned.

The present book represents the synthesis of White's various preoccupations. Here at last is a book telling us what "culturology" is, and, according to the dust jacket, for our six dollars "the author has provided us with a new explanation of why man acts as he does. . . . These revolutionary ideas may eventually affect the church, the school, the family, the state and society as a whole." If it does all this, or even if it *may*, it is clearly a good investment for any social scientist. But does it do any of these things? Reduced to its essential ingredients, the great new science of culturology is very disappointing. It consists of the following propositions. (1) What anthropologists should study is culture. (2) Culture is superorganic and "extrasomatic." (3) Therefore, cultural facts should be related to other cultural facts and are not to be explained by being related to any "psychological" level, still less to the biological level. (4) If anthropologists would only follow these precepts, the result would be a science of culturology; but nobody since E. B. Tylor has been a true or consistent culturologist until White rediscovered the Holy Grail. (5) If we would only become culturologists, we would discover that human societies have evolved from simple technologies to complex technologies and that Morgan's social evolution was sound after all. (6) This evolution of culture can be measured in terms of "amount of power harnessed per capita." (7) On the basis of our knowledge of this cultural evolution in the past, we can predict the future of culture; and thus (8) culturology is the master-science, foretelling what the future holds for the human race.

There does not seem to be much here that merits the label of revolutionary or even new. Propositions 1, 2, and 3 are not only self-evident but, if we substitute the less contentious "social" for "cultural" in them, obviously add up to nothing more than a restatement of Durkheim's well-known dicta that "sociology is a science *sui generis*" and that "social facts must be related to social facts." As for Proposition 4, if we can achieve a real social science, it does not matter in the slightest what we call it; and a new label for old activity, especially a label as horrible to look at and as horrible to hear as "culturology," appears much more likely to obscure issues than to clarify them. It certainly obscures many issues for White, particularly the issue of who is with him and who against him, since he refuses to see any agreement with him or support for his position among the many social scientists who have for years based their operations on Propositions 1, 2, and 3. Unless they accept Proposition 4 as well, and call their activities "culturology," they are eternally damned. There is something theological about this rigid insistence on terminological conformity.

For the last four parts of White's system it is hard to find anything in the way of empirical proof. The standard arguments against social evolution used by such scholars as Boas and Lowie are not refuted by White; they are merely denied—with great vehemence it is true, but vehemence is no substitute for evidence. There are ways, slow, laborious, and unspectacular but nonetheless not unpromising, whereby the concept of social evolution might be rebuilt, not on the mid-Victorial prejudices of Lewis Morgan, but on the more solid base of modern anthropological knowledge. Julian Steward (*American Anthropologist*, January, 1949), for example, has recently made a trial run along these lines. But such empirical approaches have no appeal to White. He finds all wisdom in a few great books of the nineteenth century—Morgan, Tylor, and Durkheim in particular. He apparently thinks that he alone has read these writers, or at least that he alone has understood them. The result is a system composed of two parts: one part that is sound but obvious, and one part that is unsound and consists of nothing more than word-juggling. Viewed thus, this book adds little of any value to social science.

C. W. M. HART

University of Wisconsin

The Feminine Character: History of an Ideology. By VIOLA KLEIN. New York: International

Universities Press, Inc., 1949. Pp. xvi+228. $3.75.

Much more thought—and a very great deal more restraint—in dealing with the vexatious problems of women and the feminine character structure is shown in this short volume than in any other recent book on these subjects known to the reviewer. Dr. Klein does not aim to expound a new theory of feminine character. Rather she strives to do us the service of holding up to reflective thought—both hers and our own—the varying and conflicting theories of a number of well-known and frequently quoted writers. In the selection of those to whose theories, empirical data, and prejudices she devotes especial attention she allows, even within so small a sample, for variation by sex, by discipline, and by time period. The investigators discussed are Havelock Ellis, Otto Weininger, Sigmund Freud, Helen B. Thompson, L. M. Terman and C. C. Miles, Mathias and Mathilde Vaerting, Margaret Mead, and W. I. Thomas.

While it is fairly clear that Dr. Klein herself believes the sociological and cultural types of analysis to be the most fruitful in explaining most of the variety in feminine character traits, she does not take an extreme position and criticizes those who do. Her own position is best stated in the final paragraph of her conclusion. "We do not believe that, when these and many other approaches to the problem of 'feminine character' have been exhausted, femininity will, like a phantom, dissolve into nothing. On the contrary, the residue of typically feminine traits connected with woman's specific constitution, which is likely to remain after all is said and done about social conditioning, will have more substance and a greater scientific validity."

Of course, this statement only poses a problem. Dr. Klein does not herself suggest any possibilities for the kind of cross-discipline research or theoretical integration which will permit us to state, more accurately than is now possible, what aspects of feminine character depend upon constitutional factors, what in it is universally true from a psychological point of view or what is variant because of cultural differences. Nor does she have a very clear idea of the significance of institutional change in time as related to any of these.

It is also true that specialists of a particular discipline or subdiscipline can find much to quarrel with in some of the statements and criticisms she makes. For example, while she rightly criticizes Margaret Mead for a tendency to hypostatize culture and Freud for being too bound in his thought by his own culture, she herself is neither precise nor clear in the use of the concept of culture. At one moment her referent for a consideration of cultural difference is all of western Europe, at another it is a period in history, and at still another it is the distinctive patterns of particular societies. This is a common confusion of sociologists who try to use the language of cultural anthropology: the language is there but not the meaning. For certain purposes and at certain times it is helpful to show the influence of a difference in cultural patterning on the feminine role in nonliterate groups; but, when we come to speak of western Europe, we have moved from the folk to a society of more or less consistent trends. We have "modern woman" or a modern something else which is consistent regardless of cultural differences and finds alteration only in an evolutionary historical process. And then, in order to make our contrast clear cut, it is necessary to forget the interest in variation and create a singular folk culture out of the plurality of folk cultures. The "Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft" differentiation has been, and still is, the forked canal of sociological thought in which most of the meaningful subtleties of cultural difference get washed away. There is not as yet any real integration of cultural concepts with the concepts of sociology but only a use of them for illustrative purposes.

But, whatever objections of this general kind can be raised against Dr. Klein's specific interpretations and her theoretical position, it must be repeated and emphasized that her book is thoughtful and problem-raising and deserves the attention of clinicians and of social scientists of the several disciplines. This is true, in the opinion of the reviewer, whether or not there is on the part of any of these a special interest in feminine character. Dr. Klein has a real gift for penetrating the disciplinary and personal biases which we all have though seldom admit and concerning which we need much more awareness and understanding.

FLORENCE ROCKWOOD KLUCKHOHN
Harvard University

The American Woman in Modern Marriage. By SONYA RUTH DAS. New York: Philosophical Library, 1948. Pp. 185. $3.75.

Propaganda and statistics selected within the framework of opinion rather than theory do not produce a sound analysis of social process and

culture patterns. Dr. Das, an avowed twentieth-century feminist, looks to the American scene to prove her points that voluntary motherhood, legal equality, economic independence, and even easy divorce have given to American women an individuality and general social status hitherto unknown in history. With much difficulty and largely *ad hoc*, she tries to reconcile apparent contradictions. We are told that "modern women can thus become independent of marriage for their livelihood and social status. They stand on an equal footing with men in the two most essential functions of life and now have a chance for better development of their moral and intellectual qualities" (p. 61). But later she expresses a different trend of thought: "Divorce not only breaks up a family but often makes it difficult for the divorced person, especially the wife, to build up a new home. . . . The single life is not unwelcome but the worry, trouble and vexation and disappointment break the spirit of many women" (p. 97).

Confusion is found again in Dr. Das's interpretation of the statistics on the gainful employment of American women. She first has to rationalize away the fact that fewer women are employed outside the home in the United States than in some other countries. The presence of many immigrant males and a higher income level are the two main reasons she sees for the difference. Her expressed hope is that with fewer immigrants and increased industrialization more women will be so employed. But later she writes: "Modern marriage is not a permanent thing. The illness and death of husbands as well as desertion and divorce may compel women to seek outside employment at any time. . . . The employment of mothers, is, however, a different thing. Their primary duty is the rearing of children . . . but they are often compelled to work outside." Also we find the writer at one point saying that the majority of employed women are single women working for themselves and then contradicting it with the declaration that "women who are employed outside and have no household responsibilities are very few in number."

In fairness to the author it must be said that in her conclusion she points out that emancipation of women has created real problems. These she sees being solved by the creation of a "feminine code of ethics" which is to include all that she has been arguing for—voluntary motherhood, marriage based on mutual affection and possibly ending in divorce, and a vaguely phrased "freedom for the pursuit of the higher life." That some of these solutions have not solved much, her own earlier statements would seem to prove. The chief problem, she finally states, is marital maladjustment. For this she finds the solution in the vague moralism of "a development of spiritual relationship between husband and wife." Thus the book ends, as do the treatises of most propagandists, on the level of illusory intangibles.

Had the writer had a better theoretical conception of social structure in general and American culture in particular, had she even made some study of the history of the feminine role and the American family, she would have been neither so baffled by contradictions nor driven to such a contentless statement of solutions.

American women do have a high legal and political status, do occupy in some respects a favored position, but that there are severe strains in the feminine role is proved by the wealth of controversy today on the subject of women and their place in society. The strains are a result of the way in which the role is structured relative to other family roles and the way in which the American family is related to the total system, especially that part of it which we label the occupational system. This structuring is very different from that of even most European societies. Also very different are the American values which push independence and autonomy into top position. Women trained in their early years for independence and autonomy inevitably feel some strain in the wife-mother role which is predominantly dependent as it is geared to the occupational system. Still other sources of strain can be found if one has the analytical tools for discovering them. And, certainly, the elimination or alleviation of strains can only be achieved by some restructuring of role expectations and some alteration in our values. However generally or specifically one may define a "spiritual relationship," it is not something which can be willed and created outside a social and cultural context.

FLORENCE ROCKWOOD KLUCKHOHN
Harvard University

Families under Stress. By REUBEN HILL. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. x+443. $4.50.

This book is one more effort to extend the sociology of the family beyond history and

structure to a conception of it as a group constantly compelled to adjust itself to crises. It is a valuable study, not only because of its contribution to an understanding of the family dynamics as affected by war, separation, and reunion, but—of more importance to this reviewer—because it "attempts to test the findings of other studies of the family in crisis in a new context." As validation it may well point the way to sociologists who undertake research in other areas.

Hill studied 135 Iowa families temporarily broken through the father's military service. His original sample of 820 families (1 per cent) was depleted through lack of funds, removal of families from Iowa, refusal to co-operate, and lack of confidence in the work of one interviewer; also, as Hill readily admits, there is no guaranty of the representativeness of the sample. Nevertheless, the painstaking work both in the field and in the analysis of the materials makes this study fully as important as though the sample had been complete.

Hill first presents an exhaustive inventory of the crises encountered by his families; this alone is a valuable contribution to the understanding of family life. He then makes an exhaustive inquiry into pre-crisis situation (childhood experiences of the spouses, personal and social roles in marriage, the adequacy of family organization, etc.), and presents a factory-by-factor analysis of separation and reunion adjustment. Recognizing the limitations of the latter, he then combines factors into nine "statistical family types" and compares their behavior. Each of these is illustrated with an analysis of the case history of a modal family, which provides good teaching material.

Up to this point the book has largely ignored the dynamics of family organization and adjustment. In an effort to bring the latter into proper focus, the author, in collaboration with Mrs. Elise Boulding, then turns to the case-study method and analyzes the course of adjustment to both separation and reunion. This use of the case-study method provides some answers but, as the authors readily admit, raises many questions for further research.

The value of the book from the methodological point of view lies in chapter viii, where Hill attempts to bring together the statistical and case-study methods. Here the possible interdependence of the two is well illustrated; this chapter is *must* reading for the proponents of one *or* the other.

A final chapter on "Implications for National and Local Policy" makes some use of the findings of this and other studies in a discussion of the family's needs in a society such as ours. While it strays somewhat from the original intent of the book, it so well states a current basic problem that it should be required reading for all who are concerned with doing something about the family.

This book is also especially valuable for the thirty pages in which Hill discusses his methodology; these may well be required reading for all sociology majors.

In something less than four hundred and fifty pages the author has put together a work which is stimulating and enlightening to the student of the family, challenging to those concerned with the techniques of social research, and goading to those who accept unquestioningly our unconcern about this basic unit in society. One can ask for little more.

E. L. Koos

University of Rochester

Sociology: An Introduction to Sociological Analysis. By Nicholas S. Timasheff and Paul W. Facey. Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. xiv+399. $3.25.

This introductory textbook presents sociology as a way of looking at the world. Eschewing theoretical considerations and problems of method, the authors declare that the core of sociology is the systematic investigation of society. This edifice of the analyses of society, they further state, rests upon a "relatively simple conceptual scheme." The book presents some of these basic analytic concepts to beginning students—the tools of their trade, as the authors remark.

The basic concepts selected are interaction, function, and co-ordination. These concepts are applied first to the study of the family and other intimate social formations and then to increasingly complex and impersonal social groupings. Following this "completed" survey of social formations, more abstract and general concepts and propositions relative to social controls, culture, and social change are considered. The authors hope, in this fashion, to provide students with the means of achieving insight into the meaning of their own social situations as well as a comprehensive view of society as a whole.

Material in the book is presented in the starkest possible fashion. Theoretical and methodological discussions are avoided; statistics, tables, cases, and "other products of particular research" are not included; sources are not cited. Controversies are ignored, the authors stating that they believe controversial material should be considered in more advanced courses. One wonders how anything was salvaged for the introductory level. This series of omissions present the beginning student with far too simple and peaceful a view of sociological investigation. The absence of theoretical discussion precludes their fully understanding that concepts are tools of analysis and lends private meanings to those used by the authors. Lack of theory makes the areas of analysis seem arbitrary and the problems addressed somewhat capricious. The absence of the products of particular research means that the book never gets down to cases. Indeed, the authors suggest that course instructors should supplement the text with case material, and they provide a list of readings on "concrete social situations" against which to apply the "abstract concepts" developed in the text. Such treatment seems more adequate for a syllabus than for a textbook. The book remains at the level of affable generality and provides apt examples of points made. But the real heart of the research process—theoretical sophistication linked with humble and arduous research—is not in this book. This is its greatest limitation, especially since it purports to rest upon the empirical study of society.

Another criticism of the book is that often material presented as analysis is in fact description—and fairly obvious at that. As an extreme example of this fault, in the discussion of "interaction" in neighborhood groups it is stated that "members borrow or lend a cup of sugar, an umbrella, a book, household tools; failure to cooperate in this type of interaction brands one as a poor neighbor." A great deal of "analysis" is similarly superficial. But the most stringent criticism is that, where respectable analysis is made (and the bulk of the book is certainly respectable analysis), it is given to the student in predigested form. If students are to use the text to learn to make analyses of society, something of the stuff and process of analysis should have been included.

One could continue in this fashion, but the real merits of the book deserve more positive treatment. The orientation of the authors toward sociology and its introduction to students is heartily indorsed. Despite its shortcomings, the book stays rigorously at its task—the presentation of knowledge of group life secured through a framework of stated concepts. Its achievement is not lessened by pointing out that the addition of other concepts and the further implementing of those used would have made it a better book.

HARVEY L. SMITH

University of Chicago

Sociologie de la connaissance. By JACQUES J. MAQUET. Louvain: Institut de Recherches Économiques et Sociales, 1949. Pp. 360.

The author's primary concern is with the relation between sociology of knowledge as a scientific discipline and philosophical theories of knowledge, which he elucidates by means of an intensive critical study of Karl Mannheim's and Pitirim A. Sorokin's contributions. Maquet shows that the systems of both are based upon ontological assumptions about the character and nature of knowledge. Mannheim's theoretical system is grounded in Hegelian and Marxian philosophical premises, while Sorokin's "idealist" interpretation is based upon a mystical and "meta-rational" ontology. Many seemingly contradictory and ambiguous statements of these authors actually fall into place when one sees them as related to philosophical presuppositions rather than as the results of empirical investigation.

Maquet thinks that, as in all science, any system in the sociology of knowledge contains three basic divisions: factual observation, generalizations based on the result of factual inquiry, and general explanatory theory. Philosophical presuppositions intrude most frequently at the third level. Yet substantive scientific findings may be systematized into theoretical systems which are perfectly valid even if one does not share the author's explicit or implicit philosophy. An idealist might accept Mannheim's views as to the perspectivistic and practical character of knowledge, at least in a capitalist culture, without necessarily conceding that this is the only type of knowledge, or that man has not also a "spiritual" and transcendent nature. Similarly, a "sensate" scientist might accept most of Sorokin's conclusions on the cultural relativity of truth and the varying "cultural mentalities" without accepting his "integralist" and idealistic philosophy.

Maquet believes that it is important to distinguish between the criteria for propositions which are philosophical statements on the "true nature" of knowledge and those for theoretical generalizations synthesizing empirical data and serving as guideposts for future research.

The critical analysis of the contributions of Mannheim and Sorokin is painstaking and exceedingly rewarding. The author tries very hard to squeeze a maximum of logical and meaningful content from Sorokin's system, but, to this "sensate" reviewer at least, he does not succeed in establishing the empirical and theoretical value of most of Sorokin's findings. The analysis of Mannheim's thought, though following in the wake of the discussions by Merton, Child, Mills, Speier, von Schelting, and others, definitely helps to clarify the many unresolved and contradictory elements in his theory.

This work presents in itself a rather interesting problem for the sociology of knowledge. The author, a Belgian scholar who wrote the book during an eighteen-month stay at Harvard, writes in French; yet, but for the accident of language, the book might as well have appeared in this country. It shows a sure and complete knowledge of American contributions in the field; the Bibliography contains all important American publications, even down to book reviews, yet French contributions are thoroughly neglected: Durkheim, Lévy-Bruhl, and Granet are represented by only one work in the Bibliography, while Sorel and Maus, for example, are not mentioned at all. Durkheim's *Suicide* is quoted not from the original but from Sorokin's English text. This seems to be a result of the growing weight and prestige of American scholarship in European universities; to trace the existential basis for this trend would seem to be in itself a rewarding enterprise.

LEWIS A. COSER

University of Chicago

Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents. By AUGUST B. HOLLINGSHEAD. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949. Pp. xi+480. $5.00.

The Elmtown study follows the general tradition of Lynd, Warner, Dollard, and others in the investigation of class patterns in American communities. The study reaches similar conclusions for essentially similar reasons. Elmtown, an ordinary and reasonably typical midwestern town of about 6,200, is found to have a clear-cut class system which affects adolescent behavior both profoundly and adversely.

The author and his wife lived for part of a year in Elmtown, gathering information by various means. They established themselves successfully and seem to have had satisfactory co-operation from the inhabitants. There is little reason to doubt that by the time they left they knew the town and the young persons in it quite well.

The class system itself was inferred by a technical means which may appear to be somewhat more objective than was actually the case. Purposeful selection would appear to have had several possibilities of influencing the findings, perhaps unavoidably. To begin with, thirty families were *selected* by the author, to be sorted into levels by a panel of twenty-five persons who had been previously interviewed, and possibly somewhat stimulated to an awareness of class differences. The members of this panel arranged the thirty names into two, three, four, or five classes. They disagreed on the status of about one-third of the families, so ten of those which were hard to classify were dropped from the list, and the remaining twenty were again sorted by a new panel of twelve raters, "all *long-time residents* who had cooperated on other phases of the study." Ten of these employed five classes, with considerable agreement as to where each of the twenty names belonged. Ten persons, rating twenty families, ordinarily would be a rather small sample to form the basis of a sound generalization about a "class system" in a town of 6,200, even if the samples were representative. But it appears that both raters and rated families were *chosen* in such fashion as to maximize the likelihood of finding such consensus. Moreover, calculations of probability of such agreement happening by chance are impossible to interpret when it is not known how independent each decision was. Could it be that the ten long-time residents who had had conversations with the Hollingsheads all made their decisions uninfluenced by them, and with never a conversation with one another? Such independence of opinion is not characteristic of small-town residents.

The bias, if any is present, is of course a perfectly honest matter. Furthermore, it is hardly to be doubted that there are fairly recognizable levels of position and prestige in Elmtown, even if the above method is not the best basis for believing so. It at least shows that it is possible to find, by proper search, a handful of persons who

think there is class. But from this point on, those who saw two, three, four, as well as those who did not think there were classes in Elmtown, were left out of consideration, and the community is presented as having a "class system" with five classes, which an unsophisticated reader might interpret as the same as the rigid class structure found in the Old World.

The next research operation was the selection of raters to sort the 535 families to which the adolescents of the community belonged. These raters also appear to have been somewhat selected to favor the hypothesis of class. Only persons who appeared to be stable in their class level were used, and only adults who had lived in Elmtown for twenty years or more. The authors had ample opportunity to let the raters know what they expected to find. On page 34 it is stated: "Some families not in the study, who were known to both the rater and to us, were ranked by both parties before the first families in the study were ranked, so that the rater would understand *how we wanted him* to use the control list."

Raters were asked to judge each family on each of the following points: (*a*) the way the family lived; (*b*) income and possessions; (*c*) participation in community affairs; and (*d*) prestige or standing in the community. It would be remarkable if each of these four aspects should be actually found to agree and yield five distinct and nonoverlapping classes. Income generally has a reversed *J* distribution, with no tendency to form distinct levels. "The way a family lives" is not a quantitative matter and probably does not have uniform meaning to the various raters. It seems probable that what the raters actually did here was to classify the families mainly on the basis of occupation and prestige, which may in the minds of most Elmtown residents actually have a tendency to form levels. If this is the case, it might be a contribution to clarity to abandon the concept of "class system" and employ instead the designation "prestige levels."

The relationship of the frequency of various types of behavior to prestige level is brought out in a number of interesting tables that appear in the text and in the Appendix. This information appears to be the most original and useful in the study, and there is little doubt, even if there are weaknesses in the method, that these relationships are important as well as statistically significant. There is valuable material on the relation of prestige level to occupation, church affiliation, and church participation, and to school attendance, social life in high school, school grades, patterns of dating and other recreation, and vocational aims. None of the criticism in the present review detracts from the value of this worthy addition to knowledge.

Lavish use of correlation and chi-square techniques, however, does not necessarily insulate an investigation from unintentional biases. There are indications that the author of the study was so impatient with the tendency of his subjects to pay attention to some of their differences that his indignation obstructed the analysis.

One can view the phenomenon of varying styles of behavior in the different prestige levels in either of two ways. From the first point of view, certain persons get the most money, the best jobs and choice houses, while others get what is left. Then the upper-level persons protect their possessions by a variety of means, including mutual co-operation, social exclusion of inferiors, and capture of political institutions. The lower-level persons, barred from the culture of the upper levels, try to climb, fail in this effort, and in their frustration turn to drink, crime, dissipation, and rebelliousness. This is a drama of unjust exploitation and its miserable consequences, and it is the story which receives major emphasis in the Elmtown study.

In a contrasting view, the behavior of persons of the lower levels may be interpreted as the result of lack of experience with the cultures —as in the case of immigrants—or other occupational handicaps which place these populations in the circumstances which produce disorganization. The upper and middle levels share in, and maintain, a culture and a social organization which the lowest levels do not fully share. It is erroneous to conceive of the behavior of the lowest level as constituting a separate culture. To the extent that they deviate from the general American culture, these people are disorganized and while in this state are incapable of maintaining any complete social organization. This is a drama of organization and disorganization, and it receives little explicit emphasis in the Elmtown study, although much of the actual material appears to the reviewer to fit in well with this conception.

Not too deeply concealed between the lines is a conception of the upper level as selfish and cruel and of the lower level as unfortunate. The function of social exclusion in protecting social organization does not appear to be understood.

A social order cannot be successfully maintained if all influence of parents on children is lost, and the Elmtown material itself shows that, in general, the lowest-level adults have utterly lost control of their adolescent children and that through the influence of cliques this loss of control can be spread to other children in higher levels. Upper-level parents know this and do what they can to protect their influence over their own children. For example, one upper-level man encouraged his son to work as a cook in a Greek café, for business experience. His wife questioned the wisdom of this because of the possibility that the youth might fall in with a clique there and adopt its characteristic behavior. Her fears turned out to be justified—the boy joined such a clique, lost interest in his studies, and took to drinking and picking up girls in his old car. Parents who put pressure on their children to be careful in choosing friends have this kind of danger in mind. This is not merely the heartless rejection of one culture by another; it is a means of protecting responsible members of a society against potential creeping disorganization. It is not that the "class system" drives persons into undesirable behavior; it is rather disorganization which makes many of the features of a "class system" functionally necessary.

Evidence of and reasons for the disorganization of the Elmtown lower level are provided in abundance. The most conspicuous factor would appear to be the isolation of these persons from organized community life. This is not all exclusion by those who belong, nor is the isolation complete. But, on the whole, the lowest-level persons are not joiners. They do not go to church; they do not form organizations of their own or join those open to them. Dinners and parties at home are not their pattern. Members of families "usually go their own way in search of amusement or pleasure" (p. 119). High-school students in general do not attend athletic events or plays or join clubs or musical organizations. They drop out of school early to get jobs but perform poorly in this activity. "They will leave a job casually, often without notice, and for flimsy reasons" (p. 113). The picture is clearly one of light attachment to society and consequent individualism and irresponsibility—traits opposing organization of any kind.

While it may be a political virtue to give all breaks to the underdog, it is desirable in science to remain neutral and objective. Not all the miseries of the poor in Elmtown result from the control by the rich and powerful. It costs money to dress smartly but not to comb the hair, and some of the lowest-level children were rejected partly on the basis of personal untidiness. Their dwellings are miserable enough, but the author observed a considerable amount of litter around their premises. In Class V, the lowest level, only one family in seven has a bath and toilet, but there is a great deal of drinking, which costs money, and 57 per cent of them own cars. There is a range of choice here—they are not forced by the upper-level people to make their decisions in these particular directions.

It is conceivable that some of the tendency of lower-level persons to blame their unhappiness on a "class system" might be traceable to the fact that they knew the investigator was interested in this point. Anyone dislikes to be snubbed, and the paranoid tendency to put all the blame on the snubbers is widespread. Harriet Gates, of Class IV, in explaining her withdrawal from school, complained, "The kids all run around with each other in bunches. They are snobbish; unless you are just so, you are ignored" (p. 351). But her behavior was far from "just so"—her offenses included cheating, theft, and repeated sex relations from the sixth grade on. A teacher who once tried to help her received a bite on the arm. On the other hand, there are examples of children who did, by virtue of acceptable deportment, join cliques whose members were in levels one or two above their own.

Inequality of opportunity has various grounds. When families differ in taste and intellectual backgrounds, their children will have unequal opportunities to succeed in school. Those who lose interest in studies will increase the inequality of their own educational and occupational opportunities. There is an instructive chart on page 286 presenting the results of an inquiry into the types of occupations *desired* by the youth of the several levels, and their desires are unequal in about the same pattern and almost to the same extent as the actual distribution of occupations in the five levels. Nevertheless, Hollingshead insists that "the class system is maintained in part by the control of institutional offices by the upper classes" (p. 452).

In this improper and selfish control, the upper level is said to employ an ideology which has survived "a Revolution and a Civil War," presumably implying that these conflicts were fought to abolish a "class system" in America. The present situation is held to be so unjust that it calls for a deliberate effort to change our cul-

ture. Hollingshead recognizes that this would be difficult and does not say how it could be done, but nevertheless he assigns the task for prompt action, stating, "This is the challenge American society faces in the second half of the twentieth century" (p. 453). But possibilities of equality are surely limited—complete equality, even of opportunity, could not be brought about by even the most despotic government imaginable. Primary groups will always select their members, and there will always be disappointments when choices are not mutual. Selectivity is not always vicious; it has functions. The character of primary relations will always be a factor in occupational success and in prestige. Normal human beings can live in comfort with a reasonable amount of social differentiation.

The intrusion of the author's ideology does not destroy the value of the concrete findings, which are abundant and useful. The reviewer's justification for extensive examination of the point of view lies in part in the fact that the book is aimed at a wide public and attacks a social order in the name of sociology. To a considerable extent this appears to be a motive in the whole tradition of caste and class studies in the United States. It would enlighten the public if the distinction between the solid sociology that appears in these studies and the accompanying moral views which are not shared by all scientists and which do not emerge from methodical research were made clear.

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How Well Are Indian Children Educated? By SHAILER PETERSON. Washington, D.C.: United States Indian Service, 1948. Pp. 182. $1.00.

No enterprise in cross-cultural relations has proved more popular to espouse and more difficult to execute than the educating of subordinate peoples. There are many plausible theories and few validated principles concerning the effectiveness of various educational schemes in societies undergoing acculturation.

The Office of Indian Affairs in recent years has sponsored a number of basic studies to ascertain how it might formulate and achieve its goals. Both experts on its staff and outside scientists have made inquiries into various facets of the established programs. This monograph by a skilled educator reports the findings of a three-year study initiated by the director of Indian Education and supervised by the Department of Education of the University of Chicago.

To measure the educational attainments of Indian school children, a battery of special tests was administered to a sample of Indian children attending various types of schools. School achievements were related to such factors as type of school, degree of Indian blood, education of parents, mobility, extent of isolation from whites, tribe. Within the confines of this specific task, the author has done a craftsman-like job of analysis and presentation. Interpretive chapters by Willard W. Beatty and Ralph W. Tyler at the close of the report give depth and breadth to the findings by orienting the results in terms of the Indian educational program and by linking the Indian situation to that of other minority groups in America.

The main findings may be summarized as follows: Increasing proportions of Indian children are entering schools and are staying longer; the earlier hiatus between age grade and school grade is diminishing, and the younger generations reach a higher level of achievements at each grade than did their predecessors; there is no evidence of a learning plateau reached by children at an early age; while there are differences in the performances of Indians and whites on tests, neither excels the other in all spheres; Indians in nonsegregated schools score higher than those in all-Indian schools; the decisive factor in achievements is not the structure of the school system but rather a complex of interrelated social factors such as familiarity with the dominant culture, personal interaction with whites, parental education, skill in the use of the English language, and educational aspirations in relationship to life-plans. The lower achievements of full blood are explained as a function of limited contact with white culture and limited skill with the English language; in reality, they also reflect a fundamental difference in orientation to the dominant culture from that of mixed bloods.

It should be noted that the tests were constructed to assess the degree to which Indian children have absorbed the teachings of the Indian schools and not the validity or applicability of those teachings for Indian life. As other studies made by the Indian Service have shown, students can be taught to give the "right answers" in the classroom (and dependent peoples are masters of such social techniques) even though the acquired knowledge is inapplicable

on or off the reservations. The discovery that rural whites have a greater knowledge of the "resources" than do Indian children despite the greater emphasis on this in the Indian schools is not surprising. The conclusion reached by the author that this defect in knowledge of the use of resources among Indian children can be overcome by a further intensification in training leaves unanswered the question of why inculcate knowledge which the Indian children of some tribes believe they cannot use in their own world. These comments do not, in any sense, detract from the value of this excellent study but are given merely to call attention to the need for recognizing the framework of Indian life in appraising the implications of the findings.

The final conclusion—that Indian children show a marked interest in climbing the educational ladder—coincides with other studies of the aspirations of Indian peoples who have learned that education is the white man's "bow and arrow."

A study such as this not only provides a reliable means for determining the returns to be had from various measures but also offers suggestions to those making comparable studies of other dependent peoples of the world.

JOHN USEEM

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Protestant Churches and Industrial America. By HENRY F. MAY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. x+297. $3.50.

American Freedom and Catholic Power. By PAUL BLANSHARD. Boston: Beacon Press, 1949. Pp. 350. $3.50.

The Christian Reformed Church: A Study in Orthodoxy. By JOHN KROMMINGA. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Book House, 1949. Pp. 241. $3.50.

None of these books will attract much attention of sociologists for the reason that none of them involves an examination of problems of religious organization from a sociological point of view. However, social historians will be under considerable debt to May for his careful examination of the changing attitudes of Protestant church leaders to social issues in the period 1861–95. May is no church apologist who attempts to argue that the churches were alive to social problems because they undertook programs of temperance and Sabbath observance reform. These "burning social problems" of the nineteenth-century church are not mentioned; the author concentrates attention upon such issues as trade-unionism, the right to strike, the single tax, and socialism. The study reveals that Protestant church leaders were as indifferent to such issues as the great mass of American people. The work of a few of these leaders, however, became the base for the development of the social gospel movement of the twentieth century. Because of the limits the author set to his study he probably could not be expected to ask whether the indorsement of the social gospel represented a successful adjustment of the Protestant churches to an industrial-capitalist society. These churches, in growing out of the sect form of organization with its intimate fellowship of the spiritually elect, had become churches of the social classes. It is hard to believe, given the nature of Protestant religious organization, that indorsement of social gospel ideas could do more at the most than bring about a shift of the class basis of the church. The Protestant churches could make the choice of being social clubs of rich men or of poor men, but they faced insuperable difficulties in trying to be both.

If May's study suffers from a failure to examine some of the fundamental weaknesses of Protestant religious organization, Blanshard's study, *American Freedom and Catholic Power*, suffers from a failure to appreciate some of the real strengths of Catholic religious organization. Blanshard has taken too literally the documents he has read. The teachings of the Catholic church are a logical system, and any pronouncements on doctrine must fit perfectly into that system. To the outsider, therefore, the church appears to be united, completely sure of itself, with all parts acting in complete accord with the dictates of the hierarchy. Closer examination, however, would reveal a flexibility in organization and an accommodation of conflicting ideas not apparent from outside. There is a tolerance within the church which Blanshard wholly fails to appreciate, and this tolerance might be examined with profit alongside the intolerance of the Protestant religious sect or the intolerance bred within the spirit of "Americanization," made so much of by the author. That is not to say that the authoritarian form of organization of the Catholic church does not constitute a threat to a free society. The spreading network of Catholic organizations in

such fields as education, health, social welfare, and recreation, and the increasing militancy of the church in acting as a pressure group on governments, are indicative of a high concentration of power within a body which cannot easily be made responsible for its acts. Call it what you will, by totalitarianism or some other name, the problem presented by such developments in the organization of power in society must be faced. But the problem is not one confined to the position of the Catholic church in American society. Ultimately, and perhaps more crucially, it involves the position of the state itself.

For the student of religious sects, Kromminga's study, *The Christian Reformed Church*, will provide much useful material. By a careful examination of the church documents, the author has traced from the time of the founding of the Christian Reformed church in America to the present day the struggle of this small religious group to maintain its sectarian purity in face of the disintegrating influences of the American social environment. The broad implications of this struggle are scarcely appreciated by the author, who is a faithful member of the church of which he writes, and there is nothing in this study which adds appreciably to a theoretical understanding of religious phenomena in society.

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Labor Relations and Human Relations. By BENJAMIN M. SELEKMAN. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1947. Pp. xi+255. $3.00.

This is not a book of the moment; Professor Selekman's observations will probably be even more worth while ten years hence than now. It contains no startling revelations. Its premise—that labor relations are essentially human relations, with the strengths and weaknesses characteristic thereof—is not new. Its distinctive feature is its orderliness and completeness in following that premise through the successive stages of union organization, negotiation of the initial collective bargaining agreement, and administration of the agreement. The author concludes by pointing out the need for leadership in the future and by suggesting how that leadership is to be obtained. The author's observations throughout are marked by a wisdom which is not always found in an analysis of labor relations problems by the academician and a tolerance which does not always distinguish the advice of the "practical" labor relations expert.

In the opening chapter, "Impasse in Collective Bargaining," Selekman strikes the keynote of his inquiry: "Why at the present juncture of labor relations, with the widespread acceptance of joint dealings, does the administrator—of union as well as of industry—who is anxious to promote cooperation find himself compelled to deal so predominantly with conflict?" Again: "What, then, has been getting in the way of this free collective bargaining for which the country so deliberately and planfully laid the groundwork?" The job ahead is to learn "why conflict in industry has proved so much easier to evoke than cooperation" and to accentuate those elements which make for co-operation. The job is not simple, because the institution of collective bargaining in operation consists not only of "people," who are hard enough to understand at best, but "people *plus* all the internal and external forces that impinge upon their feelings, beliefs and aspirations and make them behave as they do in any given shop situation at any given time within any given framework of collective dealings."

The friction, harassment, and emotional tension which accompany the entry of a union in a plant, says the author, reflect "a profound social change that ultimately transforms the whole shop community." In the emotions generated by the organizational campaign, the strike to force recognition, or the drive for support prior to a representation election, all events marked by strong group appeals and counterappeals, the old loyalties are weakened and the new are forged, and the ground is laid for later hostility.

The "surviving hostilities and anxious anticipations" of prior events are carried over into the first negotiations. At this point the author suggests the possibility of using the negotiating process positively so as to liquidate rather than stimulate hostile feelings. Basically, his advice is to avoid discussions of "principle" in negotiating sessions in favor of concentrating on specific problems, such as exploring possible grievance procedures, seniority systems, and so on, appropriate to the needs of the parties in the particular situation. He stresses the desirability of participation at the negotiation level by foremen and rank-and-file workers, as serving "to cool off" hostile sentiments and to channel them into "the practical workaday problems of relationship" as well as to satisfy "the craving for status and security."

The launching of the agreement involves both technological and emotional problems. The author emphasizes the point that the agreement must be explained to those who will administer it and, equally important, that some ceremonial should be jointly invoked to celebrate and dramatize the burying of the hatchet.

The author reveals considerable experience in the field of labor arbitration, and this experience appears to have been put to good advantage in his discussion of such difficult important practical problems as the training of foremen and stewards in their new role. He emphasizes the point that "workers and management have yet to explore the cementing forces of their common American citizenship" and the importance in this regard of the attitudes of top leaders with respect to the alternative courses of "a democratic relationship—or 'cracking down.' "

The author seems to feel most at home in discussing (chap. v) the handling of shop grievances, "the heart of shop relationships." This discussion will probably provoke most interest among arbitrators and parties familiar with arbitration proceedings, among whom there exists a wide variety of strongly held beliefs and opinions. The author recommends "a clinical approach," in which an effort is made to discover the "real" as contrasted with the expressed grievance. He recommends that equal if not greater consideration be given to the latter, not only by representatives of the parties but by arbitrators, for he has no patience with a "legalistic" approach or with "procedures modelled chiefly on judicial or courtroom practice, with its rules of objective, logical evidence, to settle the most emotionally charged disputes." Here he treads heavily on some toes, and even those who agree would have him tread more softly, for safety's sake, but, as always, he evidently prefers to be sound rather than safe.

The discussion of resistance to shop changes (chap. vi) deals with one of the most difficult problems of industrial relations, even in shops long and soundly organized. "No class of complaints for adjustment under the grievance procedures proves more impervious than these protests against change." Pointing out that "the stop watch has become literally a hostile symbol" to workers, a feeling with which union leaders are often helpless to cope, the author comments on management's failure to appreciate fully the human aspects of resistance and to deal with them soundly. Illustrative cases are cited to support suggestions as to the "right" and "wrong" way to meet the problem.

The concluding chapters (vii, "Wanted: Mature Managers," and viii, "Wanted: Mature Labor Leaders") discuss what is needed at the shop level or the "grass roots" and at the level of top leadership to make collective bargaining work—to solve "the paradox of physical cooperation and human conflict." These chapters are generalizations derived from the observations in the preceding chapters which deal with more specific situations. There will be more widespread agreement with the generalizations than with the approaches recommended in specific situations.

Labor Relations and Human Relations will appeal more to teachers and students, particularly at the university level, than to the representatives of labor and management at the lowest operating levels. It should be read with greatest profit by the leaders of lab or and management who determine "policy" for the lower echelons. The rest of us can talk about it, but they are the ones to do something about it. The book could also be read profitably by arbitrators and other labor specialists who, while expert in their particular field, sometimes fail to grasp the common and continuing features of human relations implicit in all phases of conflict and cooperation between labor and management.

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Race Relations in a Democracy. By INA CORINNE BROWN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. viii+205. $3.00.

In spite of the number of excellent volumes devoted to the study of Negro-white relations in the United States which have appeared in the last ten years, there is still a place for one which is concise, readable, and yet comprehensive. *Race Relations in a Democracy* should be welcomed as a highly creditable attempt at filling this hiatus. Here America's outstanding intergroup problem is skilfully related both to the broader problem of minorities in a democracy and to race and culture contacts in a global setting.

The organization of the book is especially attractive. The author introduces her problem with a discussion of "Race in a Global Context." This introduction is followed by a brief summary of the sociological point of view. A dis-

tinctive feature of this volume, one missed in many treatments of Negro-white relations in the United States, is a section describing various attitudes toward race and color found outside the United States.

In her treatment of historical factors in American race relations, Brown adheres deftly and consistently to the theme that the problems of Negro-white relations in this country are national, not sectional, in both their origin and their scope.

This theme is followed in chapters describing the development of sectionalism and the slavery controversy, the Civil War, the evolution of new patterns of race relations after emancipation, and the present status of Negroes in the United States. That current discrimination and prejudice stem not merely from southern white hostility but also from a nation-wide lack of sympathy and respect for Negroes is indicated by the significant statement, "Had freedom come to the slaves as the result of a fundamental sense of justice on the part of the majority of people in the North or the South, the Negro's place in the nation might be very different from what it is today" (p. 75).

In "The Status of Race Relations" race problems are summed up as "growing out of the fact that white people and Negroes view their relationship to one another from different positions in the social structure." Hence there is presented "the fears of the white people" as over against "the Negro's point of view"—his desire for equal economic opportunity, for full participation in American social life, and for freedom from the stigma of inferiority. The psychological implications of this stigma are pointed out as one of the most devastating social costs of the color line.

The final chapter, "Looking towards Democracy," is the weakest portion of the volume. The addition of a "What To Do?" section to a book dealing with such a vital problem is highly desirable. If the conclusions of the social scientist have any relationship to reality, they will of necessity contain some implications for social action. But the suggestions for action should be consistent with the foregoing conclusions, and in this case they do not always seem to be so. This inconsistency, and a certain hazy generality characterizing the suggestions subsumed under the heading, "There Are Things To Do," may stem from the pervasive tendency among students of race relations to seek a painless solution of the far from benign problems which they study. It is true that "the ends to be achieved in race relations may be thought of in terms of immediate and long-term goals." It is also true that it is not to be expected that all discriminations can be removed at once in all sections of the country.

In discussing action programs for the South, however, the author seems to follow uncritically Myrdal's "theory of accumulation" when she suggests that "it would seem that at present the immediate goal with reference to segregation in the Deep South should be the removal of the conditions that make segregation appear necessary to the white population" (p. 167) and that "if segregation is made an open issue in the Deep South there is an immediate impasse which blocks further progress in race relations" (p. 164). It is suggested that "when the Negro population attains the educational and cultural levels of the white population, . . . when Southern white people have gradually become accustomed to seeing well-bred and well-dressed Negroes, . . . and the nuisance of providing the equal services required by Supreme Court rulings have become sufficiently irksome, compulsory segregation will be on the way out" (p. 166).

There is a serious question, however, as to whether such goals can be attained within the framework of segregation. The fallacy of "separate but equal" has been demonstrated frequently enough to indicate that Negro attainment of "the educational and cultural levels of the white population" can hardly be expected without breaches of the color line. Furthermore, the author herself indicates that improvement of the objective status of the Negro population will, in itself, create tension, when she says: "It is true that the social, economic, and educational advancement of the Negro will make it more difficult for white persons to maintain power and status merely because they are white." Most important, the thesis that segregation should be left alone until it goes "a piece at a time, quietly, and almost unnoticed," seems entirely inconsistent with the previous conclusion that one of the greatest handicaps affecting the Negroes' behavior is the inhibiting stigma of inferiority. Yet it is the symbolizing of this inferiority that constitutes one of the primary functions of segregation, and, so long as segregation exists, so long will the stigma remain.

The second important function of segregation is the prevention of "normal pleasant contacts with persons of other races"—and provi-

sion for such contacts is the very thing that Brown suggests as a means for laying the foundation for "tolerance and good will." In short, it is highly questionable whether, in a segregated society, white persons can learn to treat Negroes as individual persons rather than as members of a special group, no matter what the cultural level of the Negroes may be. Yet Brown declares that treating Negroes as persons is perhaps the largest single contribution that any white person can make to better race relations.

This is not to suggest that a broadside attack on segregation, either in the South or elsewhere in the nation, is advisable. An attack on the principle of segregation per se would certainly produce the impasse that the author fears. But the color line in the South, just as in the North, certainly contains soft spots. Vigorous pressure, legal and political, at these soft spots—action against specific forms of segregation, as well as against inequality—seems to be a necessary concomitant of any effort to raise the cultural and educational level of the Negro population. The experience of Negroes who have challenged segregation in interstate transportation and in higher education in the South seems to have demonstrated that the reaction their pressure evoked did not prevent the achievement of important gains.

The logical organization, the brevity, and the readable style of this book should make it attractive as a text for courses in race relations and as a sourcebook for discussion groups. Specialists in the field of race relations will find that they are already familiar with the bulk of the studies of which this volume constitutes a synthesis.

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Radio Listening in America: The People Look at Radio—Again. By PAUL F. LAZARSFELD and PATRICIA L. KENDALL. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948. Pp. v+178. $2.50.

This volume reports and interprets a survey made in 1947 on behalf of the radio industry. The schedule was worked out by representatives of the industry and the senior author, and the data were collected by the National Opinion Research Center. Its object was to find out what the listening public thinks of radio, what kinds of listeners make each type of evaluation, and what changes have occurred since the survey made two years earlier.

The major portion of the book consists of the question-by-question analysis of responses, done in the meticulous and lucid manner for which Lazarsfeld is known. The findings are presented in simple percentages, with extensive use of cross-tabulations. Except in a few instances more elaborate techniques are not used.

Many of the individual findings are of theoretical interest. For example, persons with moderate education contribute the largest proportion interested in adult education; persons who rely on a particular medium of communication most heavily tend most often to be its critics; persons who had read or seen *The Hucksters* included a disproportionate number of individuals who were highly critical of radio advertising, even with education held constant. Getting into the more speculative conclusions, the authors propose that more people favor some sort of regulation of the moral aspects of radio (e.g., accuracy of newscasts) than of the economic aspects (e.g., profits and advertising); but, of those favoring regulation, there is a greater tendency to call for governmental regulation rather than self-regulation by radio stations in the case of economic aspects than in the case of moral aspects. The reviewer feels that the last conclusion ignores another equally plausible interpretation, stemming from the constancy of the percentage favoring radio self-regulation regardless of the issue. Answers favoring radio self-regulation very likely do not refer to any formal control at all, in which case the important findings rest on the difference between percentages favoring government regulation and favoring no regulation. These form a continuum from time devoted to advertising, where fewest favor government control, to accuracy of news broadcasts, where most favor governmental control.

General conclusions of the study are that findings are similar to those of two years earlier and that there is a generally small amount of active dissatisfaction with any aspect of radio included in the survey and a general opposition to any major changes in the ownership or regulation of radio. However, the authors warn the industry against complacency, since the critical minority are disproportionately the "solid citizens, the well-educated men and women, able to express themselves clearly and likely to influence others." The authors have perhaps overlooked another possibility, that the entire study was oriented toward passive satisfaction. With alternatives not experienced, we should certain-

ly expect from most people passive acceptance rather than active disapproval. Without any search for who and how many are *enthusiastic* over radio, to pit against the data on radio's critics, the entire survey is inherently biased in favor of what the radio industry would like to believe.

Worth mention is the use made of the statistical technique of "latent attribute" analysis, a special application of the Spearman Bi-factor principle. Using this device, the authors can subtract from the numbers who criticize radio those who would criticize any institution. The same device can also be used to assign severity weights to particular criticisms of radio on the basis of the proportion of those persons employing each criticism who belong in the group generally critical of radio. By making the normal curve assumption—highly dubious in the light of highly skewed distributions reported throughout the book—absolute scale values of severity are assigned to the responses.

The book is informative and clear and should be readily understandable to the layman, to whom it is largely directed. Perhaps its principal weakness is hinted at by the authors—that for the most part it covers old ground. Under more imaginative sponsorship—and this is no fault of the authors—a great deal more new understanding of audience behavior could probably have been gained from a much smaller expenditure of money.

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Authority and the Individual. By BERTRAND RUSSELL. New York: Simon & Shuster, 1949. Pp. 79. $2.00.

This little book, listed at a high price relative to its size, contains the 1949 Reith Lectures, delivered by Earl Russell over the facilities of the British Broadcasting Corporation. Though they may scarcely be said to contain any very original contributions to social science or political philosophy, any social scientist or other literate citizen might well find it profitable to read and ponder them. The author's ability both as a thinker and as a writer is well known; and in these six short lectures he has set forth an excellent, lucid analysis and exposition of the problem which is fairly well indicated by the title he has chosen for the series; otherwise stated, it is the perennial problem of reconciling the need of human beings for order and a reasonable measure of security in their social environment with their need for freedom. Most American sociologists will probably feel that we do not know as much about the instincts of man as Russell seems in his opening chapter to assume that we do; however, if one reads carefully, one will perceive that he does not claim too definite and reliable knowledge but rather that he undertakes to set up what he regards as a few plausible hypotheses concerning the original nature needs or "drives" of our species, with considerable emphasis on their plasticity. Without necessarily subscribing to all its conclusions, however tentative, I heartily commend this book.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Social Problems on the Home Front. By FRANCIS E. MERRILL. New York: Harper & Bros., 1948. Pp. x+258. $3.50.

This volume, one of a series of war studies sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, is a study of social problems in the United States during World War II. Merrill's central hypothesis, set forth in the chapter, "War and Social Change," is that the war intensified but did not substantially modify the social problems of a peacetime society. This hypothesis is then examined in the light of various aspects of wartime behavior with separate chapters on the effect of the war upon family disorganization, childhood, adolescence, sex offenses, prostitution, delinquency, crime, and personal disorganization.

In a final chapter the author re-examines his original hypothesis in terms of his inquiry into existing social conditions and finds that war, instead of merely intensifying the social maladjustments of a peacetime society and therefore having no fundamental effect upon social problems, exerted a differential effect upon social conditions in the United States, intensifying some and temporarily reversing others. The rate of social change was increased; certain technological changes were accelerated; corresponding changes in the adaptive culture lagged farther behind than before; the rate of social mobility was intensified; social congestion was intensified in certain industrial and military centers; the gradual decline in the traditional function of the family was accelerated; more women were employed; many of the tensions which lead to

peacetime disorganization of the family were increased; desertion probably increased; the long-term trend toward increase in the divorce rate was accelerated; the emotional deprivation of children, due to the employment of mothers, was increased; the trend toward increased sexual freedom was intensified by wartime decline in the mores; adolescent adjustment was complicated by the accelerated differences between the generations; illegitimate births increased, but not so fast as legitimate ones; juvenile delinquency, crimes against the person, first admissions to mental hospitals, all increased.

But while certain conditions which were already present before the war were intensified, many others arose which were either substantially new or were modifications of old ones. These included: increased national consensus on the necessity of winning the war; the high morale resulting from the clear and present danger to national symbols; the increase in prejudice; the high level of employment due to demands for manpower and war production; the high income level; the large-scale and prolonged separation of families with significant changes in family roles; increased employment of children and adolescents and their sense of participation; the decrease in promiscuity for hire because of the more efficient social control thereof; the conflicting trends in venereal disease, with syphilis decreasing and gonorrhea increasing among the civilian population; the decrease in total crimes known to the police; the decline in the suicide rate to its lowest figure in recent years as many persons merged their personal problems into the national war effort.

To this reviewer the most serious fault of the study lies in the character of the data from which the summary and conclusions are drawn. First, the study deals primarily with the period from 1940 to 1945 (with the addition of data for 1939 in some series, less often of data for 1938, and the dropping-out of data for 1945, except that divorce rates are given yearly from 1922 to 1945), and accordingly the analysis suffers from the lack of a trend context. At best such a short period could be expected to reveal cyclical movements rather than trends, and in some instances one may question whether the period under consideration is of sufficient length to reveal a complete cycle (e.g., illegitimacy birth rates, 1941–44; arrests for prostitution and commercialized vice, 1939–45; venereal disease, 1939–44; juvenile delinquency, 1938–45; various criminal offenses and arrests, 1939–44; first admissions to hospitals for the insane, 1939–44; suicides, 1938–45).

Second, the analysis was not based upon firsthand data but instead upon whatever materials were readily available in published reports, chiefly of governmental agencies. The result is often a lack of comparability from series to series in regard not only to geographical area covered but also to completeness of coverage.

The author is to be commended for his cautious interpretation of his data and for limiting generalizations to conclusions which can be sustained by keen observation and established knowledge in view of the inadequacy of his data.

HARRIET R. MOWRER

Wilmette, Illinois

Social Psychology. By ALFRED R. LINDESMITH and ANSELM L. STRAUSS. New York: Dryden Press, 1949. Pp. xvi+549. $4.50.

The field of social psychology, being claimed by several disciplines, is often taught in a spirit of rivalry in departments of psychology and in departments of sociology. In many instances social psychology is taught under another name in departments of sociology in order to avoid continuous friction. Despite the clashing claims to the same field of knowledge and the competition engendered, most texts in social psychology are either eclectic to the point of having a mass of unrelated facts and theories between two covers or they adhere too closely to a psychological frame of reference, giving the student little insight into the relation of the individual to the group.

The text under review represents a genuine effort to provide an approach to the study of social psychology from a sociological viewpoint, having symbolic interaction as the central theme. The major preoccupation of the authors is to show how language is a basic human manifestation making for group life. They relate the human use of language symbols to the group influences on the individual.

This book consists of six parts, with the following major topics: "Language Behavior"; "Socialization"; "Personality"; "Race and Sex"; "Collective Behavior"; and "Organism and Environment." It is clearly written. It is leisurely, and the tendency is toward description of simple materials. The authors recognize that they have not set up a system and that they have used few research materials and sparse

documentation so as "not to tire the non-professional reader."

The serious shortcomings of the text are the very significant omissions in the analysis of language development and personality formation. These two central topics are developed in a somewhat superficial manner. The same criticism can be made of the discussions of race relations and sex behavior, which are developed in a sketchy manner. These topics are so obviously unrelated to the rest of the book as to make one wonder whether they are included just because they are materials "of interest." The weakest and thinnest section of the book is Part V, "Collective Behavior." Even though designed for beginning students, this section should have been treated more thoroughly. As it stands, it detracts considerably from the value of the book.

Despite the foregoing criticisms, the reviewer regards this text as a valuable contribution to the difficult task of orienting the student toward an appreciation of the meaning of the person in his multiplicity of roles and the manner in which the group affects him. The authors have concluded each chapter with a section of materials for discussion. Stimulating questions and quotations are designed to help the teacher and the student carry further the implications of the materials presented in the chapter. The book is commendable and fills a real need.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

Searchlights on Delinquency: New Psychoanalytic Studies. Edited by K. R. EISSLER, M.D. New York: International Universities Press, 1949. Pp. xiii+456. $10.00.

One of the purposes of this collection of thirty-four papers was to give pleasure to the great man to whom the book is dedicated, and undoubtedly that purpose was achieved before August Aichhorn's untimely death. Most of the papers are valuable in and by themselves, adding fresh insights to important psychoanalytic problems. Unfortunately not enough of them contribute directly to the understanding of delinquency. Some papers even express defeatism as to the possibility of treating delinquents on a psychoanalytic basis, though in this reviewer's experience such pessimism seems unjustified and is given the lie by a number of other papers in the same volume. It may have its basis in attitudes described in the excellent introductory article by the editor, Dr. K. R. Eissler, in which he says: "It is astounding to realize that delinquency has remained psychiatry's stepchild. It has been far less investigated than the major psychoses and neuroses. Indeed, it is more attractive to devote one's attention to the latter. By his stubbornness and disrespect the delinquent makes the psychiatrist feel helpless and impatient, to say nothing of the effects on professional reputation and on income which follow a persistent preoccupation with the dregs of society" (p. 4).

The thirty-four papers are divided in seven groups as follows: "General Problems" (three papers); "Clinical Problems" (six papers); "Technique and Therapy" (five papers); "Etiology and Development" (seven papers); "Social Psychology" (six papers); "Penology" (three papers); and, finally, "Surveys" (four papers).

Many of these papers are highly interesting but do not deal specifically with delinquency and seem misplaced in a volume titled *Searchlights on Delinquency*. Among the clinical papers, for example, we find Dr. M. Mahler's "Les Enfants terribles," a fascinating report on a little boy who, though most troublesome to his family, was by no means a delinquent. This is followed by a paper by Dr. E. Simmel on "Incendiarism" in an adult. The next paper, interesting in itself, is by E. Sterba and deals with a four-year-old girl. A fourth clinical paper, by K. Levy, on "The Eternal Dilettante" is a report on two adults whose worst deviation from accepted mores was their having remained dilettantes. "Each had been unable to make use of the training opportunities which opened up before her, and in their later years both devoted themselves to the education of children *without previous professional training*" (p. 67). The italics are mine, but the emphasis they express is the author's and constitutes the reason for viewing the two adults as delinquents.

Quite different are the first and last of the clinical papers, the one by Drs. L. Bender and J. B. Cramer, the other by Dr. S. A. Szurek. These are real contributions to our understanding of juvenile delinquents and of the problems encountered in treating them. Thus of the six clinical papers only two are based on the study of juvenile delinquents, both contributions derived from work in clinics or institutions, while the other four papers were written by psychoanalysts who engage mainly in private practice. And what is true of this group of clinical papers holds true of the rest of the collection.

Most papers in the collection dealing specifically with juvenile delinquency suggest the need for a deviation from the classical technique of psychoanalytic treatment, and some of them open up entirely new approaches for dealing with delinquents. The following in particular should be recommended to the student of delinquency: P. Bergman, "The Objectivity of Criminological Science"; Dr. R. Eissler, "Scapegoats of Society"; A. Freud, "Certain Types and Stages of Social Maladjustment"; Dr. W. Hoffer, "Deceiving the Deceiver"; Dr. A. Johnson, "Sanctions for Superego Lacunae of Adolescents"; F. Redl, "The Phenomenon of Contagion and 'Shock Effect' in Group Therapy"; and Dr. S. A. Szurek, "Some Impressions from Clinical Experience with Delinquents."

Drs. Szurek and Johnson's discussion of the modification of the classical psychoanalytic technique which they found necessary in treating delinquents should make most rewarding reading for anyone seriously concerned with helping delinquents. Dr. Hoffer's well-reasoned statements on how psychoanalytic methods must be modified to help delinquents should prove useful once his suggestions are more widely followed. This psychoanalyst, as well as Drs. Johnson, Lippman, Szurek, and others, has realized that the treatment of delinquents cannot be restricted to certain days, or certain hours of the day, but that the therapist must make himself available to his patients at any hour of the day or the night and any day of the week, as the needs of the delinquent may require.

Dr. M. Schmideberg in her article, "The Analytic Treatment of Major Criminals," makes the point that the treatment of delinquents or criminals should not take place while they live in a restrictive institution, but only after their discharge from prison. For sociologists in general this also highlights just where, in penology, the best use can be made of psychiatric skills.

In the group of papers devoted to the etiology of delinquency the outstanding contributions are the articles by A. Freud and Dr. A. M. Johnson.

Interestingly enough, this reviewer found the largest number of really important articles under the subheading of social psychology. Bergman's analysis of the attitude of society toward delinquents and criminals is a masterpiece of human and philosophical writing. F. Redl succeeds again in making a unique contribution to our understanding of group phenomena and of group therapy in his penetrating analysis of "contagion" and "shock effect" in groups. His paper is indispensable reading for every student of group behavior. In her article on the scapegoats of society Dr. R. Eissler presents a cogent analysis of the type of damaging interaction between staff and child which often makes institutional work so difficult. In addition, she sheds new light on the attitude of the community to the delinquent. Among the other papers this reviewer found rewarding were Dr. J. M. Dorsey's "The Use of the Psychoanalytic Principle in Child Guidance Work," Dr. H. S. Lippman's "Difficulties Encountered in the Psychiatric Treatment of Chronic Juvenile Delinquents," Dr. M. Grotjahn's "The Primal Crime and the Unconscious," and Dr. E. Jacobson's "Observations on the Psychological Effect of Imprisonment on Female Political Prisoners."

In conclusion it should be said that this volume contains a miscellaneous collection of papers of varying merit but that enough of them are excellent contributions to make it worth the reader's while.

BRUNO BETTELHEIM
University of Chicago

Personal Adjustment in Old Age. By RUTH SHONLE CAVAN, ERNEST W. BURGESS, ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST, and HERBERT GOLDHAMER. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949. Pp. xiii+204. $2.95.

This admirable monograph is a model for research reporting, and it tackles one of the most vital problems of our time. It deals with one of the three projects of the systematic research program on the social aspects of old age begun in 1944 by the Social Science Research Council Committee on Social Adjustment when it set up its subcommittee on Social Adjustment in Old Age. This report consists of three parts: theoretical or conceptual, dealing with definitions of old age and personal adjustment, with the cultural context of old age, and with the best criteria for evaluating adjustment in old age; informational, including census background data, a summary of previous pertinent research, and an analysis of the population of some three thousand cases on which the present project is based; and technical, describing how two instruments for the measurement of adjustment in old age, an Attitude Inventory and an Adult Activity Inventory, were developed and validated.

The report comes to grips at once with its

two key concepts—old age and personal adjustment. Because of defects in chronological, physical, psychological, and sociological criteria of old age taken by themselves, it is proposed that a combination of all four be set up. Old age would be said to begin "when a person is no longer able to maintain some stated proportion of the achievements of the average adult in his culture" (p. 8).

Personal adjustment is defined as "the individual's restructuring of his attitudes and behavior in response to a new situation in such a way as to integrate the expression of his aspirations with the expectations and demands of society" (p. 11). A cycle of personal adjustment is hypothecated as follows: (1) adjustment, (2) stimulation or frustration resulting from entrance into a new situation, (3) unadjustment, (4) maladjustment, and (5) readjustment. This cycle begins for the aging in middle age which "may be considered hypothetically as a relatively stable period of adjustment" (p. 15).

Many students might challenge the hypothesis that middle age represents a relatively stable period of adjustment. Traditionally it has been conceived of as especially unstable even for normal persons, not to mention victims of involutional melancholia: the menopausal woman and the middle-aged playboy are stock characters. More serious is the implicit acceptance of the "expectations and demands of society" as correct. Much of the societal role of the aged in our culture is restrictive, limiting their activities, lowering their status, demanding little of them, setting up low social expectations (p. 22). If we apply the given definition of personal adjustment, we will find that the best-adjusted old people are those who, whatever their capabilities, accept these restrictions. In many cases, thus, adjustment would mean deterioration. In such cases perhaps personal adjustment is not what we want, inasmuch as it implies that the "expectations and demands of society" are consonant with our fundamental ideals. To meet this criticism, Burgess suggests an alternative type of adjustment in which social norms, standards, and institutions would be changed to meet more fully the needs of the aged. The actual instruments, it will be noted below, did not use the theoretical definition of personal adjustment as here formulated.

Burgess considers five criteria of general adjustment: (1) participation in activities, (2) satisfaction with activities, (3) happiness, (4) absence of nonadjustive behavior, and (5) degree of wish fulfilment, and concludes that "it would be premature to claim that there is one best criterion of general adjustment" (p. 105).

The instruments finally evolved consisted of (*a*) an attitude inventory based on the second and third criteria listed above, plus "feeling of usefulness," and (*b*) an activities inventory based on the first criterion specified above.

The attitude inventory contains eight categories (health, family, friends, work, religion, usefulness, and happiness), each with ten scaled attitude statements weighted on the basis of judgments made of them by twenty-one mature judges, adjusted experimentally. The reliability was .72 as measured by correlation between two administrations, two weeks to two months apart; and .95 as measured by the split-half method, corrected for attenuation. The validity was measured (*a*) by correlating the attitude inventory with ratings of observers who had not seen the Schedule of Activities, (*b*) by correlating it with ratings of judges who had studied the subjects' self-reports in the schedule and the reports of interviewers but not the Attitude Inventory itself, and (*c*) by correlating with the Schedule of Adult Activities. The results were .53, .74, and .78, respectively. The author, Havighurst, concludes that none of these methods is wholly satisfactory and urges further research "to define more accurately the social demands and expectations of old people in various socio-economic groups of our society, and to find methods of getting more accurate judgments of adjustment according to these criteria" (p. 135).

It will be noted that this statement is almost a reversal of the Burgess concept of personal adjustment, where the burden was on the individual to accept the expectations and demands of society. Here the expectations and demands of the old people themselves are emphasized and adjustment is to be judged in terms of how well these are met by society.

The activity inventory consists of nineteen multiple-choice questions covering leisure-time activities, religious activities, intimate social activities, economic activities, and, because of its pertinence here, health. Weights were assigned according to a system developed by the authors. The reliability was .66 by the split-half method. On certain objective questions there was agreement in 81.9 per cent of the items in two administrations and in 62.2 per cent of the questions involving judgment. Havighurst believes the reliability is actually greater than .66.

This study is an admirable analysis of the ag-

ing process in the fifth decade of the twentieth century. But in a culture changing as rapidly as ours, old age itself can be expected to change also. In a generation or two the effects of restricted immigration, of a predominantly urban society, of widespread diffusion of higher education, of improved nutrition in infancy, of concerted attacks on the degenerative diseases, especially arthritis and cancer, of improved sensory aids, will show up in the aging process. Even more important will be the effects of increasing numbers of old persons. Increased numbers means that one of the most deteriorating blights of old age in the past—loneliness and spiritual isolation from peers—will be mitigated. We know that the reduced death rate has reduced the number of widows and orphans. It may also reduce the number of older people suffering from the trauma of disrupted personal and family life. The time may come when the stray old person may be as anachronistic as the nineteenth-century waif.

Each generation has its unique social and cultural environment. How much of what we now consider characteristic of the aging process may be characteristic primarily of people who passed their youth and maturity under certain social and cultural circumstances? Could we not profitably introduce the concept of "cohorts" which the demographers have found so useful in analyzing birth rates? The "cohort" of people entering old age a generation from now will probably age more comfortably, in more congenial company, and in circumstances—personal, social, and cultural—that are more conducive to adequate adjustment than the "cohort" analyzed in this report. Books such as the one here under consideration make a great contribution to this end.

JESSIE BERNARD
Pennsylvania State College

The Valley Below. By ALICE MARRIOTT. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1949. Pp. ix+243. $3.00.

The author states at the outset that in writing *The Valley Below* she is not "ethnologizing"; rather this book is the record of a particular instance of the "peculiar kind of existence" characteristic of an ethnologist. As such it is diverting and entertaining, but, if it has any relevance to the general field of the social sciences, it is only as a means of popularizing the human side of the ethnologist.

Perhaps it is not quite fair to say that *The Valley Below* has no sociological significance. The two chapters dealing with the social life of Round Valley and those dealing with a description of the community and with the ethnic characteristics of the inhabitants are distinguished by their qualities of keen observation presented in a particularly palatable form. It is clear that in many cases Miss Marriott is indeed "ethnologizing," and it is to her merit that the transition she makes from her role as a woman carving out a new life in difficult surroundings to that of ethnologist is so inconspicuously accomplished. There are decided advantages to having adventure books written by people trained in the social sciences: this book was intended for lay readers, and the lay reader cannot but gain insights which would not be made available to him by the usual writer of a book of this type.

The ethnological and sociological data are made secondary to the telling of the story, and for this reason the serious student of sociology or ethnology would do well to read the book in the spirit in which it was written and to turn to Miss Marriott's more serious writings for their ethnological data.

OLIVE WESTBROOKE QUINN
Southwestern University at Memphis

The Social Areas of Los Angeles: Analysis and Typology. By ESHREFF SHEVKY and MARILYN WILLIAMS. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. 172. $4.00.

This publication is, undoubtedly, one of the most interesting recent contributions to urban sociology. Two somewhat different intentions are apparent: the authors are simultaneously concerned with a description of the Los Angeles area per se and with problems of the approach to urban sociology in general. While these two purposes are somewhat in conflict and while it has not been possible to offer both an all-encompassing new approach to problems of urban sociology and also a complete view of the city of Los Angeles, it is the twofold orientation that makes this monograph a stimulating contribution to the field. Data about Los Angeles serve as an illustration without which the general propositions and techniques presented by the authors would have failed to excite the interest of the empirical scientist.

An introductory chapter places the modern American city in a broad framework of popula-

tion movements, international in scope. The growth of Los Angeles is thus related to recent phases of internal migration in the United States. This chapter is recommended as required reading in classes on urban sociology.

The rest of the publication is devoted to three problems of sociological analysis: segregation, the establishing of a typology of urban environment, and urban age and sex distribution. All these problems are sufficiently central to the analysis of urban fabric to permit the authors to develop a systematic description of different city areas and to apply their instruments of analysis in the presentation of materials related to urban Los Angeles. In the study of Los Angeles, they thus progress from random description to systematic analysis. In this manner much material, not pertinent to these problems, is lost. On the other hand, the authors have achieved an integrated presentation of the materials selected.

The problem of segregation is treated with refreshing simplicity in terms of "degrees of isolation" of a given ethnic group. "The relative isolation of population groups may be measured by the ratio of their average percentages in the population of neighborhoods where they live to their percentages in the total population of an area" (p. 49). In connection with a careful analysis of social rank, the authors arrive at the interesting conclusion that the most isolated ethnic groups are concentrated on the lowest status levels (p. 57).

With regard to urban age distribution, the authors follow more conventional lines. Their typology of urban environments is related to indexes of social rank, urbanization, and segregation. Interesting information is gained with regard to the manner in which these different indexes are typically related to each other in the urban environment. Lazarsfeld's concept of attribute space is brought to bear upon the presentation of typological materials.

The brevity achieved in the systematic presentation of statistical materials must be looked upon as one of the outstanding accomplishments of the authors. They are never lost in the multitude of data available for our urban communities. Only such pointed presentation of statistical city materials will make it possible, in the future, to arrive at concise comparisons between different urban communities, to arrive at general and verifiable conclusions in the field of urban sociology.

Still, the question remains whether we can limit ourselves entirely to the systematic analysis of readily available census data in sociological investigations of an urban area. The authors make no such assertion. They are surely aware of the fact that, in making a general contribution to the scientific approach in urban sociology, they have had to withhold much information about Los Angeles that did not lend itself to similarly clear and systematic treatment.

SVEND RIEMER

University of Wisconsin

The Highlands and Isles: Their Regional Planning. By ARTHUR GEDDES and F. D. N. SPAVEN. Edinburgh: Outlook Tower, 1949. Pp. 53. 5*s*.

Principles of regional planning are applied to a territory in danger of economic decay and demographic depletion. Mainly a reservoir of manpower, in recent decades the Scottish highlands and isles are searched for economic potentialities that might bring emigration to a standstill and assure a reasonable contribution to the national income of the country.

The diversity of natural conditions causes administrative problems in this region. Moreover, present governmental units are so located as to include, for each individual unit, the full variety of arable tracts, moor lands, forests, and, finally, cliffs not usable for any purpose. For planning purposes the territory is divided into four subregions: the North-East Farming Lowlands, Straths and Glens of the East and South-East, Deer Forest and Proposed National Park Zone, and the Township Crofting Zone. Each of these subregions is claimed to be amenable to different planning action according to climate, soil conditions, vegetation, and social as well as economic traditions. The subregions are conceived as problem areas to be administered from centrally located communities not coincident with present seats of government.

In true planning fashion the writers do not point to any one single solution for area rehabilitation. Energy resources as well as available technical skills, soil conditions as well as traditions of community life, are scrutinized with regard to potentialities for economic and social revival. Geographical materials are painstakingly and clearly presented. We need many more of this sort of regional case study.

SVEND RIEMER

University of Wisconsin

American Community Behavior: An Analysis of Problems Confronting American Communities Today. By JESSIE BERNARD. New York: Dryden Press, 1949. Pp. xvi+688. $4.50.

This text is designed for undergraduate sociology courses on contemporary social problems. As such it will be welcomed by college students and instructors for its clearly outlined organization of topics, very readable style, and the wealth of illustrative materials, many from the daily press, which give a concise review of what has been going on in the American national community since World War I, perhaps stimulating the student to keener awareness of what is in his daily newspaper as well as what is not.

Underlying the organization and selection of materials is a democratic idealism. A study of "American conceptions of democracy" is summarized in an appendix apparently intended to serve as a formal statement of this idealism.

Fortunately, Mrs. Bernard is not too constrained by either her topical outline or the formality to which any summary of democratic principles is subject, and throughout her book there is a fresh, breezy approach which this reviewer believes will win favor in the generation to which it is addressed.

In six parts and thirty chapters, this text leads the student through a consideration of the nature of community, competitive behavior within it, conflict behavior, disorganization and dissociation, personality and community, and "the world community," thus integrating larger social problems with those of familiar experience.

BUFORD JUNKER

University of Chicago

The Polls and Public Opinion. Edited by NORMAN C. MEIER and HAROLD W. SAUNDERS. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1949. Pp. x+355. $2.50.

The unanticipated result of the 1948 presidential election acutely embarrassed the pollsters and put them for a time on the defensive. Instead of jumping into the nearest river, however, they held a conference. The Iowa Conference on Attitude and Opinion Research met in February, 1949, at the University of Iowa. It was essentially a post mortem in seven sessions, with over thirty participants. The present volume consists of the complete proceedings, including the formal papers, the remarks made in discussions, and voices from the audiences. On the whole, this gathering of polling experts stuck more closely to business and made greater visible progress, than is generally achieved at such meetings.

There was tension, particularly at the start. Although few of the outright jokes drew recorded mirth, almost any reference to the November election surprise was followed by "(*Laughter*)." Though belligerent defense was not lacking, admissions of error were freely made. Some confessed at the mourners' bench that they had allowed the public to conceive of their polls as infallible. Various other instances of poor judgment were recognized. But the conference quickly turned to inquiry to establish what was wrong, what should be done to improve the technique, and, most important of all, what should be the role of the polling instrument in the general study of human behavior.

The following were among the judgments expressed at the conference:

1. There were defects of sampling. The quota sample is theoretically and in practice inefficient. Experience with area samples on the whole appear to show somewhat better results, though some practical difficulties are encountered.

2. Sampling errors are not the only, or even the most important, defect. A perfect sample would not necessarily give an accurate forecast. In the process of interviewing, the relation of the interviewer to his subject, the wording of questions, and other details of the interviewing activity can be important sources of variation.

3. Statements of voting intention are not equal in value. Members of interest groups—farmers, active union members, members of racial blocs—are more likely to carry out their preferences by taking the trouble to vote. Persons without strong interests or loyalties, or with conflicting loyalties, appear to be less likely to vote, even if they inform the interviewer that they intend to do so.

4. Probably most important, in the 1948 election, was the error of disregarding trends in voting opinion. The reason for this blunder lies in part in the history of political forecasting. Polling for this purpose, having been developed mainly during the Roosevelt era, produced generalizations which appeared valid in that stretch of history but which were to fail in later times. Apparently the voters, over the years, had come to know Roosevelt so well that at the later elections they had only to express their

fixed preference. All that could be required for a voting decision was to consider the Republican candidate to see whether he seemed better or worse than the familiar occupant of the White House. This could be done early enough and seemed to have been done early in 1936, 1940, and 1944. One prominent analyst published in 1944 an influential paper stating that "the election is over" some weeks before the polls opened. The pollsters apparently became so convinced that this habit of early decision was a law of political behavior that in general they failed to keep a close eye on the sharp upturn in pro-Truman sentiment in the late weeks of the campaign. In later analyses of results this upturn was clearly shown, and research in the nature of such changes now finds eager moral support. It is suggested by some of the participants in the Iowa conference that Truman and Dewey were not so thoroughly known as was Roosevelt or so intensely admired or disliked. There was less interest in the election and weaker intention to vote, more indecision concerning how to vote, and a confusion of cross-pressures producing what some called a "gelatinous condition" in the electorate. The vigorous campaign of the final weeks—in which Truman sold himself to the farmers and brought out vigorous organized support by labor unions—in connection with a general apathy even among Republicans toward the overconfident Dewey produced the late shifts of intention which overturned the predictions.

A reader would not judge that polling itself is a science. It is first of all a practical tool which requires skill and wisdom for efficient use. It can be applied in various ways: to predict elections, forecast sales, guess how judges may rule on the law, or tell Congress more accurately than the mailbag does what constituents want. It may also, however, be used to contribute to a body of organized scientific knowledge; and the conference did not entirely overlook this application, though here less progress was made. Pollsters are aware that they are sometimes accused of not knowing what public opinion is, but in some instances they dispute the point or complain that they find little help from nonpollsters who write about public opinion. One participant asserted that there was in fact little or no evidence of any marked growth in understanding of the processes of public opinion and attitude formation for the last twenty-five years. Yet virtually all the speakers appeared to hunger for this kind of general science. The symposium gives an impression of a spirit of inquiry along this line, and one concludes that considerable progress will be made if the best skills and largest efforts are not continually drawn off into the service of commerce.

The proceedings do not provide support to any of the popular attacks on the ability and integrity of the users of the polling instrument.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS
University of Washington

American Immigration Policy. Edited by WILLIAM S. BERNARD, CAROLYN ZELENEY, and HENRY MILLER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xx+341. $4.00.

Jews in Transition. By ALBERT I. GORDON. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949. $4.00.

For several years the National Committee on Immigration Policy has sponsored a study designed to acquaint the public and Congress with inherent fallacies and misconceptions in the American immigration policy following the discriminatory quota law and National Origins Act. Their survey is a valuable one, since the rigidity of these laws has made it impossible to take care of refugees and displaced persons after 1939. The present volume is probably the most complete appraisal of American immigration policy yet published.

Bernard and his associates give a first-rate survey of our immigration policy from early times, together with the effects of the quota system, but devote more space to the economic aspects of immigration and the effect on population growth of immigration, in line with more recent demographic theories. They give two chapters to the modes of adjustment made by immigrants and show clearly that within the limits of their situation their adjustment to American life has been satisfactory.

The volume calls attention to several neglected aspects of immigration which should be briefly mentioned: the quota law of 1924 had the unexpected effect of changing the occupational distribution of immigrants, so that fewer unskilled laborers were admitted; the result was that thereafter much of the labor market's demand was satisfied through nonquota immigration from Canada and Mexico. With regard to economic effects of immigration, the authors show that the number of jobs grew faster than

the population, that displacement of jobs was upward for native whites, that the areas with the largest number of immigrants were also the wealthiest areas of the United States, that states with the most foreign-born do not show the highest rates of unemployment, that immigrants brought considerable diversity of industry, and that wage rates rose regularly in peak periods of immigration. They quote responsible economists who deny the fallacy of job displacement by immigrants and point out that one of the contributing causes to the depression of the 1930's was the rapid reduction in immigration following restrictive legislation of the twenties.

A careful analysis of the effects of immigration on population shows that natural growth has been several times higher than the increase by immigration and that since 1927 there has been an excess of deaths over net immigration. The ratio of immigration to population annually is usually under 1 per cent. Drawing on the economic theories of Hansen and Keynes, the authors indicate that the expansion of American industry and private enterprise has been due in large part to the surplus of population brought in through immigration, and they make the point that, when population is not expanding rapidly, central governmental planning becomes a necessity, because the so-called "regulative factors" that operate in a free economy during a period of rapid expansion are no longer present. They refer to the decreasing rate of population growth in the United States and show that with our present quotas the American population would decline before the year 2000. Then they quote the economic effects of a declining population, as given by Myrdal: decline of investment and production, decline of agriculture, increased risk of investment, lower standard of living, and an increase in social planning. They prove, at the same time, that the greatest absorptive power for migrants is in industrial countries like the United States rather than in purely agricultural countries like those of Latin America.

Finally, they point to the inflexibility of our present quota law and show that from 1930 to 1946 only 560,000 immigrants arrived instead of the quota figure of 2,616,000. This is because the discrimination is against southern and eastern Europe, where quotas are oversubscribed, rather than against northeastern Europe, where the quotas are never filled. Thus national origin outweighs economic considerations: immigrants are judged in terms of ancestry or national origin rather than in terms of individual merit or the needs of our economic system.

After examining the immigration policies of other countries, the authors then make several proposals for a reorientation of United States immigration laws. They propose (1) that the quotas should be increased; (2) that a pool of unused quota numbers should be created, which can be applied six months or a year later; (3) that some occupational criteria be used for immigrants; (4) that quotas for Asiatics be established; (5) that more consultation with international agencies precede any change in immigration policy; and (6) that a congressional committee of both houses should prepare an alternative to the present national origins and quota system.

The case for these changes appears so clear and is so solidly buttressed by argument that it will probably stand. At the same time there probably could have been more emphasis on the early racism in our naturalization law and a clearer recognition of the real difficulties of adjustment when immigrants with different linguistic backgrounds came to the United States. Here they have oversold their case and go so far as to say that there is no demonstrable difference in the adjustment of old-stock and new-stock immigrants (p. 52). They also fly in the face of evidence when they say that "no real problems" have resulted from Mexican immigration (p. 53). Some of their ammunition is directed against the general position taken by H. P. Fairchild in his analysis of immigration in *Race and Nationality*. But this is done by indirection. It might have made for more clarity and keener awareness of Fairchild's fallacies if they had analyzed his position in detail. The authors also have not mentioned the opposition of many Negro leaders to increased immigration and the issues involved in this thorny problem. Finally, the book, while a monumental work of sustained argument marshaled with detailed evidence, is not one which will be read by the general public but only by scholars and experts. It is doubtful whether an approach of this kind will have much direct influence upon Congress without a good deal of public support, and public support will hardly be won by a volume which is not of general appeal. Had the authors presented their evidence as convincingly as the writers of the little pamphlet on *Segregation in Washington*, they might have been met with an instant response. It is still to be hoped that a popularization of this volume will appear, either

in the "Public Affairs" pamphlet series or elsewhere.

The volume by Rabbi Albert I. Gordon tells the story of an immigrant community in Minneapolis, so as to describe, as the title shows, a people in transition. Dr. Gordon reviews the early period of Jewish settlement in Minneapolis and describes the rather unusual local anti-Semitism. He then reviews the changes in Jewish beliefs and practices, dietary laws, feast and fast days, synagogue, education, and family life. At the close of the volume he presents case histories of several different families, starting with the immigrant group and carrying through to the third generation. At the end he presents a summary survey, "Living in Two Cultures," of the various changes incident to acculturation and adjustment.

For the reader unacquainted with Jewish life in the United States this study of a single community and its steady Americanization is an excellent introduction. Particularly useful are the careful descriptions of religious observances which may be unfamiliar to many readers. The culture conflict is also convincingly presented and gives the reader a sense of sharing the dilemma of the Jewish community.

Those who desire a purely objective account of Jewish acculturation and adjustment to American life, however, will not find it here. Even though it is a defensible argument that the renascence of Jewish religious life is spearheaded in the Conservative congregations, as witness the Reconstructionism movement which arose from that center, Rabbi Gordon, who represents the Conservative position, in spite of the best intentions in the world, makes this normative for the entire Jewish community. He accepts Mordecai Kaplan's classification of the people into "affirmative Jews" and "marginal Jews" and in his examination of Reform Judaism makes it quite clear that he regards this group as belonging to the "marginal" category. In his case history he pictures the Reform youth as one who never saw any sense in Jewish customs. He has made no study of unaffiliated Jews, though he admits that this is a fertile field for observation (p. 164). He also observes that if anti-Semitism ceases, the Jew will become assimilated—a statement which could be twisted to justify a certain amount of anti-Semitism as necessary for Jewish survival. Thus, while he approves cultural pluralism in general as "the right to be different" (p. 308), he does not make it clear whether he believes in the application of this principle within the Jewish community itself.

Whatever the shortcomings of Rabbi Gordon's somewhat limited perspective, he has presented us with a much-needed analysis of the cultural changes in a specific Jewish community which will serve as a landmark for studies of the same kind in other communities throughout the United States.

R. A. SCHERMERHORN
Western Reserve University

These Our People. By R. A. SCHERMERHORN. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1949. Pp. xii+635. $4.50.

This book comes as a cool breeze across the fevered field of race and minority relations. It is committed to no special theory, favors no type of research, and advocates no program to the exclusion of others. It presents and evaluates pertinent theory, research, and action programs in a temperate but uncompromising fashion.

Presupposing little in the way of sociological training, it can be read by a wide audience. Nevertheless, it confronts problem areas in such fashion that it recommends itself to sociologists concerned with the histories of a selected group of racial and cultural minorities, their modes of adjustment to the American milieu, the recurrent problems and processes which emerge, and suggestions for action.

In the attempt to avoid a confusing mass of detail, the author has selected for presentation those minority groups with whom the average American is most likely to have some familiarity or contact. These are also the groups with the largest population. These groups are classified as racial minorities: the American Indian, the American Negro, the Mexican, and the Japanese American; as the "new" immigrants: Italians, Poles, Czechs and Slovaks, Hungarians, and Yugoslavs; and, as the perennial minority: the Jews. A "life-history" of each group is presented in the substantive core of the book. This material includes the modes of acculturation of the groups and the associations which have proliferated around such adjustment.

The author steers carefully away from unicausal and overly simple analysis and stresses instead the complexity of the phenomena being dealt with and the necessity for viewing the data from as many angles and with as many lenses as is possible. He contends that the prejudice

against prejudice and the intolerance of intolerance on the part of those concerned with the study of ethnic situations has, in many cases, precluded free and frank research. He accepts no simple explanations such as that groups are a minority because they are hated but attempts instead to explain their subordination and the "hate" associated with it. In so doing, the author musters a battery of research, revealing a fruitful eclecticism.

Envisioning the dominant historical American norm as being that of white Anglo-Saxon Protestantism, he sees minorities as the product of power relations. These subgroups, with distinguishable differences from the dominant group, achieve only limited participation within the larger American culture and remain outside the range of full acceptance. This is readily rationalized into the imputation of inferiority. The conflict between the dominant and subordinate groups develops two modes of response, overt discriminatory behavior which may culminate in segregation, and the complex of attitudes, beliefs, and emotions which comprise prejudice. These responses are "derivatives and protective devices arising from privileged power status." Throughout this analysis the terms "prejudice," "discrimination," "stereotyping," etc., are used as concepts and not as epithets. They are considered as rooted in understandable social processes and not in personality pathology. Minority problems, the author writes, are "functions of historic experience" and need to be understood in these terms.

It is against the exclusion of minority groups from full participation in the life of our culture that the author levels an uncompromising attack. We need, he says, "a new philosophy of differences." The book is a plea for the validity and the need of recognizing cultural pluralism. It stresses the "right to be different" and insists upon frank recognition of differences among cultural groups, dominant and minority. But such differences must not be permitted to form or to remain the basis of systematic subordination.

These considerations provide the aim of the programs for minorities which the author supports. The mingling of cultures and people cannot be left to chance, nor can such a goal be imposed. It must be elaborated in a framework of "cooperation within differences." And this framework depends upon the blending of research, education, and action. The author presents a critical review of the research, training, and action programs current in the field of race and minority relations. Despite the relatively feeble gains of the enormous mobilization of intelligence, ideals, and energy, he feels that such efforts point the way in which ethnic and racial diversities may be used to create a wider and richer national unity.

This is a broadly based book which ranges over a vast field of historical and scientific literature and yet remains organized and concise. Rich in ideas and well written, it is recommended reading.

HARVEY L. SMITH
University of Chicago

Amerika-Svensk Lyrik: Genom 100 År, 1848–1948. By MARTIN S. ALLWOOD. Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden: Institutet för Samhällsforskning (The Institute of Social Research), 1949. Distributed by Bonniers, New York. Pp. xxxviii+165. Sv. kr. 10.00 ($3.00).

The literature of an immigrant group affords important documents for the understanding of the process of acculturation. Whether it be letters and personal documents computed originally for a selected circle, articles intended for a wider public, novels or poetry, it mirrors the attitudes and emotional reactions of the immigrant as he tries to adjust himself to a new society and a new culture while innumerable ties still bind him to the old culture that once formed his personality.

In Allwood's recent publication the reader is presented with an anthology of Swedish poetry written in America over a period of approximately a hundred years since 1848. This period, according to Allwood, forms a complete and concluded epoch in the history of the Swedish people in America. It is a period "of remarkable achievement but also of loss. From the point of view of literature, 1948 may be regarded as a dividing line, after which poetry written in the Swedish language in America will assume the character of historical material, irrevocably belonging to the past." While this statement is probably true for the Swedish as well as for a number of other ethnic groups in America, the explanation given by Allwood contains certain questionable generalizations. The Swedish language has shown a particularly low degree of persistence in the United States as compared to several other minority-group languages (see Lowry Nelson's "Speaking of Tongues," in the *American Journal of Sociology* for November,

1948, pp. 202–10), and it seems unwarranted to make any conclusions about the persistence of minority languages in general on the basis of the Swedish example.

The selection of the poems has been made primarily on an aesthetic basis. It is explicitly the aim of the editor to present the best of what has been written in the Swedish language in America. On the other hand, it is also his intention to present an anthropological document mirroring the characteristic attitudes and emotional reactions of Swedish immigrants in the United States. This is the main subject of the Introduction (with an English summary), wherein the editor gives a brief description of the background of the poets and some interpretations of the attitudes expressed in the poems. Biographical information about each of the poets is given at the end of the collection. While the justification for including some of the poems presented in the collection may be questioned on an aesthetic basis, here we shall only concern ourselves with the value of the collection as an anthropological document.

In the first place, it is important to determine what group, if any, the poets in the collection represent. One limitation upon the anthropological significance of the material is the fact that, at least in the Swedish group, only the first generation of immigrants seems to have expressed itself in poetry. Of the eighty-six poets represented here, only two were born in America, one of whom had a greater part of his education in Sweden. But, even so, the selection cannot be regarded as representative of the whole Swedish immigrant group. Dealing with a rather refined mode of expression such as poetry, it is natural that people of literary taste and training should dominate the selections; and this has been further emphasized by the adoption of a principle of selection on the basis of aesthetic quality. It is the cultural elite of the Swedish immigrant group, or a certain faction of it, that is presented to us. A relatively large number of the poets have had higher educational training either in Sweden or at Swedish institutions in America. And they are predominantly more urban in background and in life-organization than the average Swedish immigrants.

While this fact is certainly brought to the reader's attention, it seems that, in his analytical interpretation, the editor has not always made the reservations necessary in view of the limited nature of the material. It is true, of course, that this group of literates and educators, by virtue of their function as a cultural elite, would express some of the attitudes and values of the group—although it may be an exaggeration to say that they actually "shaped the Swedish ideals in the New World." Yet the elite was at quite a distance from the average Swedish immigrant in cultural background, and in certain respects its attitudes and reactions apparently deviated strongly from those of the common man.

Nowhere is this so clear as in the attitude toward the adoption of English loan-words in the Swedish language in America. To the average immigrant such adaptation of the language is generally accepted and understood as a part of his adjustment to the new environment. To the "cultured" immigrant it is a deterioration of the mother-tongue. The fact that the editor shares and expresses this latter view hardly serves to his credit as a social scientist and has probably prevented him from seeing the limitations of his material as an anthropological document.

When this limitation is taken into account, however, for anyone who would like to take up the important problem of the role and influence of "cultured" immigrants for the establishment and persistence of non-English cultures in the United States, Allwood's anthology gives source material of particular interest.

For the arrangement of the material the editor has adopted a "psychological" principle attempting to mirror the psychological process of acculturation of the immigrant from the time he leaves his native country until he is more or less adjusted to his new home. Apparently, it is the intention of the editor thereby to render the material particularly useful to the anthropologist. The principle, however, is not consistently followed.

Some discrepancies between the Swedish Introduction and its English summary could have been avoided, as when it says in the Swedish Introduction that "very few" Swedish-American poets became socialists (pp. xviii–xix), whereas the English summary states: "There is, in fact, a whole Swedish-American school of socialist poets" (p. xxix). Also in the statistical information there seem to be some inaccuracies. The collection would have gained in value if the year of first appearance had been given for each poem.

PETER A. MUNCH

St. Olaf College

The Lapps. By BJÖRN COLLINDER. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xii+252. $3.75.

In the Scandinavian countries there is a long tradition of scholarly interest in the life and culture of the Lapps. Little, however, is probably known about these nomads of the North in the English-speaking countries. With the exception of a few publications on special subjects in the German language, almost all the literature on the Lapps has been published in one of the Scandinavian languages. Not since 1674 has there appeared a comprehensive monograph on the subject in English. It is the aim of Dr. Collinder's book to fill the gap.

In a popular form stuffed with interesting details the book presents the land and the people, their racial and "national" characteristics, and the various aspects of their unique culture. The reader learns about their picturesque dress, their humble dwellings, their food habits, as well as their practices at births, weddings, and funerals, the three important milestones in the life of any human being. A few chapters are devoted to the religious beliefs and practices of the Lapps—of particular interest to an anthropologist are the chapters on "Shamanism and Ecstasy" and on "Taboo and the Bear" with a description of the Bear Festival, a sacramental meal that has obviously played an important part in the old religious ceremonies.

The economic basis of the nomad Lapp and the center of his life is the reindeer herd, and it is only natural that the author's interest and attention should center around this important aspect of the Lapp culture. It forms the main subject of several chapters and is constantly alluded to throughout the book. The Lapp literature, art, and music are described and evaluated in a separate chapter, which also gives a selected sample of the queer Lapp songs, so very different from the folk songs of the Scandinavians and other people of the Western civilization. A survey of the ancient and modern literatures on the Lapps forms the concluding chapter.

The book does not pretend to give a scholarly presentation of the Lapp culture. The author, a linguist by profession and professor of Finno-Ugric languages at the University of Uppsala, Sweden, obviously has the general, particularly the American, public in mind. Sometimes the appeal to the American public is a little too obvious, as when rather irrelevant parallels are drawn between the Lapps and the "amiable Yankees." It also seems rather strained to use the word "squaw" for the Lapp wife or to allude to events in American history, like the Revolutionary War, to determine time.

Even in other respects the author is influenced by his strong sense of writing as a Swede to a foreign public. His description of the Swedish policy toward the Lapps is apologetic and somewhat idealizing. The impression is given that Sweden has always been the true protector of the Lapps and their interests, whereas the other countries involved, particularly Norway and Russia, have been the constant troublemakers. Only indirectly is it stated that the Swedes even loved the Lapps so much that, like other dominant neighbors, they let them pay taxes, a privilege that the United States government never granted the Indians!

Like most of the peculiar and characteristic folk cultures of our time, the endemic Lapp culture is slowly fading away under the impact of an integrated industrialism which stretches out its influences into the most remote parts of the world. The object of Collinder's description is "a state of things that is vanishing or has already vanished in the melting pot of our modern European-American civilization." This attitude explains certain limitations in the selection of material. The author is mainly interested in the archaic forms of Lapp culture, and the description is confined exclusively to the nomadic and seminomadic Reindeer Lapps. According to Collinder's own statement, these nomads comprise only a small percentage of the Lapp population. The much larger number of Lapps whose forebears have given up their nomadic life and settled down as farmers and fishermen, particularly in the valleys and fjords of Finnmark and Troms (but still cherishing much of the endemic tradition), have been left out of account except for a few allusions. This selection of material may be well warranted from an ethnological standpoint. But the general and inclusive title, *The Lapps*, is hardly justified.

With his focus on the archaic forms of Lapp culture it is understandable that the author shows little interest in the more recent process of acculturation with the modern Western civilization—regrettable as this may be from the standpoint of a cultural anthropologist. Throughout the book, however, numerous statements are made of the influence of the Scandinavians on Lapp culture in ancient times. In the chapter on the Lappish language is given an in-

teresting sample list of Scandinavian loan-words in Lappish, mostly "culture words" that have been adopted along with the culture traits. It may be a significant fact that among these Scandinavian loan-words we find a number of terms pertaining to the reindeer, especially to its full domestication. The author seems to be of the opinion, nevertheless, that reindeer-breeding, including its full domestication, is an indigenous Lapp culture trait. It would have added immensely to the value of the book if this problem of early Scandinavian influences on the Lapp culture had been taken up in a systematic way.

The author admits that his firsthand knowledge of the Lapps, even in the restricted sense of the Reindeer Lapps, is incomplete. From his descriptions it appears that it is largely confined to the southern Lapps of Swedish Lappmark. This limitation invalidates some of the generalizations made.

Despite its limitations, Collinder's book gives an interesting popular account of a vanishing culture. Some excellent photographs add to the value of the volume.

PETER A. MUNCH

St. Olaf College

Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863. By ROBERT ERNST. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xvi+331. $4.50.

Consciously pursuing the pioneer path blazed by Oscar Handlin in *Boston's Immigrants, 1790–1865*, Robert Ernst has performed an equally ambitious and impressive feat in his distinguished historical study of acculturation in New York City.

Unlike the student of the contemporary scene, Ernst was unable to employ the myriad techniques which the sociologist has so aptly adapted to the study of American society in the last twenty-five years. Dependent on the ashes of the archives for his information rather than upon the hot flame of the questionnaire, Ernst has succeeded admirably and with great imagination in amassing an impressive amount of pertinent data, including thirty-five tables of relevant statistical materials. Records of city, state, federal, and private agencies are thoroughly sifted, condensed, analyzed, and presented in coherent and intelligible form either tabulated or in the text. A close perusal of the volume leaves no doubt as to its definitive quality.

Yet the title to some extent belies the actual scope of the work, and it is to be regretted that a more genuinely descriptive one was not selected. Identical with its prototype, *Boston's Immigrants, 1790–1865*, Ernst's volume likewise masterfully encompasses "the internal constitution of the social milieu." As Professor Handlin, social scientist as well as historian, has stated, "The character of the environment—the community in its broadest sense—is particularly important in the study of the contact of dissimilar cultures." Indeed, if the blacks and whites are more clearly discernible in the earlier study, certainly the presence of unshakable objective factors—historical, ecological, cultural, economic, as well as social, stressed both by Handlin and Ernst—convincingly testify to Boston's more jagged and perhaps more artistically prepossessing physiognomy. The broad chasm separating the Boston Brahmin from the Irish Catholic had no analogy in New York City. Characterized by a constant social flux and a greater diversity among the elements of its population, ideological and cultural differences were more readily blurred and diluted. Manhattan Island with its ever expanding economy and host of parvenus, predominantly of Yankee origin, never attained that definable character, that static quality associated perhaps with provincialism, which is attributable to the home of the bean and the cod.

As evidenced in the Table of Contents, Ernst found it impossible to confer alluring titles upon so complex and unwieldy a structure. It is well that this is so, for it would have been a breach of intellectual honesty to endow these chapters with more than bare descriptive labels. Subject to no theory or philosophy, Ernst permits the facts to speak for themselves.

The virtues of intrinsic interest, scholarly exposition and concise organization make this volume rewarding reading for the sociologist and special student of ethnic problems as well as for the student of American history.

MOSES RISCHIN

Brooklyn College

The Roots of Prejudice against the Negro in the United States. By NAOMI FRIEDMAN GOLDSTEIN. Boston: Boston University Press, 1948. Pp. ix+213. $2.50.

This book is a post mortem publication of Mrs. Goldstein's doctoral dissertation. Trained

in psychology, she sought to discover the psychological systems which support and maintain prejudice and hostility against the Negro in the United States. She tries to find the roots of prejudice in the answers to four questions: "What are the psychological mechanisms involved in the feelings of prejudice and hostility toward the Negro?" "In what ways does the Negro's past in slavery determine his present status in the American social order?" "How has the American norm with respect to the Negro, as revealed in our cultural forms, been determined by the economic relationships between Negroes and whites?" and "Why has that norm become crystallized into a few stereotypes?" (pp. 3–4).

The book contains a succinct review of the literature on the position of the Negro in the American order as well as relevant literature on prejudice and hostility. In agreement with her concept of race prejudice (i.e., "the tendency to evaluate the individual primarily on the basis of identity with a group thought of as racial" [p. 32]), she rightly emphasizes the "expression of the norm in American culture" (chap. iv). This chapter is, in the opinion of the reviewer, the best section of the book.

From the point of view of training and interest, one would think that the author should be able to give a psychological structure of race prejudice, since this was stated as one of her objectives. This, however, has not been accomplished successfully, which suggests that race prejudice is essentially a social rather than a psychological phenomenon. Then if race prejudice has a structure, it is an integral part of the social structure rather than psychological.

This book is a typical Ph.D. dissertation and should be read as such.

JITSUICHI MASUOKA
University of Michigan

Segregation in Washington. By KENESAW M. LANDIS. Chicago: National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital, 1948. Pp. 91. $0.85.

This booklet is a summary of the research findings of the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital. The study was conducted by a research subcommittee of a dozen persons who worked eight months under instruction to investigate the conditions and causes of segregation in Washington. From these reports and documents columnist Landis has fashioned an interesting, well-documented, and factual, if by no means profound, little volume. That it is somewhat propagandistic and "slanted" in approach is to be expected, for its purpose is as much to arouse as to inform.

This is a case study of a city which is at once a southern city and the nation's capital; it accords Negroes only a subordinate status, at the same time that it symbolizes democracy. To those who made the study and to this reader these two roles are incompatible. The booklet begins with a study of the capital as a salesman of democracy and presents numerous cases of its complete failure in this respect for nonprejudiced Europeans who see how Negroes are treated and darker foreign dignitaries from South America or Africa who themselves suffer the treatment typically accorded Negroes in a southern city—segregation in cafés, hotels, theaters, and department stores. There is even a dog cemetery.

One of the strongest sections of the book deals with segregation in housing, its causes, extent, and effects. Good use is made of ecological maps as well as case studies to show the extent and effects of such segregation. As to cause, Landis writes:

> It is not in the field of spontaneous human relationships that [housing] trouble occurs in Washington, but on a high policy level where the segregation of the Negro is planned as a matter of good business, and investments are made in the denial of his equal right to own property. It is not the poor whites who set the pattern, but men of acknowledged culture and refinement, the leaders of the community. Allied against the Negro in this doubtful enterprise, in spite of contrary ideals and professions, is the full majesty of the United States Government.

Segregation also makes itself felt in higher disease rates for Negroes, in lack of hospital facilities (in only one of the city's hospitals may a Negro physician bring a patient), and in the social conditions which give rise to juvenile delinquency. In the schools segregation means poorer, more crowded buildings and poorer education for Negro youth. Even in the field of politics, the Negro must take a subordinate place. Residents of Washington do not have the right to vote, but the congressional committee which administers the District is susceptible to pressure, which pressure is said to come effectively only from the banking and real estate interests of the District.

A particularly interesting section describes

occupational discrimination in government employment:

> A sample grouping was made of forty pairs of white and colored employees who were all hired in the fiscal year of 1946 . . . matched not only in schooling, but in age, sex, marital status, date hired, division in which hired, job in which hired, and beginning salary. . . . The records show that the two races had the same average efficiency rating for the beginning months on the job. Three whites in the sample and eight Negroes took and passed in-service training courses—indicating that the colored group had at least as much desire to get ahead. A few more Negroes than whites had the advantage of veteran's status. But a check in 1947 showed that the forty white employees had received a total of twelve promotions, and the forty colored employees only two promotions. In other words, when background, initial job assignment, and actual work efficiency were roughly equated, whites were promoted six times as frequently as Negroes.

The less one is already acquainted with segregation in the South, the more valuable this booklet. It is clearly organized, very easy to read, has numerous pen-and-ink sketches and maps, and is filled with concrete cases and specific and usually well-documented figures. To the teacher it brings a certain amount of up-to-date illustrative material; it may fulfil a broader and more useful purpose for the student, for whom it is recommended.

JOHN H. BURMA

Grinnell College

Religion and Race: Barriers to College? By A. C. IVY and IRWIN ROSS. ("Public Affairs Pamphlet," No. 153.) New York: Public Affairs Committee, Inc., 1949. Pp. 32. $0.20.

This pamphlet is a popular summary of several recent attempts to measure discrimination against minority groups—especially Negroes and Jews—in gaining admission to colleges. The data consist of acceptance rates of applicants and applications and shifts in actual enrolment percentages. Discrimination particularly against the Jew is shown to be general and on the increase.

Such quantitative formulations are useful, especially when factors of region and scholastic level are held constant as in many of these figures. But the reviewer feels some doubts about the entire formulation. First, how effective is such evidence in convincing the sophisticated unbeliever, who will assuredly notice that the same data and logic lead to the conclusion that men, as compared to women, are discriminated against and that in some settings the Catholic application is favored over the Protestant? And, second, is there not a limited fruitfulness in the simple evaluative framework of measuring "discrimination," which deals only with such facts as the disproportion of Jews who apply to colleges and the underproportion of Negroes applying without essaying to link them meaningfully with the patterns of differential acceptance? Perhaps we have now reached the point where we need more to understand than to prove or persuade in race relations.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

European Beliefs regarding the United States: A Survey under the Direction of Henry Lee Munson. By COMMON COUNCIL FOR AMERICAN UNITY. New York: Common Council for American Unity, 1949. Pp. 134. $2.00.

For over a generation the Common Council for American Unity has devoted itself to assisting minority-group adjustment in the United States mainly by the use of public information and education campaigns. Since the end of World War II the Council has developed an international outlook. It believes that the personal contacts and letter-writing of the thirty-five million American immigrants and their children can be mobilized as a powerful medium for influencing European attitudes in the countries of their origin.

European Beliefs regarding the United States is a public opinion research report designed to guide the Council's international information activities. Although by the canons of scientific research it lacks precision, the study turns out to be informative because of the scope of the problems it attempts to treat.

The methodology employed follows the outline of the so-called "expert opinion poll." Over one thousand informed individuals—Americans abroad and Europeans—were asked a wide range of questions on European attitudes toward United States foreign policy in Europe and the United States. The respondents' replies were treated in broad categories so as to prevent meaningless statistical detail. The study is deficient in that there is no clear-cut justification of the sample. It also appears that the collection of

trend data is required before important conclusions can emerge.

The central substantive findings center around the deep reservation expressed in the Marshall Plan countries to the acknowledged economic and military leadership of the United States. The post-World War I apprehension that American foreign policy would turn isolationist is absent. Instead, the primary source of doubt is the "belief held by over one-third of the people of Europe that American policy is too changeable." Negation of American policy is further buttressed by the widespread feeling of "materialist" motivation. The survey focuses attention on attitudes toward the American press, radio, and, in particular, movies as transmitters of this symbolism.

It is usual for those concerned with the management of foreign affairs—both inside and outside government—to consider public opinion measurement as irrelevant to the strategic information required to formulate policy. They point to the historical factors and institutional arrangements which negate the influence of public opinion in foreign countries. On the other hand, public opinion specialists have rigidly stuck to their "American" cross-sectional methodology, without appropriate modification. Public opinion polls have been applied automatically in areas where cultural and historical traditions were not taken into adequate consideration. The results have at times been trivial and suspect. Despite the methodological limitations of this particular study, modification and extension of this type of expert poll holds some promise of sharpening our insight into complicated social questions where the ideal conditions of controlled research are impossible.

MORRIS JANOWITZ
University of Chicago

Agriculture and Industrialization. By PEI-KANG CHANG. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xii+270. $5.00.

In the words of the author, "This study was undertaken because of its high pertinence in China, which is at the stage in its history where the industrialization process seems likely to accelerate in the next few decades, but it deals with its subject in terms that apply to any agricultural country in the process of industrialization." However, most of the book is given over to a discussion of industrialization in terms of the conceptual scheme of economists of western Europe and the United States as these emerged and developed before modern totalitarianism. Perhaps the greatest weakness of this very timely and useful book is its author's failure to note some of the shortcomings of his frame of reference, which was, in large part, the product of the very process he is attempting to describe. A better grasp of the economics of totalitarianism, cultural anthropology, and history might perhaps have resulted in findings which would have been more realistic and pertinent. The author is to be complimented on his handling of economic theory, his analysis of industrialization in non-Soviet and Western countries, and his willingness to spell out his generalizations in one, two, three order.

Thus he poses four queries: "Is industrial development a necessary or a sufficient condition for agricultural reform in a densely populated rural region, or vice versa?" "Is it possible to maintain a balance between agriculture and industry within a given country?" "Is it possible to maintain harmonies and mutually beneficial relations between countries primarily agricultural and those essentially industrial, and if, in an agricultural country, the process of industrialization sets in, what are the possible effects of this on the countries already highly industrialized?" "What are the problems which would most probably confront an agricultural country like China during its process of industrialization?"

In answer to the first query, the author states that "it may be concluded that industrial development is a necessary, but not a sufficient, condition for agricultural reform and improvement, if by agricultural reform and improvement we mean mechanization in agriculture and the large-scale organization of farm enterprises."

In answer to the second query, the writings of the many authorities on equilibrium and balance are discussed and their shortcomings assayed. Attention is given to a comparison of the proportion of the national product or national income going to or the proportion of the working population engaged in agriculture. Using these bases of comparison, the author finds that with industrialization the relative importance (but not the absolute importance) of agriculture decreases.

The third query, as to whether it is possible to maintain harmonious and mutually beneficial relations between countries primarily agricultural and those predominately industrial, is an-

swered by admitting that political and physical factors work in opposite directions. Thus, the attempt to attain self-sufficiency, a "political" motivation, results in "agrarianization" of industrial countries and "industrialization" of agricultural countries. Nevertheless, in the true form of the economist, the author states that, "barring the political consideration, the interdependence between the economic activities performed by an agricultural country and those by an industrial country is no less close and profound than the interdependence of economic activities between agriculture and industry within a country." Perhaps a more important claim is the following: "If we approach the problem from a long-run point of view and use the concept of industrialization as given in this analysis, then industrialization in agricultural countries would have to be viewed as the inevitable result of economic development. The effects will in the long run prove beneficial both to the industrializing countries and to those already highly industrialized. It will be so because it will raise the productivity and the income level of the countries newly under industrialization, and, in turn, raise their marginal propensity to import which will profit the old industrial countries." The author admits, however, that "to what extent the old industrial countries will benefit from the industrialization of an agricultural country depends in great measure upon its ability to make the adjustments." A critic would wonder whether in the case of countries such as England confronting competition from the United States the ability to make adjustments will be forthcoming.

In response to the fourth query regarding the problems which will face China in industrialization, he concludes that the stimulus for industrialization must be found outside agriculture. He does not believe that agricultural development is possible without industrialization but that the latter will not necessarily bring agricultural development. Thus he believes consolidation of farms to be necessary for agricultural development.

CHARLES P. LOOMIS
Michigan State College

Economics of Migration. By JULIUS ISAAC. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. xii+285. $4.50.

Although Dr. Isaac's book has circulated for some time, its relevance may have escaped the notice of sociologists. Labeled as economic and using the theory of marginal utility, it nevertheless addresses itself as well to the sociological and political aspects of migration. It discusses *all* factors stimulating and inhibiting free international migration, together with the consequences of it upon the countries both of emigration and of immigration. Indeed, it goes further and considers the grounds for judging given amounts of migration to be desirable or undesirable.

A dilemma exists in the discussion. On the one hand, it is plain that the author generally favors migration because of the part which free mobility plays as a basic assumption of utilitarian economics and liberalism. Yet, on the other hand, the real world is so nationalistic that such economic and ethical theory does not account for what is actually occurring with respect to migration. Under present conditions the author admits the necessity of controlled as against free migration, but he holds that the control should be exercised on behalf of economic welfare. Since, however, national states exercise the control, political goals take precedence over economic. Palestine is used as an illustration to show that absorptive capacity (judged in economic terms) can actually become a yardstick to measure the desirable rate of immigration; but, since publication, Israel has risen as a sovereign nation and has, at least temporarily, abandoned the yardstick in favor of religious and political reasons for immigration.

Isaac realized the difficulties that the assimilation problem poses for migration policy based on economic considerations, but he remains hopeful. The problem would not be insurmountable, he says, "if future immigration were always adapted to the economic absorptive capacity of the country and if the immigrants were given a chance to become assimilated." Some immigrants wish to become assimilated and others do not, meaning by assimilation the development of a sense of loyalty to the adopted country. If it means adopting the customs and values of the natives, most of them probably resist assimilation. Irish immigrants to America or Scotland do not want to become Protestants, any more than Jewish immigrants to Argentina want to become Christians. The rise of ethnic states like Pakistan and Israel and the occurrence of enforced mass migrations do not suggest that "harmonious co-operation between individuals of different cultural heritages and different extraction, occupying one common terri-

tory" will soon prevail. In short, it is hard to see how a policy of controlled migration can ever be based on purely economic considerations. It is one thing to analyze the economic elements in migration, which the author does extremely well, and quite another to say that these elements alone can constitute the basis of concrete national policies.

I do not intend to imply that the author simply wishes away the sociological elements in migration. Though he does so with reference to policy, he actually presents a closely reasoned analysis of both demographic and sociological elements, and for this the book is of value quite apart from being the best analysis extant of the economics of migration.

KINGSLEY DAVIS

Columbia University

The Economic Mind in American Civilization, Vol. III: *1865–1918*. By JOSEPH DORFMAN. New York: Viking Press, 1949. Pp. xiv+494+lxxvii. $6.00.

The older economics textbooks used to begin by asking the question: Is economics an art or a science? Mr. Dorfman suggests his own answer: It is a science well mixed with an art, and the whole flavored with the national and regional environment. Both the book's cover flap and Dorfman's Preface warn that this is not a simple book; the flap speaks of "complex fabric" and the Preface of "manifold threads." Given this caveat, the reader finds a multitude of interesting figures within the third volume of an impressive series—multitudes busy with action in one or another valley of decision.

Dorfman has in fact several theoretical or interpretative ideas. He seems to feel that economic thinking is never wholly separated from social allegiances; that it has benefited from the suggestions of gifted amateurs; that there has been a trend toward government activity and empirical research; and that not only is there probably something to Keynesian explanations of business cycles but that many Americans adumbrated such theories long before Keynes. As in the case of his Veblen biography, however, the author never commits himself fully to these fundamental tendencies in interpretation—which one can safely call "institutionalist." As a result, a kind of national-area historicism, reminiscent of Beard and Parrington, constitutes the only visible frame of the work.

Within this theoretical limitation, the volume is a rich, stimulating collection of materials about thinkers famous and obscure. One major "thread" is the procession of the leading American academic economists of the nineteenth-century heyday: Amasa Walker, General Francis A. Walker, W. G. Sumner, Simon Newcomb, H. C. Adams, Ely, Patten, Seligman, Taussig, Hadley, Laughlin, Fetter, Fisher, Davenport, and others, surely all titans of their time and kind. One misses, as O. H. Taylor has noted in the *American Economic Review*, a fuller coverage of the tough unreconstructed figure of T. N. Carver. Although Dorfman perhaps gives too much space to such details as the cash fellowships these men held, this part of the volume offers fascinating data on academic succession in American social science. The founding of the American Economic Association and "the stages of Ely," from German-inspired socialism to academic conformism, will absorb many sociologists.

Another worth-while thread, or book-in-the-book, tells of the (sometimes) gifted dissenters and popular reformers, so common in America's recurrent monetary agitations and antidepression campaigns. Two readable little stories here are those of "the ingenious Alex Del Mar" and N. Johannsen. Bellamy and George appear, along with a host of lesser figures. There are good accounts of socialism and anarchism in their American variants. The views of labor leaders on economics are not neglected; and the greenback and free-silver controversies are discussed at length.

Dorfman has a marked talent for American regional biography; his accounts of John Bates Clark and of Charles Horton Cooley are outstanding, so far as academic figures are concerned. The respective ties of American economics to theology and sociology are manifest in these two great life-stories. The story of Alvin Johnson fits almost perfectly into Dorfman's "American figures in an American scene" method. There seems to be considerable indecision and resistance in the treatment of John R. Commons and of Veblen; with Wesley C. Mitchell, Dorfman is less unsure.

There are of course many theoretical questions which a book executed in this awesomely panoramic style leaves unanswered. For example, what is the "economic mind"? Does it work only in the cogitations of thinkers *about* economics—or in the decisions of businessmen and consumers, laborers and engineers, as well? Again, why has economics alone of the social

sciences fared so well, relatively speaking, with a deductive method? How is it related to the very core of our creed and practice? Has economics perhaps really got "principles"—and whence do they come? It is also probably true, as Dorfman himself tells us, that most of the major academic ideas, with the exception of a few of J. B. Clark's, came to this country from abroad. There is no disgrace in this; but the possibility of an autonomous international area of economic doctrine, as of science, art, etc., is raised by these facts, which a national-historical frame of reference tends to obscure.

One wonders how, if policy and theory are inextricably intermingled, good and bad policies are to be distinguished. Thus a policy of John R. Commons is described as "unwise." How "unwise"? If the author has a theory of social-*cum*-theoretical correctness, he does not reveal it.

The reader will not find in this penultimate volume of a singular study a systematic analysis of the "economic mind," whether from the standpoint of sociology of knowledge, of formal analysis, or of depth psychology. Indeed, he will sometimes be surprised how economists, with one supposed set of assumptions, could range so far and wide on such topics as money, the tariff, even "thrift"! There may be a real "American dilemma" in this dual thinking; but Dorfman does not explore or resolve it. He seems to think the trend is somehow good; just why, we are not sure. Nor will the reader find a textbook of American economic theory. Perhaps, with so great a mass of data to be covered, that is just as well. What the reader will find is a recurrently useful and suggestive volume which pictures many kinds of Americans at work solving problems, spinning theories, in the rough nonformalized context of life. For persons interested in omnibus courses on "American civilization" the book is nearly indispensable, though it may have to be checked against others for relative historical emphasis. For other readers it will be enlightening; should anyone still think of American socialism and radicalism as recent Russian imports, the book will open his eyes. But to find out whether the extremely refined tools of present-day theoretical economists, when all the giants are dead and apparatus dominates the field, can be treated in the same genially human manner, the reader will have to await—and will await with eager curiosity—Dorfman's next and concluding volume.

HELEN G. SINGER

Chicago

Drawing Room Conversion: A Sociological Account of the Oxford Group Movement. By ALLAN W. EISTER. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950. Pp. xv+236. $3.50.

Drawing Room Conversion by Allan W. Eister is an account of the Oxford Group Movement from its beginnings to the present time. Eister traces the history of the movement, describes what some meetings of the group were like, and relates what sorts of religious experiences were reported by certain converts to the group.

As a sociological analysis of a religious movement, this volume is disappointing. The major conceptual analysis of the author is concerned with the distinction between the cult and the sect. Evidence is introduced to indicate that the Oxford Group may be regarded as a cult. While a description is given of the ritual of the group, and there is some discussion of group leadership, the function of ritual (extremely important in a group of this kind) and the relation of the leader and the led are never seriously considered. The treatment of these topics, as well as the discussion of the "religious experience," remains descriptive rather than analytical.

As the author points out, this book does not attempt "to answer the question why the Oxford Group Movement came into existence, or why it came into existence when it did, nor has it attempted to discover what specific needs the movement fulfilled for its participants or what 'effects' it had upon them, or why some individuals responded to it, and others did not." (p. 205). When these omissions are added to the deficiencies in analysis, *Drawing Room Conversion* emerges as a historical rather than a sociological study.

The author should be commended for his efforts in investigating a type of mass behavior which has hardly been considered by contemporary sociologists. Some of the weaknesses of this volume undoubtedly result from the lack of established techniques of research in the study of such behavior. It is to be hoped that the appearance of this book may encourage Eister and others to carry on further research in this field in two directions: the investigation of techniques and the establishment of theory.

ETHEL SHANAS

University of Chicago

Human Rights: A Symposium. Edited by UNESCO. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 287. $3.75.

It is easier to describe than to review this book, which contains a selection from the replies to a questionnaire circulated by UNESCO to distinguished thinkers and writers in the member states. There are four appendixes: the text of the questionnaire; the conclusions reached by UNESCO after consideration of the replies; the Declaration of Human Rights subsequently issued by the United Nations; and an index of the contributors, thirty men and one woman.

Tot homines quot sententiae! The high quality of the thought is in exasperating contrast with the diversity of the opinions. No one goes quite so far as to equate wants with needs and needs with rights, and no one confines his conclusions to the rights which should be established and protected here and now. Even those who make rights conditional on the performance of duties are conscious of the danger of allowing those who define the duties to deny the rights. And, except by way of example, no one attempts to indicate the duties. As rights may conflict, an order of priority would be desirable, or, better still, a plan for blending rights, without carrying any right to its logical extreme. The rights which it might be practicable to assure to some people today are very different from the rights for all people which form an ultimate goal in a remote future. It is hardly too cynical to say that everyone is ready to make any concessions about the future as long as he is committed to nothing much in the present. For example, Article 28 of the United Nations Declaration states: "Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully recognized."

The supreme contradiction is that the national state which on occasion inflicts cruelty and denies justice, which disregards the rights of other states, and which refuses to recognize the paramount rights of humanity except in empty declarations which it knows it cannot be called upon to honor is still holding itself out as part of this social and international order.

If it is hard for the ordinary reader to rise to the intellectual and moral level of the philosophers, many of them have found it hard to sympathize with the man who wants to see an end put to active inhumanity (including slavery, torture, and perhaps even war); who wants a larger real income; who wants to retain his existing privileges but to destroy what he regards as the excessive privileges of others. Such a man is more concerned with the rights which it is expedient to create than with the rights which it is expedient to declare. He may be concerned with philosophy as well, for he has to go on living without the rights he needs.

H. F. ANGUS
University of British Columbia

Language of Politics: Studies in Quantitative Semantics. By HAROLD D. LASSWELL, NATHAN LEITES, and ASSOCIATES. New York: George W. Stewart, Inc., 1949. Pp. vii+398. $5.75.

The *Language of Politics* has three parts: an introductory discussion on theory by Harold D. Lasswell, a section on techniques in content analysis, and a presentation of applications of these techniques. The materials presented in the two latter sections are largely a republication, in somewhat revised form, of papers prepared by the Experimental Division for the Study of Wartime Communication at the Library of Congress.

The three chapters by Lasswell deal with the language of power, style in the language of politics, and the usefulness of quantitative methods in the analysis of political discourse. These introductory materials, a series of discrete essays, were apparently not intended to provide any systematic theoretical framework for content analysis. They are well written and provocative, however, and the discussion, "Why Be Quantitative?" is especially interesting.

After this promising introduction, the materials themselves, which deal with technique and applications, are disappointing. The material on technique will undoubtedly prove useful to persons working in the field of content analysis. The best techniques, however, must still be evaluated in terms of the rationale of the problems to which they are applied.

It is in the presentation of particular studies that the *Language of Politics* is most disappointing. The chapters of application deal with separate problems, and the hypotheses used in the plan of these studies are rarely given. In his Introduction Lasswell points out that quantitative methods in political analysis make possible objective procedures in the discovering of propaganda themes, etc. In the presentation of the illustrative materials, however, there is no statement as to why one theme rather than another was selected for analysis. No clear statement is available of how an objective selection can be made among the items which comprise a universe of content.

Certain of the chapters on application attempt to use quantitative methods in the analysis of interaction. Chapter xi deals with the interaction of factions within the Third International. Chapter xii deals with the response of Communist propaganda to Communist setbacks. In these chapters the writers substitute quantitative indexes for what they consider to be pertinent variables. Many of the indexes employed can best be described as naïve. Again, no reason is given why these indexes rather than other indexes have been selected by the authors. Further, the language of these two chapters seems unnecessarily complicated.

Sociologists interested in methods in the social sciences may find it a useful exercise to read the introductory chapters of this volume and attempt to reconcile them with the material that follows.

ETHEL SHANAS

University of Chicago

Industrial and Occupational Trends in National Employment, 1910–1940, 1910–1948. By GLADYS L. PALMER and ANN RATNER. (Research Report No. 11.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1949. Pp. ix+68. $1.00.

This technically component and analytically ingenious report emphasizes changes between 1910 and 1940 in (1) the industrial and occupational distribution of national employment, both total employment and that of women; (2) the occupational composition of industries; and (3) the industrial composition of occupations. (Some 1910–48 comparisons are also made.) The study differs from earlier related ones in that the data are presented in terms of the 1940 classification of occupations and industries and relate to *employment* rather than gainful workers and the labor force. In addition, the authors have attempted, by a standardization procedure, to minimize the effect of population and employment level changes between 1910 and 1940 in interpreting the findings.

To effect comparability with employment data for 1940, several types of adjustments were made in the original census data, the basic assumptions of which are carefully and explicitly stated and the details of which are presented less adequately.

In addition to the detailed and numerous findings, of particular interest are the analyses and the techniques of measuring factors contributing to the difference in employment levels in 1910 and 1940 and changes in the occupational pattern of employment in 1940 attributable to changes in the 1910 structure of employment. Here the authors have made a real contribution to the advance of analytical techniques in labor-force studies.

The study is a fine example of what may be done in labor-force research beyond the obvious descriptive level.

ELEANOR H. BERNERT

New York City

Varieties of Delinquent Youth. By WILLIAM H. SHELDON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. xvii+899. $8.00.

The many themes and subthemes of this contribution, all of them very intriguing but some fanciful, make a review difficult. Sheldon's verbosity, as he says himself, is Dionysian; his ideas, Promethean. But this is not meant to be a final diagnosis.

Sheldon's contribution consists of two hundred condensed biographies, of youths studied at the Hayden Goodwill Inn, a hostel and rehabilitation center for transient, problem, and delinquent youths in Boston during 1939 and 1942. Each abbreviated biography covers the morphological description (including the somatype), temperament, known delinquencies, origins and family, mental history and achievement, medical history, the running record, summary, and an index of delinquency or disappointingness.

Each case is quantified in an Index of Delinquency, which is summed into "Total D." The Index of Delinquency or Disappointingness (!) includes mental insufficiency, medical insufficiency, psychotic inappropriateness, psychoneurotic inappropriateness, cerebrophobic delinquency (alcoholism and other drug addiction), gynandrophrenic delinquency (femininity in the male), and residual delinquency (known delinquencies). These items are given ratings by methods which more careful statisticians would call dubious. The ratings are diagnostic, in increasing order of seriousness.

A Total D of 10, according to Sheldon, means that there is no hope that the delinquent will get along outside a hospital or prison; 9 is a very poor prognosis also, indicating institutionalization; 8 is gravely doubtful; 7 is border line; 6 is

favorable for trial outside the institution; 5 is a good outlook; 4, 3, 2, and 1 are progressively remote possibilities for institutionalization. These evaluations are Sheldon's own clinical appraisals rather than experimental or truly predictive indicators. Nevertheless, the averages of the Total D or the average of any item or condition comprising the Total D for various groups of cases can be readily compared.

Some of the most obvious conclusions can be cited here. It looks as if the youths coming to this hostel for help and guidance represent a special selection of somatype. The youths "blow in mainly from the northwest," which means in Sheldon's somatype language that they are concentrated in the endomorphic mesomorphs (the heavy muscular types), representative of elemental vigor. The parents, especially the mothers, of this problem group show burgeoning and about the same Total D as the sons. In addition, they are irresponsibly prolific. So like tended to produce like—which judgment is the *pièce de résistance* of the whole study.

Because of the abnormal inclusiveness of Sheldon's concept of delinquency—a cataloguing of impairments, insufficiencies, gross deviations—it is hard to see what contribution to the understanding of civil delinquency is made. His concept has the wrong label, it seems to me. He should have talked about constitutional deviation and have left out code violation. The book should have been named *The Varieties of Deviant Youth* and should have stopped short of including legal delinquency in the Index of Disappointingness. All the other items of the I.D. have some logical reason for being branches of the constitution.

His conception, as I see it, is this: Constitutional components are three-dimensional. Individuals vary somatically in proportions of endomorphy, mesomorphy, and ectomorphy. They vary temperamentally in proportions of viscerotonia, somatotonia, and cerebrotonia. (Visualize these three-dimensional components overlapping one another, starting at the southwest and going to the north and to the southeast, at the three angles of a triangle.) Individuals vary also in proportions of manic-depressive psychosis, paranoid schizophrenia, and hebephrenic schizophrenia. They vary in proportions of hysteria psychasthenia, and neurasthenia. Other three-dimensional overlaps include: Dionysian enthusiasm, Promethean fortitude, Christian renunciation; or unrestrained expressiveness, heroic allegiance, and selfless relinquishment. All this is not cause and effect; it is association and overlay. The overlay is the constitution. The association is the observable statistical proof—they go together. By clinical observation and some measurement the constitution reveals its layers or overlays. Statistically, it is as if three-by-three association tables in the chi-square test for dependence were placed on top of one another with the three-dimensional somatype being on the X-axis at the bottom layer.

The constitution is central to Sheldon's magnificent conception, and the somatyping is the best way to reveal the constitution. Disease is related to the constitution. Cancer of the breast appears mainly in the northwest of the somatypes—the endomorphic mesomorphs. Sheldon has the hunch that perhaps achievement, civil delinquency, occupation, and mating are external overlays of the basic constitution. I would not say that association between three-dimensional constitutionality and occupation, mating, or achievement cannot be made. Rather I would say that accidental delinquency, delinquency of the moment, habitual offense, ordinary professional criminality, white-collar crime, organized crime, gangsterisms, racketeering, prostitution, gambling, vagrancy, and beggary, cannot be made, by observation, a top layer of the constitution.

WALTER C. RECKLESS
Ohio State University

The American Family: A Factual Background. By the INTER-AGENCY COMMITTEE FOR THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON FAMILY LIFE. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. 457. $1.25.

This volume on families in the United States is the product of an interdepartmental committee of federal agencies which compiled factual materials for the deliberations of the National Conference on Family Life held in Washington in May, 1948. It contains basic family and population statistics and a series of reports on the place of the family in the American economy, family health, housing and education, the legal status of the family, and the social security and social service programs for families in the United States. In addition, attempts have been made to summarize and evaluate the findings of family research in selected areas in terms of their implications for public policy.

Students interested in the sociological study

of the family will find this a useful volume, particularly since many of the data are presented as time series. Nonetheless, it will be disappointing to the research student of the family, since the data often do not lend themselves to the assessment of basic facts about family life necessary for the testing of hypotheses. Unfortunately this is not merely a deficiency of the present volume; it is rather a reflection of the present state of data on family life.

The volume demonstrates that we still do not have adequate data on marriages, divorces, and stillbirths. We are as yet unable to give definite answers to such a simple question as "How many marriages are ending in divorce?" It likewise emphasizes that we lack the data necessary to assess the current housing situation of American families and their long-term needs. Data on construction costs and prices of housing, on conversion, and on demolition and withdrawal from use are largely unavailable, as are data on migration and mobility of families. Deficient in like manner is our information on family health and education and the place of the family in the American economy.

When one attempts to view much of the basic data in terms of variables such as size of family, age of members, and income level, one often finds that no tabulations are or can be made available. Since it is true that the basic data in these volumes cannot be gathered for specific research studies or for use by specialists in various fields, students of the family might profitably turn their attention to the problem of how such basic data might be collected to maximize its usefulness to the social scientist and the practitioner or policy-maker. This should make possible better research on which to base public policy and practice.

ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

University of Chicago

Problems in the Collection and Comparability of International Statistics. By the MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1949. Pp. 165. $0.50.

Collectively, the papers in this volume indicate that we are far from having arrived at one statistical world. It appears, as is pointed out in the Foreword by Frank Boudreau and Clyde Kiser, that "countries of the world show about the same pattern of differences with respect to scope and quality of their national statistics as they show in degree of modernization or general level of living" (p. 5).

Between the opening and closing papers on the history of international statistics (Walter F. Wilcox) and the general assessment and outlook (William R. Leonard) a variety of topics are discussed, including papers on population statistics (Dudley Kirk), migration statistics (Max Lacroix), health statistics (Knud Stowman), statistics on causes of death (J. T. Marshall), food and agriculture statistics (Conrad Taeuber), labor statistics (Robert Morse Woodbury), and family-income statistics (J. B. D. Derksen). As in most symposiums, these papers vary with respect to coverage, thoroughness, and scholarship.

Of particular interest are the discussions of a case study of the international collection of demographic statistics (Forrest E. Linder) and cultural differences and census concepts (Calvert L. Dedrick). The first of these presents a series of maps depicting the geographic coverage of various types of demographic data. It is an informative summary of questionnaire returns sent by the United Nations to about two hundred and fifty countries, colonies, etc., during the spring of 1948. To serve as a guide to research, the maps, of course, would have to be made on a larger scale, but the mere existence of the maps and of the data basic to them should be encouraging to students of international demography.

Dedrick, in his discussion of cultural differences and census concepts, emphasizes an important point which is too often overlooked by administrators and technicians interested in international comparability of statistics, namely, true comparability as distinguished from apparent of "census label" comparability. Dedrick reminds the reader (and perhaps some of his conference colleagues) that, until we know how to draft census schedules and instructions that are meaningful in the language, concepts, values, and experiences of different cultural groups, we cannot hope to have comparable international population statistics or even to know when they are not comparable.

ELEANOR H. BERNERT

New York City

Maternity in Great Britain: A Survey of Social and Economic Aspects of Pregnancy and Childbirth. By a JOINT COMMITTEE OF THE ROYAL

COLLEGE OF OBSTETRICIANS AND GYNAECOLOGISTS AND THE POPULATION INVESTIGATION COMMITTEE. London: Oxford University Press, 1948. Pp. xvi+252. $4.00.

This volume is a report of a 1946 study of social and economic aspects of pregnancy and childbirth for women in various social classes in Great Britain. The authors were interested in securing information about a number of factors. The most important of these were the availability of maternity services, the use made of these services, the effect of such services in the education of the mother for childbirth, the need and use of domestic help during pregnancy and later, and the nature and extent of expenditures on childbirth.

The sample included 13,687 cases, about 90 per cent of all women having children during a week period during March, 1946. As the authors indicate, the sample is probably representative of all childbearing women with the exception of unmarried mothers. As an index of social class, the women in the sample were subdivided according to the occupations of their husbands. Five occupational groups were used: professional and salaried workers, black-coated wage-earners (the American "white-collar" worker), manual workers, agricultural workers, and others.

The data indicate that there are marked class differentials in the circumstances attending childbirth in Great Britain. From these class comparisons, it is apparent that a higher proportion of the wives of professional and salaried workers than of other workers were attended by a doctor, had their confinements in nursing homes and hospitals, and were given analgesia for the relief of pain in labor. There was a decline in the proportions reporting these items from social class to social class, with the lowest proportions among the wives of agricultural workers. Prematurity was also found to be less frequent among the professional and salaried groups than among the wives of black-coated wage-earners or manual workers.

The second part of the study dealt with the costs of childbearing. Here, as might be expected, class differences were even more pronounced. The highest expenditures for maternity, including expenditures for maternity garments, layettes, baby carriages, etc., were made by the professional and salaried groups, and the lowest by agricultural workers. Subsequent births were less costly than first births.

Maternity in Great Britain may be recommended to American readers not only for the information it gives, which is considerable, but for the careful way in which the plan of the study is presented, the data are evaluated, and the concept of social class is used in the exploratory hypotheses.

ETHEL SHANAS

University of Chicago

Length of Life: A Study of the Life Table. By LOUIS I. DUBLIN, ALFRED J. LOTKA, and MORTIMER SPIEGELMAN. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949. Pp. xxv+379. $7.00.

This book is a revision of the original, which was published thirteen years ago. Its focus is the life-table, but around this focus are three hundred pages of social implications, causes, and effects. The chapter headings are much the same as in the first edition. The revision brings the material up to date and adds new methods and new knowledge acquired since the middle 1930's. The publishers speak of it as "virtually a new book," but, in so far as the first book was science, a revision thirteen years later could not be a new book. Scientific knowledge is reliable and enduring; it can be added to, implemented, and improved but not swept away to give place to something new in science. Such might happen in theory, in literature, but not in science. Fashion has a hard time with science.

Those who are concerned with whether sociology is scientific or not might well use this book as Exhibit No. 1. There is a mass of knowledge, reliable and measured with precision.

As to the details, some critical observations may be made, however. The new developments in new reproduction rates since Dublin's famous paper in 1925 are scantily treated. The work on generation net reproduction rates is treated only in a small footnote. The space given to population forecasts is limited to about a page. It may be that this subject is somewhat beyond the scope of the book. But, if the authors are going to deal with it at all (as they do), much more than one paragraph should have been given to so important a subject. We have had now several decades of experience in forecasting population growth.

The authors have several chapters on biological factors and inheritance of longevity. Much of what the authors call biology is really culture. Thus when fathers and sons both live long lives there is an environmental factor. Both

Dublin and Lotka were biologically trained before the appearance of cultural sociology.

It is interesting to note that in a book with so much data and measurement and formulas, that there appears a minimum of bias, such as one so often sees in sociological books dealing with social philosophy or books in which data are scarce. In this field one may have much optimistic bias, but it does not bother, because the data check it.

The record it discloses is quite a remarkable one of achievement. The length of life in the Bronze Age was eighteen years, the authors say, and in 1946 it was sixty-seven years. And since this book was published the expectancy of life for women has risen to the often-quoted three score and ten. They do not discuss, though, how this achievement disturbs the population balance.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

Demographic Yearbook, 1948. By the UNITED NATIONS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 596. $7.00.

This book is a very useful volume of population statistics for the various countries of the world, compiled under competent supervision, and carrying some responsible explanatory text and a good list of sources.

The old League of Nations and the International Statistical Institute were the former sources in a general compendium for these data. My impression is that the League publications were not quite so comprehensive in area covered as is the volume of the United Nations. The last volume of the *Statistical Year Book of the League of Nations* included the year 1944. The *Summary of the International Vital Statistics* of the United States National Office of Vital Statistics carried the data no further than 1944. Since then, Americans have relied on the quarterly publication of *Population Index*, with its limited but useful data.

The data in this book are: area, population, density, age and sex, and marital condition absolute and in proportion, urban and rural population, literacy by age and sex, households, women by number of children born and number living, labor force by age and sex, employment, socioeconomic class, emigrants by country of destination, grants by country of origin and nationality, total births, crude birth rates, births by age of mother and father, fertility rates by age of mother, births by family, illegitimate births, births by duration of marriage, stillbirths, gross and net reproduction rates, crude death rates, deaths by age and sex, death rates by age and sex, infant mortality rates, life-table death rates, survivors and mean expectation of life, total marriages, crude marriage rates, marriage by age of partners, and marriage rates by sex.

These data are all in the present volume for such countries as have them. Thus total population is given for 245 areas but marital status by age in 41. Some fifteen additional items will be presented in succeeding volumes, which will omit some of those included in this volume. The present volume has 600 pages, nine by eleven inches.

WILLIAM F. OGBURN

University of Chicago

Bureau of the Census Manual of Tabular Presentation. By BRUCE L. JENKINSON. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. xiv+266. $1.50.

This manual was prepared by Bruce L. Jenkinson of the Bureau of the Census to assist workers within that agency in the maintenance of certain standards of consistency in the preparation of tables. It should be useful to all persons, whether in the Bureau or not, who are responsible for the preparation and design of tables. Students who are learning table design may be referred to it for a sensible and clear statement of the function of tables, the rationale of table headings, etc. The author and those persons on the Bureau policy level responsible for it are to be commended for the plan of its publication and the clarity of presentation.

ETHEL SHANAS

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ADORNO, T. W., *et al. The Authoritarian Personality.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xxxiii+990. $7.50. Described as "the most monumental work yet undertaken to determine scientifically what distinctive personality traits characterize the phenomenon of prejudice."

AGUILERA, FRANCISCO. *Handbook of Latin American Studies: 1946*, No. 12. Prepared by the HISPANIC FOUNDATION OF THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. ix+364. $8.50.

ALBRECHT, WILLIAM P. *William Hazlitt and the Malthusian Controversy.* ("University of New Mexico Publications in Language and Literature," No. 4.) Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1950. Pp. 124. $1.00.

ALLPORT, GORDON W. *The Individual and His Religion: A Psychological Interpretation.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. x+147. $2.50.

ALLWOOD, MARTIN S. (ed.). *Hobart Mass Communication Studies, 1949–50.* Geneva: Hobart and William Smith Colleges, 1950. Pp. 58. $1.00.

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BALTZLY, ALEXANDER, and SALOMONE, A. WILLIAM (eds.). *Readings in Twentieth-Century European History.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. Pp. xxv+610. $5.00.

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BERGLER, EDMUND, M.D. *Conflict in Marriage.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. viii+216. $2.75. Advice on the problems of marriage by an experienced psychiatrist.

BERKELEY, EDMUND C. *Giant Brains or Machines That Think.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949. Pp. xvi+270. $4.00. An account of the electronic calculating machines.

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of our present immigration regulations with recommendations for revision.

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CLEETON, GLEN U. *Making Work Human.* Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1949. Pp. 326. $3.75. Presents the thesis that work can be made fully as satisfying as play.

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LAIDLER, HARRY W. *The Road Ahead: A Primer of Capitalism and Socialism.* New York: Three Arrows Press, 1950. Pp. 87. $1.00.

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LEPAWSKY, ALBERT. *State Planning and Economic Development in the South.* Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1949. Pp. xvi+193. $3.00. Functions, experience, programs, and methods of operation of state planning and development agencies in promoting southern economic growth.

LIDDELL, HELEN; VERMEIL, EDMOND; SUCHODOLSKI, BOGDAN. *Education in Occupied Germany.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 148. $1.25.

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LINFORD, ALTON A. *Old Age Assistance.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. viii+418. $5.00.

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MCCARTHY, RAYMOND G., and DOUGLASS, EDGAR M. *Alcohol and Social Responsibility: A New Educational Approach.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1949. Pp. xvi+304. $3.50.

MACIVER, R. M. (ed.). *Great Expressions of Human Rights.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xvi+321. $2.50. Fourteen famous historical documents, including Magna Carta, to represent the growth of the conception of human rights, with an interpretative foreword.

MCMAHAN, C. A. *The People of Atlanta: A Demographic Study of Georgia's Capital City.* Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1950. Pp. xxiii+257. $4.00. Described as "probably the first complete demographic analysis of a large urban population."

MAIER, NORMAN R. F. *Frustration: The Study of Behavior without a Goal.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1949. Pp. xiii+264. $3.50. A report on an experimental program of research on frustration conducted in the author's laboratory during the last ten years.

MAIR, GEORGE F. (ed.). *Studies in Population.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. 169. $2.50. A series of papers on demographic data and research, resources for the world's people, value systems and human fertility, and future course of research in fertility.

MAKI, LILLIAN. *The Constitution of Justice.* New York: Exposition Press, 1949. Pp. 150. $3.00. Protest against society's treatment of women.

MANSHARDT, CLIFFORD (ed.). *The Mahatma and the Missionary: Selected Writings of Mohandas K. Gandhi.* Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1949. Pp. 140. $2.00.

MAUGHAM, ROBIN. *North Africa Notebook.* New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950. Pp. 146. $3.00. Account of a six-month journey through the Arab lands of North Africa.

MEADOWS, PAUL. *The Culture of Industrial Man.* Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950. Pp. 216. $3.75. A study of human values in an industrial civilization, focused on the tensions and tendencies of a mass culture in conflict.

MEEK, C. K. *Land Law and Custom in the Colonies.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. xxvi+337. $6.00. Review of systems of agricultural land-holding in the British colonies in Africa, Asia, West Indies, etc.; covers a wide range of types of tenure and relates these to the changing economic and social conditions of the people.

MEERLOO, JOOST A. M. *Patterns of Panic.* New York: International Universities Press, 1950. Pp. 120. $2.00. A Dutch psychiatrist, drawing on his experiences in occupied Europe, describes the diverse personal expressions of fear. Addressed to social workers, soldiers, Red Cross personnel, and all who are mobilized in times of catastrophe.

MEINECKE, FRIEDRICH. *The German Catastrophe: Reflections and Recollections.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii+121. $3.00. A distinguished German historian presents his analysis of the social and historical forces which led to the rise and ruin of Germany.

MIHANOVICH, CLEMENT S. *Current Social Problems.* Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1950. Pp. xiii+452. $3.50. A text designed for Catholic schools.

MITRA, SISIRKUMAR. *Cultural Fellowship of Bengal.* Calcutta: Culture Publishers, 1946. Pp. vii+108.

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MOLEY, RAYMOND. *27 Masters of Politics in a Personal Perspective.* New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co., 1949. Pp. xii+276. $3.50. Profiles of famous United States leaders and their advisers.

MONRONEY, A. S. MIKE, *et al. The Strengthening of American Political Institutions.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1949. Pp. ix+134. $2.00. Symposium by a number of experts in American government.

MOSTELLER, FREDERICK. *The Pre-election Polls of 1948: Report to the Committee on Analysis of Pre-election Polls and Forecasts.* New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949. Pp. xx+396. $2.50.

MURRAY, MARGARET A. *The Splendour That Was Egypt.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. Pp. xxiii+354. $10.00. Survey of the main elements of ancient Egyptian civilization.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK. *The Social Welfare Forum: Official Proceedings, 76th Annual Meeting, National Conference of Social Work, Cleveland, Ohio, June 12–17, 1949.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xiv+312. $4.25.

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NEVILLE-ROLFE, SYBIL. *Social Biology and Welfare.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. 416. $4.50.

OFFICE OF THE SURGEON GENERAL. *The Bulletin of the U.S. Army Medical Department: Combat Psychiatry.* (Vol. IX, Supplemental Number, November, 1949.) Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949. Pp. ix+216. $0.60.

ORTON, WILLIAM A. *The Economic Role of the State.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. x+192. $3.00. The Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures on the basis and limitations of government action.

PARTEN, MILDRED B. *Surveys, Polls & Samples.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xii+623. $5.00. Systematic description of procedures in making surveys and public opinion polls.

PERLOFF, HARVEY S. *Puerto Rico's Economic Future: A Study in Planned Development.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+433. $4.75.

PERRY, RALPH BARTON. *General Theory of Value.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xvii+702. $7.50. A new printing.

PINKHAM, SPENCER. *Modern Republic: How the U.S. Can Maintain Both Security and Freedom.* New York: Greenberg, Publisher, 1950. Pp. 137. $2.50.

PLANCK, MAX. *Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. Pp. 192. $3.75. A collection of essays on the methods and assumptions of science. The title paper, "The Scientific Autobiography," states Planck's recollections of his great discoveries.

PLANT, JAMES S. *The Envelope: A Study of the Impact of the World upon the Child.* New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950. Pp. 299. $3.00. Discusses twenty-one problems which the late Dr. Plant found were common to most of the children with whom he worked for twenty-five years as director of the Essex County Juvenile Clinic in Newark, New Jersey.

PRAY, KENNETH L. M. *Social Work in a Revolutionary Age and Other Papers.* Philadelphia: Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania Press, 1949. Pp. x+308. $4.00.

RAMSAY, WILLIAM. *The Cities of St. Paul: Their Influence on His Life and Thought.* Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1949. $4.00. An exhaustive study of the Acts of the Apostles.

RECKLESS, WALTER C. *The Crime Problem.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. Pp. xii+535. $4.25. A new text in criminology including case histories.

REDFIELD, ROBERT. *A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xiv+187. $2.75. Change in community life noted in a second study made seventeen years after the first.

REID, D. C. *Money and Organisation.* London: MacDonald & Evans, 1950. Pp. ix+128. 10*s*. Relates the monetary theories of economists to the study of banking and public finance.

REIWALD, PAUL. *Society and Its Criminals.* New York: International Universities Press, 1950. Pp. xix+315. $4.50. Analysis by a Swiss criminologist of the consequences of viewing the criminal as an asocial person.

ROBERTS, LYDIA J., and STEFANI, ROSA LUISA. *Patterns of Living in Puerto Rican Families.* Rio Piedras, P.R.: University of Puerto Rico, 1949. Pp. xxiii+411. Factual analysis of the composition of Puerto Rican families, housing, living conditions, health, and diet, with implications and conclusions.

ROBINSON, DUANE. *Chance To Belong: Story of the Los Angeles Youth Project.* New York: Woman's Press, 1949. Pp. xvii+173. $5.00. Describes an experimental program to handle the problem of juvenile delinquency, with particular reference to area co-ordination.

RÓHEIM, GÉZA (ed.). *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences.* New York: International Universities Press, 1950. Pp. 329. $7.50. A series of papers on psychoanalytic and cultural interests.

ROMANO, JOHN, M.D. *Adaptation.* Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1949. Pp. xiv+113. $2.00. Essays by a zoölogist, a physiologist, a psychobiologist, a psychiatrist, and an anthropologist on the process of adaptation.

ROSSI, A. *A Communist Party in Action: An Account of the Organization and Operations in France.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. xxiv+301. $4.00.

SARGENT, S. STANSFELD, and SMITH, MARIAN W. (eds.). *Culture and Personality: Proceedings of an Interdisciplinary Conference Held under Auspices of the Viking Fund, November 7 and 8, 1947.* New York: Viking Fund, 1949. Pp. vi+219. $1.50. Papers by distinguished social and psychological scientists defining the nature of culture and personality and discussing their techniques.

SCHONBAR, ALBERT. *Bitter Wine.* New York: Exposition Press, 1950. Pp. 136. $2.50. A novel depicting the struggles of a young European immigrant in the United States.

SCHRAMM, WILBUR (ed.). *Mass Communications.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1949. Pp. xi+552. $4.50. Readings selected and edited for the Institute of Communications Research in the University of Illinois by the director of the Institute.

SCHWIDETZKY, ILSE. *Grundzüge der Völkerbiologie* ("Biology of Peoples"). Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1950. Pp. xi+512. DM. 19.60. Sections on biology of migration, social biology (stratification, mixing, assimilation, city and country), and biology of reproduction (choice of partner, differential reproduction rates of various peoples). A general treatise.

SHANNON, JASPER B. (ed.). *The Study of Comparative Government: An Appraisal of Contemporary Trends.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1949. Pp. viii+338. $4.00. Essays written in honor of Frederic Austin Ogg, professor of political science, University of Wisconsin, 1914–48.

SIEVERS, ALLEN MORRIS. *Has Market Capitalism Collapsed?* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 387. $4.75.

SIMPSON, GEORGE GAYLORD. *The Meaning of Evolution: A Study of the History of Life and of Its Significance for Man.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. $3.75. The history of evolution and its meaning for the nature of man, his values, ethical standards and possible destiny.

SMITH, EDWARD CONRAD, and ZURCHER, ARNOLD JOHN (eds.). *New Dictionary of American Politics.* New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1949. Pp. viii+437. $3.25. Over 3,500 terms covering national, state, and municipal government, the Constitution, major Supreme Court decisions and acts of Congress, judicial procedure and administration, political parties, elections, international relations, and political slang.

SMITH, LILLIAN. *Killers of the Dream.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1949. Pp. 256. $3.00. A well-known novelist presents a series of views of the beliefs and dreams of the white man.

SMITH, MARIAN W. (ed.). *The Negro in Northern Brazil: A Study in Acculturation.* New York: J. J. Augustin, 1949. Pp. viii+131. $2.75. An ethnological monograph.

SMITH, WALTER BEDELL. *My Three Years in Moscow.* Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1950. Pp. 346. $3.75. An account by the United States ambassador to Russia covering the years 1946–49.

SODEN, WILLIAM H. (ed.) *Rehabilitation of the Handicapped: A Survey of Means and Methods.* New York: Ronald Press Co., 1949. Pp. xiii+399. $5.00. Current procedures for the mental and physical rehabilitation of persons disabled by illness or injury or otherwise handicapped.

SOROKIN, PITIRIM A. *Leaves from a Russian Dairy and Thirty Years After.* Boston: Beacon Press

1950. Pp. ix+346. $3.50. An enlarged edition appearing thirty years after the original edition and containing a new final chapter assessing the Russian Revolution.

STAPLETON, LAWRENCE. *The Design of Democracy.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1949. Pp. 301. $4.00. A statement of democracy's fundamental principles and their application in a modern society.

STEDMAN, MURRAY S., JR., and STEDMAN, SUSAN W. *Discontent at the Polls: A Study of Farmer and Labor Parties, 1827–1948.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. x+190. $2.75. The tactics, strategy, and geographical, social, and economic background of the various farmer and labor parties.

SWANN, NANCY LEE (trans.). *Food and Money in Ancient China: The Earliest Economic History of China to A.D. 25, Han Shu 24, with Related Texts, Han Shu 91 and Shih-Chi 129.* Princeton University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii+482. $10.00. A translation of the earliest extant economic history of China written originally in the days of the Han Dynasty (A.D. 25). Treats such topics as the rise and fall of government monopolies of salt, iron, and liquors; government taxation; and governmental control of coinage.

TEGGART, FREDERICK J., and HILDEBRAND, GEORGE H. (eds.). *The Idea of Progress: A Collection of Readings.* Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1949. Pp. xi+457. $6.00. Selections from Greek and Roman to early Christian antiquity; the early modern period (1519–1690) in Europe; nineteenth-century Europe. Bibliography.

THOMSON, WATSON. *Pioneer in Community: Henri Lasserre's Contribution to the Fully Cooperative Society.* Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1949. Pp. xv+123.

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TREDGOLD, R. F. *Human Relations in Modern Industry.* New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1950. Pp. 192. $2.50. An English psychiatrist outlines the contributions of psychology to leadership incentives, absenteeism, hours of work, and other industrial problems.

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UNITED NATIONS. *Statistical Yearbook 1948.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 482. $6.00.

UNESCO. *Study Abroad: International Handbook,* Vol. II. New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. 363. $1.25. Fellowships, scholarships, and educational exchange.

UNITED STATES PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE. *The Chicago–Cook County Health Survey.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xlviii+1317. $15.00.

UTLEY, FREDA. *The High Cost of Vengeance.* Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1949. Pp. 310. $3.50. Critical analysis of our German policy and the dangers toward which the author believes it is heading.

VALENTINE, P. F. (ed.). *The American College.* New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. Pp. xvi+575. $10.00. Reflections of several scholars on college education.

VALENTINE, WILLARD L., and WICKENS, DELOS D. *Experimental Foundations of General Psychology.* New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949. Pp. xxi+472. $3.00.

VAN TIL, WILLIAM; DEBOER, JOHN J.; BURNETT, R. WILL; and OGDEN, KATHLEEN COYLE. *Democracy Demands It: A Resource Unit for Intercultural Education in the High School.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. viii+117. $1.50.

VAUGHAN, ELIZABETH HEAD. *Community under Stress.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xiv+160. $2.50. Intimate study of a Japanese concentration camp in the Philippines to which the author was confined for three years.

VIERKANDT, ALFRED. *Kleine Gesellschaftslehre.* Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1949. Pp. viii+111. DM. 7.60. Sociological analysis of group life and of different kinds of groups.

VIRGINIA SOCIAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION. *Virginia and the Civil Rights Program.* Charlottesville: Bureau of Population and Economic Research, University of Virginia, 1949. Pp. 54. $1.00.

VOIGT, LLOYD L. *History of California State Correctional Administration from 1930 to 1948.* San Francisco: State of California, 1949. Pp. 126. $2.00.

WEILGART, WOLFGANG J. *Who Is Peaceful?* New York: Exposition Press, 1950. Pp. 71. $1.00 Suggestions for a "human philosophy of peace."

WHEELER, WAYNE. *Social Stratification in a Plains Community.* Minneapolis: Wayne Wheeler, 1949. Pp. 123. $1.00.

WILSON, ARTHUR JESS. *The Emotional Life of the Ill and Injured: The Psychology and Mental Hygiene of Rehabilitation and Guidance.* New York: Social Sciences Publishers, 1950. Pp. 416. $4.75.

WINGERT, PAUL S. *American Indian Sculpture: A Study of the Northwest Coast.* New York: J. J. Augustin, 1949. Pp. xii+144. $7.50. Classifies and analyzes the styles of sculpture of the Northwest Indian groups, with an account of their tribal and regional distribution. 76 plates of sculptures.

WOLFENSTEIN, MARTHA, and LEITES, NATHAN. *Movies: A Psychological Study.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. 316. $4.00. Organized around following themes: "Lovers and Loved Ones," "Parents and Children," "Killers and Victims," "Performers and Onlookers," treatment being based on certain classes of American films released since 1945.

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THE ACADEMY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

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ABSTRACT

An Academy of the Social Sciences was founded in the U.S.S.R. in August, 1946, by decree of the Department of Agitation and Propaganda of the Communist party. It is the highest of a series of institutions devoted to the theoretical and ideological training of party members and related personnel. The Academy should not be confused with the Higher Party School, whose function is the training of administrative party personnel. The Academy is just one aspect of the tightening of ideological and theoretical reins already noticeable in 1944 and intensified after 1946.

Political and social scientists will be interested in the recent establishment, in the Soviet Union, of an Academy of the Social Sciences. The Academy of the Social Sciences of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (bolshevik)[1] was founded by a special decision of the Central Committee of the party on August 2, 1946. It was established under the supervision of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the party, and its activities are being reported chiefly in the organ of this department, *Kultura i Zhizn.*

The Academy of the Social Sciences constitutes the highest of a whole series of institutions devoted to the theoretical and ideological training of party and related cadres or personnel. Its position among other party institutions for training is roughly equivalent to the position of a postgraduate university and research center.

[1] The exact title of the Academy in Russian is: Akademia Obshchestvennykh Nauk pri TsK VKP(b).

The Academy is an organ of the *Communist party* of the Soviet Union and should not be confused with the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. (Akademia Nauk S.S.S.R.), which is a *government* institution. So far as is known, there are no formal connections between the two academies, although many of the staff of the Academy of the Social Sciences are also members of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.

It is also necessary to distinguish between the Academy of the Social Sciences and the Higher Party School, both of which are under the direct supervision of the Central Committee. That the Academy of the Social Sciences and the Higher Party School will deal with essentially the same activities was indicated in a greeting sent to Stalin by the staff members and the students of both the Academy and the School, which says in part: "The Academy of the Social Sciences *and* the Higher Party School are called upon to train ideologically qualified cadres of theoretical workers as well as leaders for Party

and Soviet work."[2] At the formal opening of the Academy, the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. sent the following message to the Academy of the Social Sciences and the Higher Party School: "The Presidium of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. is firmly convinced that the Higher Party School and the Academy of the Social Sciences will contribute to a great extent to the filling of gaps in the social sciences and to the strengthening of the ideological front."[3]

The basic differences between these two institutions were defined by A. A. Kuznetsov as follows: The Academy of the Social Sciences will train personnel to work in the field of theory for the party, whereas the Higher Party School will concentrate on the training of administrative, staff, and line party cadres for the oblast (regional), krai (territorial), and union republican level. Thus, for example, a man who is to teach Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism in a university or who is to edit a theoretical journal for the central or regional party authorities would be trained by the Academy; a secretary for personnel or propaganda agitation for a central or local party organization would be trained in the Higher Party School. An editorial in *Bolshevik*, the chief theoretical organ of the Central Committee of the party, defined the general task of the Academy of the Social Sciences in the following terms: "The Academy received as its task the training of theoretical workers for central Party organizations, and for the Party central committees of the union republics, krai (territorial), and oblast (regional) level, as well as the training of qualified teachers for the universities and theoretical workers in scientific-research institutes."[4]

It was further announced that training would be given by the Academy in the following departments or chairs:[5] political economy, economy and policy of foreign governments, political science and law, history of the U.S.S.R., general history, international law, international relations, history of the Communist party (bolshevik), dialectical and historical materialism, history of Russian and western European philosophy, logic and psychology, and literature and art. Sociology and anthropology are not listed. The length of the regular course offered by the Academy is three years, two of which are to be spent in formal studies and the third in the preparation of a dissertation on a topic selected by the student. The student is expected to read 60,000–80,000 pages of text in the course of his studies, "to learn and familiarize himself with all the basic classic and modern works in his specialty."[6] It is also expected that some of the dissertations will be printed.

It is indicative of the pressing need for trained personnel in the social sciences that in November, 1946, the Academy, by decision of the Central Committee of the party, began to offer a nine-month course for teachers of the social sciences in the universities. Students for such a course were to be selected among the following: members of the Communist party, staff members of universities, students in the field of the history of the Communist party of the Soviet Union, political economists, students of dialectical and historical materialism, historians of the U.S.S.R., general historians, students of jurisprudence, and students of logic and psychology. Moreover, these students must have passed the minimum candidate requirements and have written part of their dissertation. Students taking this special course were to finish it and pass their dissertation examinations within nine months.[7] The first course started on January 15, 1947.

In November, 1947, it was announced in *Kultura i Zhizn* that this course had been completed. Out of a class of one hundred and eighty students, one hundred and forty-two, or approximately 79 per cent, completed

[2] *Kultura i Zhizn* ("Culture and Life"), No. 14, November 7, 1946.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] "Soviet Social Science at the Present Stage," *Bolshevik*, No. 15, August, 1946, p. 9.

[5] *Kultura i Zhizn*, No. 7, August 30, 1946.

[6] *Ibid.*, No. 14, November 7, 1946.

[7] *Ibid.*, No. 16, November 30, 1946.

their dissertations. More than forty students, or approximately 29 per cent, passed their dissertation examination successfully and became science degree candidates. Those who had failed their examination were given until January 1, 1948, to pass it. Many of the dissertations were said to be in the process of being printed. Moreover, a large number of the graduates of this nine-month course were to be appointed to chairs of social sciences in universities, in oblast (regional) and republican party schools, and to positions in scientific research institutes.[8]

Unfortunately, little information is available as to the staff. We know that the director appointed in 1946 was A. V. Mishulin.[9] When, later on, the work of the Academy did not meet the approval of the Central Committee, he was replaced by A. I. Kovalevsky. We know, however, that some well-known men participated in the activities of the Academy and apparently teach there; among others they include: M. B. Mitin, O. V. Trakhtenberg, V. S. Kruzhov, P. N. Pospelov, L. A. Leontiev, F. N. Fedoseev, M. A. Arzhanov, E. N. Burdzhalov, M. F. Makarov, S. L. Rubinshtein, A. T. Schneerson, and B. N. Ponomarev.

The qualifications required of a student to enter the Academy of the Social Sciences are a completed university education, experience in party and party propaganda work and in teaching or literary activity, and the ability to do scientific work. The student is required to take a competitive examination at university level on selected subjects, more particularly on his elected topic of specialization, on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism, and one foreign language. Applicants are limited to individuals below forty years of age. It is important to note that the applications for admission were to be sent to the Department of Propaganda and Agitation of the Central Committee of the Communist party, and it is likely that the final decision as to the admission of students rests with the department.

[8] *Ibid.*, No 32, November 20, 1947.

[9] *Ibid.*, No. 14, November 7, 1946.

No exact breakdown is known as to the social composition of the students of the Academy of the Social Sciences. Some information was given, however, by G. F. Aleksandrov,[10] formerly head of the Department of Propaganda and Agitation, at the formal opening of the Academy and the Higher Party School. He indicated that among the students of the Academy there were more than a hundred who had had a great deal of experience in party-propaganda activities; more than thirty others had been active in teaching, mainly in political economy, history, philosophy, and Marxism-Leninism, or had occupied chairs and given lectures to the party "active." All these students had enough background experiences, he continued, so that, by attending the Academy for a few years, they could broaden their knowledge and acquire the required qualities for dealing with theory. Some details were given as to the educational qualifications of some of the students. We find that sixty-three of them had received a higher degree in the field of the humanities and that sixteen, in addition to higher education, had completed a postgraduate course of studies. Approximately sixty students had not only received higher education but had gone through either the Institute of Red Professors or the former Higher Party School of the Central Committee. The students are of Russian, Ukranian, Belorussian, Armenian, Lithuanian, Estonian, Kazakh, Uzbek, Kirghiz, and other nationalities said to be representative of the whole U.S.S.R. Unfortunately, no more details are available as to what percentage of the total each of these different nationalities represents, or whether the majority of the students come from urban or agricultural districts.[11]

The address of the admission committee of the Academy and presumably of the Academy itself was given in 1946 as Myusskaya Pl. 6, Moscow. Later on, in 1947, the

[10] His book, *The History of Western European Philosophy*, was attacked by Zhdanov in the summer of 1947.

[11] *Kultura i Zhizn*, No. 14, November 7, 1946.

address of the same committee was given as Sadrovo-Kudrinskaya 9, Moscow 1.

The work of the Academy of the Social Sciences was severely criticized in September, 1948, by the Central Committee of the Communist party that had ordered the founding of the Academy two years before. The Central Committee felt that the Academy was not satisfactorily fulfilling the tasks assigned to it and that the teaching process was organized along incorrect lines. It was further charged that the programs of studies failed to consider the most important issues of the social sciences.[12] Moreover, the programs of the students were declared to be so overloaded with reading that they could not gain a deep knowledge of the so-called "basic fundamental" sources. Another complaint was that the students were not being supervised and did not receive help from members of the staff. Even the social composition of the students was criticized, since the Central Committee found that there were some who were completely without experience in party work and some who had failed to master the indispensable theoretical knowledge required of all when they entered the Academy. This theoretical knowledge apparently refers to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

The following action was taken by the Central Committee: the director (A. V. Mishulin) and the assistant director (P. S. Cheremery) were replaced by A. I. Kovalevsky and Z. N. Gagarin, respectively. Moreover, the Central Committee of the party imposed the following duties upon the staff of the Academy of the Social Sciences: the deficiencies remarked in the above-mentioned decision were to be remedied in order to assure the training of theoretical workers in the most important branches of the social sciences for party organizations, scientific research institutes as well as universities. Moreover, the teaching process was to be restructured to permit more seminars and series of lectures on knotty problems of dialectical and historical materialism. The Central Committee also stressed the point that themes for dissertations were to be selected from the actual problems of the social sciences and not from theoretical questions having no connection with contemporary life. Finally, the Central Committee of the party insisted on the proper selection of students to attend the Academy of the Social Sciences: they must have had experience in party work as well as a good theoretical foundation.[13]

The concern felt by the party as to the proper indoctrination of those who deal in the social sciences shows the important political aspect of these sciences, more particularly under a regime which is devoted to only one interpretation of them.[14] As Sergius Yakobson puts it:

> A report on the progress of research in social studies under a totalitarian regime is bound to be a story of ever watchful political guidance and control . . . ceaseless conflict between free choice and prescribed approach, between independent interpretation of factual sources and findings laid down in advance by state and party authorities interested not in the facts per se but in bolstering the political foundations of the regime.[15]

The Academy of the Social Sciences is significant as an important addition to the structure of institutions dealing with theoretical questions and is at the same time a manifestation of the general tightening of ideological reins in the Soviet Union noticeable in 1944, and intensified after 1946.[16] The Academy may rightly be described as the apex of the pyramid of organs dealing with propaganda and agitation. Preliminary

[12] What the most important issues of the social sciences are, was not, however, defined by the Central Committee.

[13] *Kultura i Zhizn*, No. 26, September 11, 1948.

[14] For a good treatment of this subject see Percy E. Corbett, "Postwar Soviet Ideology," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLXIII (May, 1949), 45–57.

[15] "Postwar Historical Research in the Soviety Union," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLXIII (May 1949), 123–33.

[16] See John S. Curtiss and Alex Inkeles, "Marxism in the U.S.S.R.—the Recent Revival," *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. LXI, No. 3 (September, 1946).

reports on the activities of the Academy indicate that students who are taught there are sent to teach all over the Soviet Union and that many scholars come to the Academy either for training or to give an account of their research. Sessions at the Academy are devoted to contemporary questions as well as to questions dealing with Marxism-Leninism-Stalinism.

As an instrument of the Communist party, and more particularly of its Department of Propaganda and Agitation, the Academy of the Social Sciences is to play a paramount role in inculcating a proper Marxist viewpoint in the Soviet intelligentsia and indirectly in the Soviet people.

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THE DIFFUSION OF SEXUAL PSYCHOPATH LAWS

EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND

ABSTRACT

The diffusion of sexual psychopath laws has followed this course: a community is thrown into panic by a few serious sex crimes, which are given nation-wide publicity; the community acts in an agitated manner, and all sorts of proposals are made; a committee is then appointed to study the facts and to make recommendations. The committee recommends a sexual psychopath law as the scientific procedure for control of sex crime. This recommendation is consistent with the trend toward treatment policies in criminal justice in preference to policies of punishment.

This paper is an analysis of the diffusion of sexual psychopath laws from the point of view of collective behavior. Since 1937 twelve states and the District of Columbia have enacted sexual psychopath laws. With minor variations they provide that a person who is diagnosed as a sexual psychopath may be confined for an indefinite period in a state hospital for the insane. This confinement is not ordered by a criminal court as a punishment for crime but by a probate court for the protection of society against persons who are believed to have irresistible sexual impulses.[1]

Implicit in these laws is a series of propositions which have been made explicit in an extensive popular literature, namely, that the present danger to women and children from serious sex crimes is very great, for the number of sex crimes is large and is increasing more rapidly than any other crime; that most sex crimes are committed by "sexual degenerates," "sex fiends," or "sexual psychopaths" and that these persons persist in their sexual crimes throughout life; that they always give warning that they are dangerous by first committing minor offenses; that any psychiatrist can diagnose them with a high degree of precision at an early age, before they have committed serious sex crimes; and that sexual psychopaths who are diagnosed and identified should be confined as irresponsible persons until they are pronounced by psychiatrists to be completely and permanently cured of their malady.[2]

Most of these propositions can be demonstrated to be false and the others questionable. More particularly, the concept of the "sexual psychopath" is so vague that it cannot be used for judicial and administrative purposes without the danger that the law may injure the society more than do the sex crimes which it is designed to correct. Moreover, the states which have enacted such laws make little or no use of them. And there is no difference in the trend in rates of serious sex crimes, so far as it can be determined, between the states which enact such laws and adjoining states which do not.[3]

These dangerous and futile laws are be-

[1] In some states conviction of a sex crime is a prerequisite to the operation of this law. Even in this case the significant characteristic of the law is that it takes the criminal out of the realm of ordinary punishment and treats him as a patient with a mental malady.

[2] J. Edgar Hoover, "How Safe Is Your Daughter?" *American Magazine,* CXLIV (July, 1947), 32–33; David G. Wittels, "What Can We Do about Sex Crimes?" *Saturday Evening Post,* CCXXI (December 11, 1948), 30 ff.; C. J. Dutton, "Can We End Sex Crimes?" *Christian Century,* XLIV (December 22, 1937), 1594–95; F. C. Waldrup, "Murder as a Sex Practice," *American Mercury* (February, 1948), 144–58; Charles Harris, "A New Report on Sex Crimes," *Coronet* (October, 1947), 3–9; Howard Whitman, "Terror in Our Cities: No. I, Detroit," *Collier's,* November 19, 1949, pp. 13–15, 64–66.

[3] These appraisals of the sexual psychopath laws have been elaborated in my paper in the *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology,* XL (January–February, 1950), 534–54.

ing diffused with considerable rapidity in the United States. Michigan first enacted such a law in 1937.[4] Illinois followed in 1938, and California and Minnesota in 1939. Thus four states have had these laws for ten years. In 1943 Vermont passed a sexual psychopath law; in 1945 Ohio; in 1947 Massachuetts, Washington, and Wisconsin; in 1948 the District of Columbia; and in 1949 Indiana, New Hampshire, and New Jersey. They continue to spread, with no indication of abatement. What is the explanation of this diffusion of laws which have little or no merit?

First, these laws are customarily enacted after a state of fear has been aroused in a community by a few serious sex crimes committed in quick succession. This is illustrated in Indiana, where a law was passed following three or four sexual attacks in Indianapolis, with murder in two. Heads of families bought guns and watchdogs, and the supply of locks and chains in the hardware stores of the city was completely exhausted.[5]

The sex murders of children are most effective in producing hysteria. Speaking of New York City in 1937, after four girls had been murdered in connection with sexual attacks, Austin H. MacCormick says:

> For a while it was utterly unsafe to speak to a child on the street unless one was well-dressed and well-known in the neighborhood. To try to help a lost child, with tears streaming down its face, to find its way home would in some neighborhoods cause a mob to form and violence to be threatened.[6]

The hysteria produced by child murders is due in part to the fact that the ordinary citizen cannot understand a sex attack on a child. The ordinary citizen can understand fornication or even forcible rape of a woman, but he concludes that a sexual attack on an infant or a girl of six years must be the act of a fiend or maniac. Fear is the greater because the behavior is so incomprehensible.

A protracted man-hunt following a sex attack arouses additional fear. The newspapers report daily on the progress of the chase, and every real or imagined sex attack, from near and far, is given prominence. In the case of Fred Stroble in Los Angeles in November, 1949, three days elapsed between the discovery of the mutilated body of his victim and his capture. A description of the crime and of the suspected criminal was sent to all adjoining cities and counties, and blockades were set up along the Mexican border. Watches were set at hotels, motels, bus stations, railway stations, and saloons. Hundreds of reports came to the police from Los Angeles and from other cities. Timid old men were pulled off streetcars and taken to police stations for identification, and every grandfather was subject to suspicion. The body of a drowned man, recovered from the ocean, was at first reported to be Stroble. The history of Stroble's molestations of other girls was reported. A detailed description of seven other cases of sex murders of girls in Los Angeles since 1924 was published. At the end of the week, twenty-five other cases of molestations of girls in Los Angeles had been reported to the Los Angeles police.[7] After three days it appeared that Stroble had gone to Ocean Park, on the edge of Los Angeles, and had stayed in hotels there. He then returned to Los Angeles with the intention of surrendering to the police. He went into a bar after alighting from a bus and was recognized and pointed out to a policeman. The picture of the policeman who made the arrest was published in scores of newspapers over the United States as the "capturer of the sex fiend." After his capture, other details of the case and of related cases kept the community in a state of tension. As soon as the district attorney

[4] This law was declared unconstitutional, but a revised law was enacted in 1939.

[5] *Time*, November 24, 1947, pp. 29–30.

[6] "New York's Present Problem," *Mental Hygiene*, XX (January, 1938), 4–5.

[7] "Molestation" is a weasel word and can refer to anything from rape to whistling at a girl.

secured from Stroble an account of the manner of the murder, he went to the assembled reporters and repeated the story, "with beads of sweat standing on his face and neck." The psychiatrist's diagnosis of Stroble was published: he loved this little girl because he was a timid and weak old man, insufficiently aggressive to approach grown women; the murder of the girl was merely an incident due to fear of being caught and punished.

Fear is seldom or never related to statistical trends in sex crimes. New York City's terror in 1937 was at its height in August, although that was not the month when sex crimes reached their peak. The number of sex crimes known to the police of New York City was 175 in April, 211 in May, 159 in August, and 177 in September.[8] Ordinarily, from two to four spectacular sex crimes in a few weeks are sufficient to evoke the phrase "sex crime wave."

Fear is produced more readily in the modern community than it was earlier in our history because of the increased publicity regarding sex crimes. Any spectacular sex crime is picked up by the press associations and is distributed to practically all the newspapers in the nation; in addition, it is often described in news broadcasts. Then weekly and monthly journals publish general articles on sex crimes. All this produces a widespread uneasiness which, given a few local incidents, readily bursts into hysteria.

Although this condition of fear has been found in all the states prior to the enactment of their sexual psychopath laws, it is not a sufficient explanation of the laws. For generations communities have been frightened by sex crimes and have not enacted sexual psychopath laws. In the present generation the states which have not enacted sexual psychopath laws have had similar fears.

A second element in the process of developing sexual psychopath laws is the agitated activity of the community in connection with the fear. The attention of the community is focused on sex crimes, and people in the most varied situations envisage dangers and see the need of and possibility for their control. When a news broadcaster, in connection with the Stroble case, expressed the belief over the radio that something should be done, he received more than two hundred telegrams agreeing with him. The mother of the murdered girl demanded punishment for the daughter of Stroble, who had harbored him without notifying the parents of girls in the neighborhood that he was a dangerous criminal. A woman spoke in condemnation of strip-tease and other lewd shows as stimulating sex fiends and demanded that they be closed. Letters to the editors demanded that sex criminals be castrated; others recommended whipping. The City Council of Los Angeles adopted a resolution demanding that the legislature of the state be called in special session to enact laws which would punish sex crimes more severely and would make sex criminals ineligible for parole. The attorney-general of the state sent a bulletin to all sheriffs and police chiefs urging them to enforce strictly the laws which required registration of all sex criminals. The judiciary committee of the state legislature appointed a subcommittee to study the problem of sex crimes and to make recommendations to a special session of the legislature. The superintendent of city schools urged, among other things, that sex offenders who loitered around the schools should be prosecuted. The grand jury met and started a general investigation of sex crimes. The Juvenile Protective Committee urged an appropriation of $50,000 for medical and clinical treatment of sex offenders, and the County Probation Department energetically requested the authorizing of a psychiatric clinic for the study and supervision of sex offenders. It was reported that some psychiatrists in the city opposed these suggestions for psychiat-

[8] Citizens' Committee for the Control of Crime in New York, "Sex Crimes in New York City," quoted in *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIX (May, 1938), 143–44.

ric clinics as "socialized medicine" and "statism."

In the meantime, organization developed in other directions. The sheriff's office set up a special detail on sex offenses, with a staff to co-ordinate all police activities on sex offenses in the county. The Parent-Teacher Association sponsored mass meetings, with blanks on which interested persons could enrol as members of an organization which would continue its efforts until effective action for control of sex crimes was taken. At the first mass meeting, attended by about eight hundred people, speakers were scheduled to explain the existing laws and procedures and to suggest programs for improvement. The news of the Stroble crime and of subsequent events was carried over the nation by the press associations and produced national reactions. J. Edgar Hoover was quoted as calling for an all-out war against sex criminals. The Associated Press's science editor wrote a syndicated column on the views of leaders in the nation regarding methods of controlling sex crimes.

The third phase in the development of these sexual psychopath laws has been the appointment of a committee. The committee gathers the many conflicting recommendations of persons and groups of persons, attempts to determine "facts," studies procedures in other states, and makes recommendations, which generally include bills for the legislature. Although the general fear usually subsides within a few days, a committee has the formal duty of following through until positive action is taken. Terror which does not result in a committee is much less likely to result in a law. The appointment of a committee is a conventional method of dealing with any problem. Even during the recent agitations in California and Michigan, which have had sexual psychopath laws for ten years, committees have been appointed to study sex crimes and to make recommendations.

These committees deal with emergencies, and their investigations are relatively superficial. Even so, the community sometimes becomes impatient. Before a committee appointed by the Massachusetts legislature had had time for even a superficial investigation, the impatient legislature enacted a sexual psychopath law. The committee report several months later recommended that the statute which had just been enacted should be repealed on the ground that sex crimes should not be considered apart from the general correctional system of the state.[9] Similarly, the legislature of New Jersey enacted a sexual psychopath law in 1949 and also appointed a committee to investigate sex crimes and to suggest a policy. In New York City, on the other hand, the mayor took certain emergency actions in 1937 and did not appoint a committee until several months after the crisis. This committee made a very thorough study of all sex crimes in New York City in the decade 1930–39 and did not report for two or three years. The result was that New York State did not enact a sexual psychopath law; and, in fact, the committee was divided in its recommendation that such a law should be enacted.

In some states, at the committee stage of the development of a sexual psychopath law, psychiatrists have played an important part. The psychiatrists, more than any others, have been the interest group back of the laws. A committee of psychiatrists and neurologists in Chicago wrote the bill which became the sexual psychopath law of Illinois; the bill was sponsored by the Chicago Bar Association and by the state's attorney of Cook County and was enacted with little opposition in the next session of the state legislature.[10] In Minne-

[9] Massachusetts, "Report of the Commission for Investigation of the Prevalence of Sex Crimes," *House Reports,* Nos. 1169 and 2169, 1948.

[10] W. S. Stewart, "Concerning Proposed Legislation for the Commitment of Sex Offenders," *John Marshall Law Quarterly,* III (March, 1938), 407–21; W. H. Haines, H. R. Hoffman, and H. A. Esser, "Commitments under the Criminal Sexual Psycho-

sota all of the members of the governor's committee except one were psychiatrists. In Wisconsin the Milwaukee Neuropsychiatric Society shared in pressing the Milwaukee Crime Commission for the enactment of a law. In Indiana the attorney-general's committee received from the American Psychiatric Association copies of all of the sexual psychopath laws which had been enacted in other states.

Such actions by psychiatrists are consistent in some respects with their general views. Most psychiatrists assert that serious sex crimes are the result of mental pathology, although few of them would make such unqualified statements as that attributed to Dr. A. A. Brill at the time of the panic in New York City in 1937: "Sex crimes are committed only by people of defective mentality. All mental defectives have either actual or potential sex abnormalities."[11] Also, psychiatrists almost without exception favor the view that criminals should be treated as patients. Moreover, since the sexual psychopath laws usually specify that the diagnosis for the court shall be made by psychiatrists, they have an economic interest in the extension of this procedure.

While psychiatrists have often played an important part in the promotion of sexual psychopath laws, many prominent psychiatrists have been forthright in their opposition to them. They know that the sexual psychopath cannot be defined or identified. Probably most of the psychiatrists in the nation have been indifferent to legislation; they have exerted themselves neither to promote nor to oppose enactment.

The function of the committee is to organize information. The committee, dealing with emergency conditions, customarily takes the information which is available. Much of this has been distributed through popular literature, which contains the series of propositions outlined above. The latter are customarily accepted without firsthand investigation by the committee and are presented to the legislature and the public as "science." Although these propositions are all false or questionable, they have nevertheless been very effective in the diffusion of the laws. Bills are presented to the legislature with the explanation that these are the most enlightened and effective methods of dealing with the problem of sex crimes and that the states which have sexual psychopath laws have found them effective. Very little discussion occurs in the legislature. When the bill for the District of Columbia was presented in Congress, the only question asked was whether this bill, if enacted, would weaken or strengthen the sex laws; the questioner was satisfied with a categorical reply that the bill would strengthen them.[12]

The law is similarly presented to the public as the most enlightened and effective method of dealing with sex offenders. After the sexual psychopath bill had been drafted in Indiana, the *Indianapolis Star* had the following editorial:

> Indiana today is one step nearer an enlightened approach to the growing menace of sex crimes. A proposed new law to institutionalize sexual psychopathics until pronounced permanently recovered has been drafted by a special state citizens' committee which helped the attorney general's office to study the problem. . . . Such a law should become a realistic, practical answer to the sex crime problem. This type of legislation has succeeded elsewhere and is long overdue in Indiana.[13]

The diffusion of sexual psychopath laws, consequently, has occurred under the following conditions: a state of fear developed, to some extent, by a general, nationwide popular literature and made explicit

path Law in the Criminal Court of Cook County, Illinois," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CV (November, 1948), 422.

[11] Quoted in *Time*, August 23, 1937, pp. 42–44. If the Kinsey Report is trustworthy, all males, whether defective or not, "have either actual or potential sex abnormalities."

[12] *Congressional Record*, XCIV (April 26, 1948), 4886.

[13] December 8, 1948.

by a few spectacular sex crimes; a series of scattered and conflicting reactions by many individuals and groups within the community; the appointment of a committee, which in some cases has been guided by psychiatrists, which organizes existing information regarding sex crimes and the precedents for their control and which presents a sexual psychopath law to the legislature and to the public as the most scientific and enlightened method of protecting society against dangerous sex criminals. The organization of information in the name of science and without critical appraisal seems to be more invariably related to the emergence of a sexual psychopath law than is any other part of this genetic process.

The most significant reason for the specific content of the proposals of these committees—treatment of the sex criminal as a patient—is that it is consistent with a general social movement.[14] For a century or more two rival policies have been used in criminal justice. One is the punitive policy; the other is the treatment policy. The treatment policy is evidenced by probation, parole, the indeterminate sentence, the juvenile court, the court clinic, and the facilities in correctional institutions for education, recreation, and religion. The treatment policy has been gaining, and the punitive policy has been losing, ground.

The trend toward treatment and away from punishment is based on cultural changes in the society. The trend away from punishment in criminal justice is consistent with the trend away from punishment in the home, the school, and the church. The trend toward treatment is consistent with a general trend toward scientific procedures in other fields, as illustrated by medicine, with its techniques of diagnosis and with treatment and prevention based on scientific knowledge of the causes of disease. The trend away from punishment toward treatment is not, however, based on a demonstration that treatment is more effective than punishment in protecting society against crime, for no such demonstration is available. Also, the fact that the trend in punishment is consistent with trends in other aspects of culture is not an adequate explanation of the trend in punishment. A general theory of social change must include more than a showing that one part of a culture changes consistently with other parts of a culture.

Not only has there been a trend toward individualization in treatment of offenders, but there has been a trend also toward psychiatric policies. Treatment tends to be organized on the assumption that the criminal is a socially sick person; deviant traits of personality, regarded as relatively permanent and generic, are regarded as the causes of crime. Since the time of Lombroso, at least, the logic of the typological schools of criminology has remained constant, while the specific trait used as the explanation of criminal behavior has changed from time to time. The first school held that criminals constitute a physical type, either epileptoid or degenerate in character; the second, that they are feeble-minded; the third, and current, school holds that criminals are emotionally unstable. All hold that crime can be caused only by a mental pathology of some type. The professionally trained persons other than lawyers who are employed in the field of criminal justice, whether as social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, or sociologists, tend toward the belief that emotional traits are the explanation of crime. This conclusion likewise has not been demonstrated, and the body of evidence in conflict with the conclusion is increasing.

A specific aspect of this trend toward treatment of offenders as patients is the provision for psychotic and feeble-minded criminals. When such persons do the things prohibited by criminal law, they may be held to be irresponsible from the legal

[14] See Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," chap. xxiii in *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, edited by A. M. Lee (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1946).

point of view and may still be ordered to confinement in institutions for the protection of society. All the states have some provision for psychotic criminals, and several have provisions for feeble-minded criminals. In some European nations the provisions for psychotic and feeble-minded criminals have been expanded and generalized under the name of "social security" laws: some have included sexual criminals under their social security measures, and the latter are the direct precedents for the sexual psychopath laws of the United States.

One of the questions in criminal law has been the criterion of responsibility. The courts have generally held that "knowledge of right and wrong" is the most satisfactory criterion. The psychiatrists have generally opposed this; they have argued that 90 per cent of the inmates of state hospitals for the insane can distinguish right from wrong but are, nevertheless, legally irresponsible. The important consideration, they argue, is that the psychotic person has impulses which he cannot control and that "irresistible impulse" should be substituted for "knowledge of right and wrong" as the criterion. The psychiatrists, however, have not been able to make their criterion clear cut for practical purposes.

The trend away from punishment and toward treatment of criminals as patients is to some extent a "paper" trend. Laws are enacted which provide for treatment rather than punishment; but the treatment goes on within a framework of punishment, and in many respects the punitive policies continue, despite changes in legislation. Probation, for instance, is upheld from the constitutional point of view as a suspension of punishment rather than as a method co-ordinate with punishment and is regarded by some persons as effective primarily because of the threat implied in it that punishment will follow violation of probation.

The sexual psychopath laws are consistent with this general social movement toward treatment of criminals as patients. Some laws define sexual psychopaths as "patients"; they provide for institutional care similar to that already provided for psychotic and feeble-minded criminals; they substitute the criterion of "irresistible impulse" for the criterion of "knowledge of right and wrong"; and they reflect the belief that sex criminals are psychopathic. The consistency with a general social movement provides a part of the explanation of the diffusion of sexual psychopath laws.

In the United States the connection between the enactment of sexual psychopath laws and the development of treatment policies is, at best, vague and loose. This is obvious from a consideration of the distribution of the laws. Three New England states, one Middle Atlantic state, and two Pacific Coast states have passed such laws; but the remainder—half of all the states with sexual psychopath laws—are in the North Central region. These laws, in fact, have been enacted in a solid block of North Central states: Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. On the other hand, no state in the southern, South Central, or Mountain regions has a sexual psychopath law. These regions also are less committed to treatment policies than are the regions which have sexual psychopath laws. While this association may be found when large regions are compared, it is not found when specific states are compared; New York State, for instance, has had an extensive development of treatment policies but no sexual psychopath law. Similarly, the states which have sexual psychopath laws are not differentiated clearly from states which do not have such laws by any statistical variable which has been discovered: they are not differentiated by the rate of rape, by the racial composition of the population, by the proportion of immigrants in the population, by the sex ratio in the population, or by the extent of industrialization or urbanization.

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THE PROBLEM OF LEADERSHIP: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

RICHARD T. MORRIS AND MELVIN SEEMAN[1]

ABSTRACT

A paradigm for the analysis of leadership is presented. The model stresses the fact that the group and individual variables commonly examined in leadership studies may be viewed in five ways: as results of the leader's behavior; as concomitants, determiners, or conditioners of the leader's behavior; and as criteria for evaluation. Ten major questions about leadership are stated in the paradigm, and their application to research is illustrated.

The demand for effective leadership has been intensified in our society in recent years. Training and research programs developed during the war to improve the quality of military leadership have been continued and expanded. Industries have instituted programs to improve the effectiveness of supervisors, and in international as well as domestic affairs the call for leadership of high caliber has been abundantly expressed. Yet those who are leaders today or who train leaders must act on the basis of what remains largely a series of *ad hoc* maxims unsupported by either sound theory or empirical data.

Adequate research on this critical problem calls for the combined resources of the social sciences. For even the simplest definition of a leader, i.e., an individual influencing group effectiveness, indicates the need to study the attributes of groups—group morale, integration, and productivity—as well as the attributes of individuals—motivations, aspirations, and perceptions. We need, therefore, to explore in operational terms the meaning of interdisciplinary integration and to develop a theoretical framework incorporating the viewpoints and approaches of the several disciplines. This paper is largely concerned with the latter; it presents a framework for research on leadership.

A word about the operational nature of the interdisciplinary program from which this framework emerged may be helpful. Three major areas of integration have been feasible: *conceptual* integration, *approach* integration, and *technique* integration.

Conceptual integration, in the Ohio State Leadership Studies program, has not involved the development of an initial comprehensive theory which serves as a mold for individual research projects. It has, rather, come about largely through the exchange of new and useful ways of viewing from the standpoint of one discipline a concept which has become standard in another. Thus, the concept of "status" as traditionally used in sociology carries a new meaning when the statuses for which individuals strive are viewed, as they are in the psychology of motivation, as systems of punishment and reward.

Approach integration refers to the widening of research perspectives. Gains have come in studies of executive leadership, for example, from the sociological emphasis on the larger cultural context as a crucial interpretive factor. Similarly, the social psychologist's theories of social perception and the building of group norms have been useful to the economist who is concerned with executive compensation or with an analysis of the differentially perceived economic goals of an organization.

Technique integration refers to the distinctive contributions of the several disci-

[1] This paper was co-operatively produced by the Ohio State Leadership Studies, whose staff includes, in addition to the authors: executive director, Carroll L. Shartle, Personnel Research Board; associate directors, Alvin E. Coons, department of economics, and Ralph M. Stogdill, department of psychology; research associate, John K. Hemphill, department of psychology; research consultant, Donald T. Campbell, department of psychology; research assistant, Charles M. Westie, department of sociology.

plines in research methodology. Perhaps the most important methodological difference demanding integration has been the empiricist versus the theorist approach to problem design: the former advocates relatively little a priori system (hypotheses, orientations, etc.), and the latter calls for a statement of a theoretical frame of research. Though these two viewpoints are not necessarily functions of the discipline from which the investigator comes, useful cross-pressure between them has been brought about in our program by the circumstance that the research men have been trained in various fields.

THE OVER-ALL FRAMEWORK

With this interdisciplinary thinking as background, individual staff members engaged in our study of leadership were left free to conceptualize and implement their own research projects; but it was deemed desirable to make explicit a general co-ordinating framework for the work as a whole.

The accompanying chart, which summarizes our conception of the study of leadership, was developed to serve this integrative function. It provides a rough map of the areas we are now studying, suggests duplications and lacunae both in problem and in methodology in the present studies, and helps to preserve a maximum of connection among the several studies as they are modified and expanded in the light of new data.

This chart, "A Paradigm for the Study of Leadership," is useful for ordering previous studies in the field as well as current studies. An analysis in terms of the chart framework, for example, of the studies reviewed by Stogdill[2] readily demonstrates the imbalance in kinds of variables, leader-designation procedures, and leadership definitions which have characterized many studies of leadership in the past. The chart may also be profitably used as a model for studies of other behavioral phenomena, such as criminal behavior, political behavior, and the like.

The whole design poses, as the major problem, the discovery of the relation of group and individual factors to differentials in leader behavior. These relations may be of several types. In the first place, they may be demonstrated to be *causal* in nature or to be simply *concomitant*. The causal type of relation may be either that group factors result from given behavior of the leader or that group factors determine the leader's behavior. Thus, for example, we may document the fact that given types of informal sociometric patterns among subordinates (*4D* in the chart) are the result of certain kinds of leader behavior (arrow *8-a*), that these sociometric patterns determine leader behavior (*6-a*), or simply that the given leader behavior and sociometric pattern coexist (*7-a*).

Though difficult to derive, it is the causal type of finding which is in one sense most crucial, since it bears directly upon the most critical hypothesis—usually assumed rather than tested—that the behavior of the "leader" does in fact make a difference in his group.

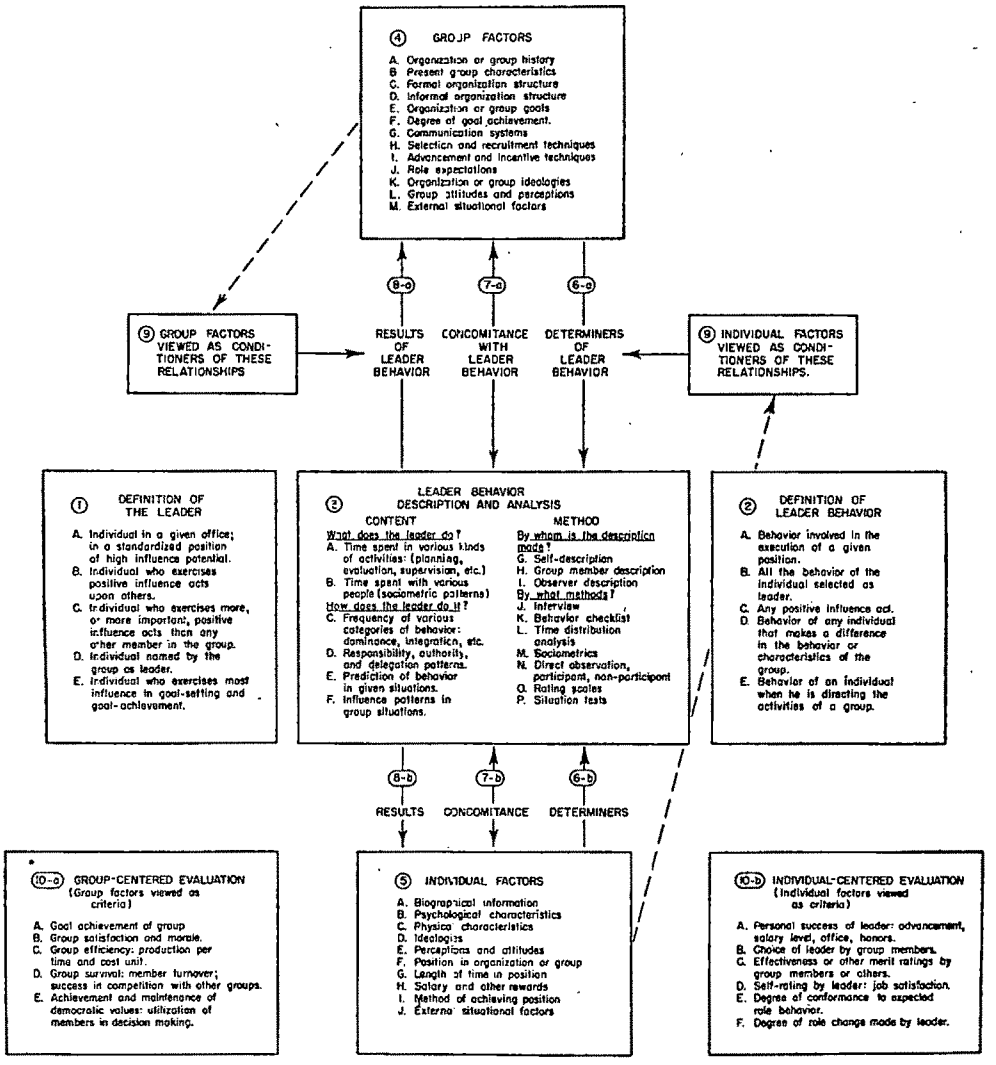
In addition to being viewed as causally or concomitantly related to leader behavior, the group and individual factors may be viewed as *conditioners* of relationships between given leader behavior and other factors (*9*). Thus, the relation between a given mode of behavior in the leader, e.g., high dominance (*3C*), and a given group result, e.g., high group morale (*4B*), may be conditioned by such group or individual factors as the extent of by-passing of the formal structure (*4D*) or how long the leader has been in that position (*5G*).

Further, the group and individual factors may be viewed as *criteria* for the evaluation of leadership (*10-a* and *10-b*). The question of criteria for effectiveness is, of course, crucial and one on which little progress has been made. It is useful methodologically to state clearly in the chart that one may evaluate by using specified group effects (or concomitancies) of leader behavior as cri-

[2] Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personal Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology*, XXV (1948), 37–71.

CHART I

A PARADIGM FOR THE STUDY OF LEADERSHIP



teria or by using ratings of the individual leader.

One of the major points of the chart, in short, is that a given group or individual factor may be viewed in five ways in its relation to leader behavior: as result, concomitancy, determiner, conditioner, or criterion. The classification of a given variable as a group factor, individual factor, or leader behavior is a heuristic rather than an inherent categorical one. For example, though the communication system of the group finds its place here under the group factors (*4G*), it may also be examined as an aspect of leader behavior when we ask: How much and in what ways does the leader communicate with the group members?

THE PARADIGM IN DETAIL

1. *Who is the leader?*[3]—This question has been classically answered in simple fashion: the leader is the individual who holds a leader's office. The leader of a business organization is the president; the leader of an army is the general; and so on. This is shown to be inadequate when more analytical definitions of "leader" are explored. For example, the leader may be designated as the individual who exercises more, or more important, influence than any other member; or the individual named by the group as leader; or the individual who exercises most influence in the setting or achievement of the goals of the group—to name but a few of the many definitions. As these and other definitions are used, it becomes necessary to develop greater awareness of the significance of different procedures for the designation of leaders.

To a large extent, the method used to date in the various studies made by the staff has been the selection of individuals in high office as persons to examine for leadership (without assuming that these individuals are, in fact, leaders in terms of the more operational definition suggested above). This is partly because the studies have been carried on in highly organized groups: in the navy, in industry, and in educational systems. When studies are made in less structured situations, it is especially important to employ other methods, such as sociometric choice, detailed observational techniques, analysis of reputational data, past-decision-making, patterns of influence, and the like.

It should not be assumed that the nature of the group under investigation will entirely determine how the leader is to be designated. This is also a function of the theory and definition of leadership involved. It is possible, by one definition, to designate as "leader" the individual in high office who has been chosen for study; while, by another definition, we cannot call him "leader" until he has demonstrably made a difference in the group, i.e., has exercised influence. The problem of designating the leader is of crucial concern in the study of leadership, especially in view of the fact that the office-holder as leader is a common stereotype in our culture. If this stereotype is uncritically carried over into research, it can severely restrict the applicability of leadership data to more general problems of social structure and social control.

2. *What is defined as leader behavior?*—The individual designated as leader behaves in accordance with the demands of many roles in addition to that of leader. Clearly some of his behavior is to be considered as leader behavior and some is not. From one point of view it might be said that whatever the leader does in the execution of his position, or in the fulfilment of his expected role, is leader behavior per se. This distinction is operationally quite hard to draw—perhaps rigorous discipline of his children is expected in the leader and is evaluated by group members as an integral part of his leadership. It is also possible to extend the definition of leader behavior to include *all* the behavior of the individual selected as leader. Or, again, leader behavior may be defined as any behavior that makes a difference in

[3] The number of each of the ten questions in this section corresponds to a number in the chart. Thus, "1. *Who is the leader?*" corresponds to box 1 in the chart, "Definition of the Leader."

the behavior of the group. In the latter case what is to be defined as leader behavior cannot be established a priori but can be operationally defined only after correlations have been established between what the designated individual does and the resultant group behavior. In any event, it seems essential, as methodologies of observation are worked out, to establish theoretically the limits of the phenomena to be observed.

3. *How is leader behavior to be described and analyzed?*—Careful description of leader behavior has rarely been achieved in previous studies. The focus, for the most part, has been on either leader *evaluation* or on the *traits* of leaders, while the leader's behavior has been largely ignored. Thus, the typical study of traits has been concerned with such questions as: Do leaders, compared with nonleaders, exhibit higher I.Q.'s, greater personal security, etc.? In the evaluation studies, the investigations have again by-passed section 3 of the paradigm, examining, for example, the relation between the leader's effectiveness as rated by the group and the leader's emotional stability, scholarship, or extraversion.

The staff of the Ohio State Leadership Studies has made the description of leader behavior one of its chief responsibilities. Instruments designed to observe and analyze the behavior of leaders are being developed. We have found it useful to think in terms of the *what* and *how* of leader behavior: on what organizational functions does the leader spend his time,[4] and how does he perform these functions? Is he dominant? separated from the group?

Who shall describe the leader's behavior? The description may be made by the leader himself, by his subordinates, by his peers, by his superiors, or by the investigator, either as a participant observer or otherwise. The methods currently being used are listed in the chart: all may be applied to obtain descriptions of leader behavior from the entire range of personnel listed above. One of the instruments currently being analyzed (*3K*) contains one hundred and fifty items describing leader behavior in terms of nine categories (*3C*), calling for responses by the leader himself, his subordinates, and others.[5] This instrument can also be used to explore leadership ideologies (What should an ideal leader do?).

4–5. *What group and individual factors are significant for leader behavior?*—The category "group factors" refers to the characteristics of the group in which the individual designated as leader exercises the function of leader. These factors are distinguished from "individual factors" in that the latter refer to the characteristics of the individual designated as leader. The variables listed in these two sections of the chart are suggestive rather than exhaustive.[6]

In our own studies the effort has been made to sample broadly in these two areas, with each project centering upon a different type of group or individual factor as it relates to leadership. Four major types of variable have been focused upon for present study:

a) A job analysis and organizational structure approach, in which the central effort is upon describing *what* leaders actually do (*3A* and *3B*); and on how this is related to

[4] Ralph M. Stogdill and Carroll L. Shartle have described some of the methods already developed for this type of analysis; cf. their "Methods for Determining Patterns of Leadership Behavior in Relation to Organization Structure and Objectives," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXXII (1948), 286–91; and Shartle, "Leadership and Executive Performance," *Personnel*, XXV (1949), 370–80.

[5] A mimeographed staff report on this instrument indicates that the original one hundred and fifty items, classified into nine categories of leader behavior (including domination, organization, initiation, etc.) can be reduced by factor analysis to three major components: goal-attainment behavior, maintenance of membership character, and member-interaction facilitation.

[6] "External situational factors" are listed in two places (*4M* and *5J*), though it would be possible to make a separate box for them. Reference here is made to such factors, external to the group or individual per se, as conditions of war, extreme heat, etc. They are included under group and individual factors on the assumption that their bearing on leader behavior is mediated through whatever effect they may have on these factors.

organizational structure, e.g., informal work patterns (*4D*), or echelon level (*4C*).

b) *A communications and leader effectiveness approach,* in which are examined, first, the relation of leader effectiveness to specific leader differences, e.g., the ability to estimate group opinion (*5E*); and, second, the relation among multiple criteria for effectiveness, e.g., high group morale (*10-aD*) and ratings by subordinates (*10-bC*).

c) *A status factor approach,* in which the emphasis is upon leadership as a status phenomenon, with major attention given to exploring the relation of the leader's and followers' behavior to status factors at work in the organization or community, e.g., the relation of leader behavior to commitments about or perceptions of status differences in society (*4C* and *5E*).

d) *A group dimension approach,* which seeks to explore situational differences in leader behavior, e.g., differences in leader operation associated with differences in group size, homogeneity, togetherness, etc. (*4B*).

The selection of these particular group and individual factors provides the opportunity to derive findings matching in scope the broadness of leadership itself as a problem—a problem in institutional theory, in social perception, in culture patterning, and in situational analysis.

6. *Why does the leader behave as he does?*—We are interested here in discovering the group or individual factors which determine differences in leader behavior (*6-a, 6-b*). As such factors are found, we will be in a better position to test our findings by controlled experimentation in the selection, training, and evaluation of leaders. With regard to group factors, such research may be on the effect of an inadequate upward communication system upon the leader's behavior, the effect of group morale, or the effect of role expectations built up in the group by a previous leader. Research involving individual factors as determiners of leader behavior may include questions on the effect of frustration or of various kinds of incentives, ideologies, or attitudes on the leader's behavior.

7. *What phenomena are concomitant with given kinds of leader behavior?*—Though the ultimate effort is to isolate the crucial determining variables, all the studies listed in section 4–5 above are primarily, at the present time, studies not of causal but of concomitant relations. For example, the relation between high echelon level in an organization (*4C*) and given responsibility, authority, and delegation patterns (*3D*) cannot at present be stated in causal terms. To illustrate further: Seeman and Morris[7] found, in a study of the relation of general-status attitudes to leadership ideology, that teachers who were committed to maintaining large status differences in a wide variety of social, political, and economic situations were those who wanted most direction, and clear "leader" rather than "member" behavior, from their "ideal superintendent." This suggests a concomitance between the status ideology of superintendents themselves and their behavior as described by subordinates. Seeking out such concomitancies is a vital preparatory step toward the establishment of causal patterns.

8. *What are the results of leader behavior?*—Research here is concerned with the question: "What difference, if any, does the leader make?" It is presumably to such differences that the concept "leadership" refers. Any of the variables listed under group and individual factors may be viewed as products of leadership. One may ask whether, for example, a given supervisory pattern (*3A*) leads to the adoption of a given communication system in the group (*4G*).

The primary concern in describing results of the leader's behavior is with what we have called the "group factors." There are also, however, questions which center on the individual factors as results: Does dominance by the leader (*3C*) lead to given patterns of advancement for him in an organization (*5H*)?

9. *What factors serve as conditioners?*—

[7] These findings are contained in a mimeographed staff report entitled "The Status Correlates of Leader Behavior."

Here the individual and group factors are viewed as conditioners of relationships between given leader behavior and other factors. Hemphill[8] found that the reported behavior of "superior" leaders differed significantly in terms of the size of the group in which they functioned. The differences were in the direction of greater tolerance for leader-centered direction in larger groups. These findings suggest that the size of the group is one important factor conditioning the relationship between leader behavior and his evaluation by subordinates. Similarly, the relation suggested in section 8 above between supervision pattern and the communication system in the group may hold only in groups of a given size or in groups having a given type of formal organization.

10. *How are the results of leader behavior evaluated?*—Studies of leadership which ignore the problem of evaluation can, of course, be made and may contribute important theoretical insights. Evaluation, however, takes on a special importance because of the strong pragmatic emphasis upon leadership in our culture. It is not enough to know what leadership is; the demand is for knowledge about *good* leadership in order to secure as much of it as possible as soon as possible.

Two kinds of criteria can be used: those which evaluate leadership in terms of the results for the group and those which focus simply upon the individual who is the leader. Any of the group or individual factors may presumably be used as bases for evaluation of leadership. Thus, the criteria of effectiveness may be increased cohesiveness of the group (*4B*), the extent to which it has achieved given goals (*4F*), or the leader's success in gaining promotion (*5H*).

Criteria for effectiveness may vary systematically with the individual making the evaluation: different people want different things of leadership; or with the situation: what is effective leadership in peace may not be effective leadership in war. Studies, therefore, which examine the relations among multiple criteria of effectiveness are of vital importance.

Concerted interdisciplinary attack on the problem of leadership in American society has been instituted along the lines suggested above. This program is yielding data and methodologies of broad scope and application, integrated in that they use the resources of the several social sciences and contribute to an organized view of the total leadership problem.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

[8] John K. Hemphill, "Group Factors in Leadership. I: Relations between the Size of the Group and the Behavior of Superior Leaders," *Journal of Social Psychology* (forthcoming)

POPULATION SUCCESSION IN CHICAGO[1]

RICHARD G. FORD

ABSTRACT

A census tract study of Chicago from 1898 through 1940 shows that the foreign-born of each ethnic group eventually move radially from the first area of settlement. Those foreign groups that have lived the longest in Chicago have moved the farthest from the slums. The Negro population has not moved in the same way as have other ethnic groups. The depression of the 1930's slowed up the outward movement.

Succession is an ecological process, the result of a multitude of forces that are constantly shaping and reshaping the environment of all plants, animals, and men. Succession in its simplest form is the sequence of influencing events following one another in an orderly and regular pattern. It is the result of changing from one set of conditions to another in time. Succession has its beginning on a frontier, an area of instability; wave after wave pushes on relentlessly until some form or system of organization has evolved that can maintain itself against external and internal attack. In human communities succession, which is spearheaded by invasion, may or may not be characterized by conflict, depending upon the invader's economic base and his set of values. When a stable condition is reached and changes cease to be pronounced, we have the phenomenon known as dominance.

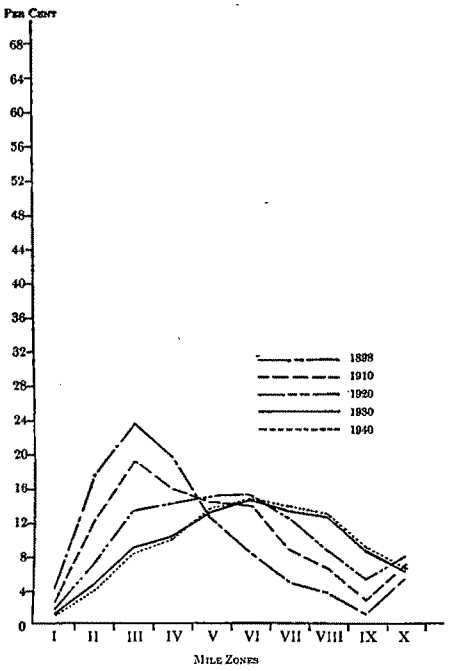
Succession may be expressed in many forms, such as: (1) land ownership, urban and rural; (2) residential structures; (3) transportation systems; (4) mediums of communication; (5) business, industrial, and financial enterprises; (6) occupational groups; (7) religious institutions and groups; and (8) cultural groups.

Chicago has been chosen for detailed study, with the object of showing the regular and orderly pattern of cultural succession in a large heterogeneous city. This report is a continuation of Paul Cressey's doctoral dissertation, "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago" (1929). Dr. Cressey's study covers the period from 1898 to 1920. This paper covers the period from 1930 through 1940. In Cressey's study all the data were taken from the United States Census excepting that for 1898, which was taken from the Chicago city school census. The data for this supplementary study were taken from the 1930 and the 1940 United States Census. Underlying this study is the hypothesis that in time the ethnic groups tend to break up and to disperse outward from the area of first settlement. In Chicago the area of first settlement for the bulk of any immigrant group is the slums, the area of transition immediately surrounding the central business district.

The procedure in this study was to set the point of a compass at State and Madison streets, striking off mile-wide concentric circles from shore to shore around the central business district throughout the city. These concentric circles, or zones, were transposed upon a city map showing census tracts. The incorporated city of Chicago contains seventeen such mile zones. Following Dr. Cressey's work, only the first ten zones, from the central business district outward, have been plotted. All census tracts which had 50 per cent or more of their area lying within a mile zone was listed as belonging to that zone. For each numbered census tract, the number of foreign-born persons of each ethnic group under study was tabulated from the United

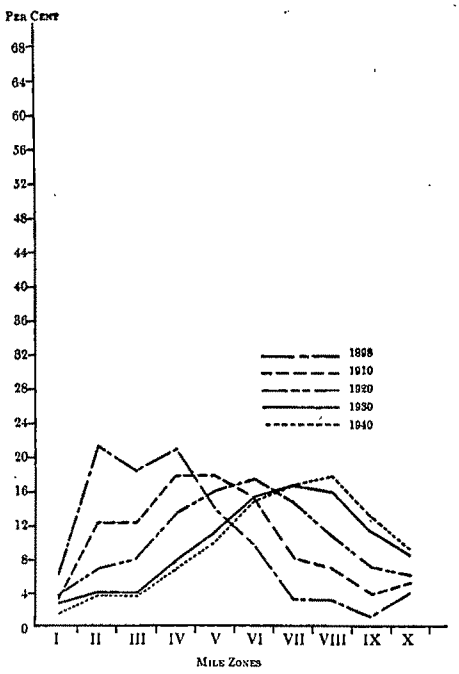
[1] A supplement to Paul F. Cressey's "The Succession of Cultural Groups in the City of Chicago" (1929).

CHART XII



Distribution of Total Population of Chicago

CHART XIII

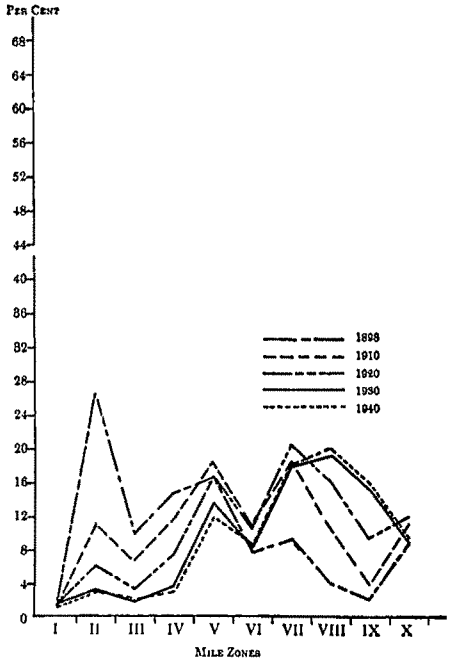


Distribution of Persons Born in Ireland

CHART XIV

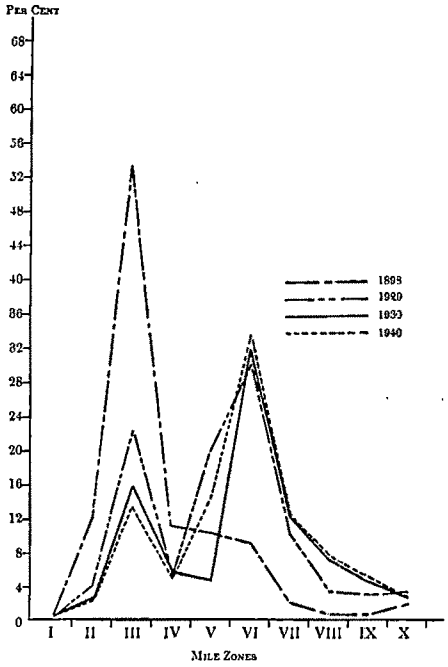
Distribution of Persons Born in Germany

CHART XV



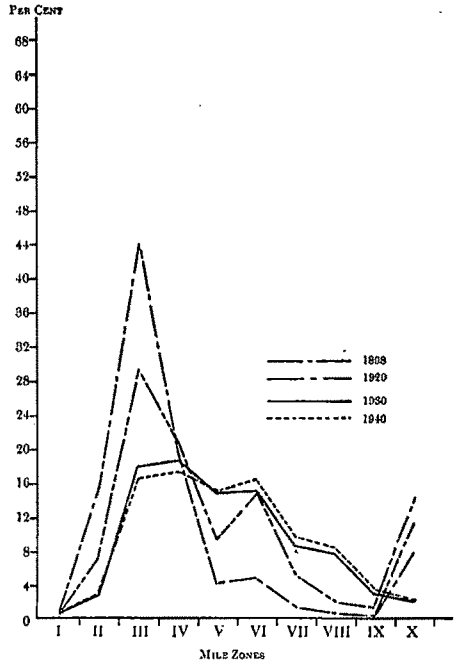
Distribution of Persons Born in Sweden

CHART XVI



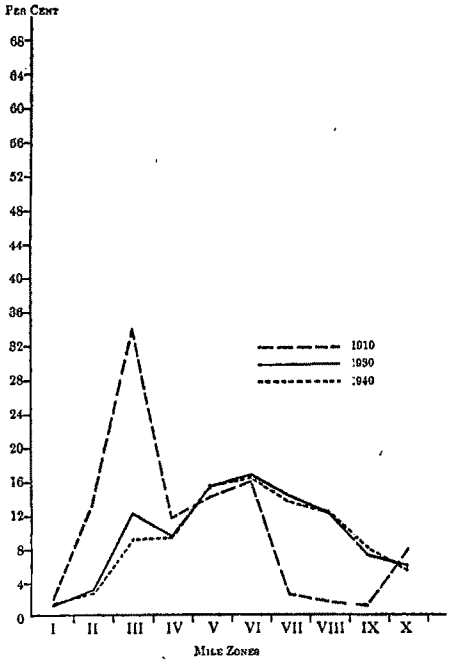
Distribution of Persons Born in Czechoslovakia

CHART XVII



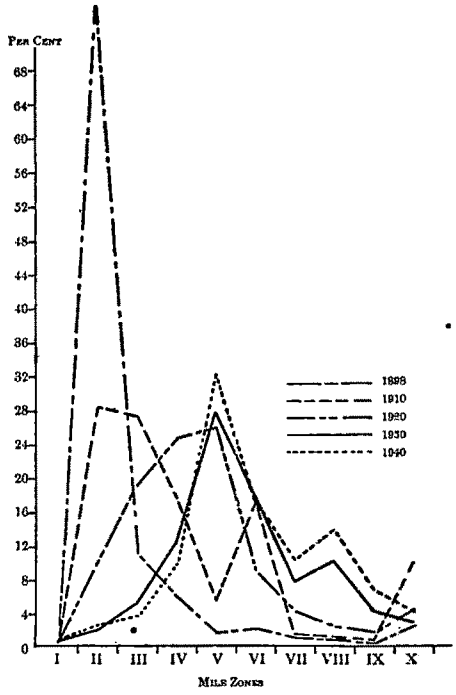
Distribution of Persons Born in Poland

CHART XVIII



Distribution of Persons Born in Austria

CHART XIX

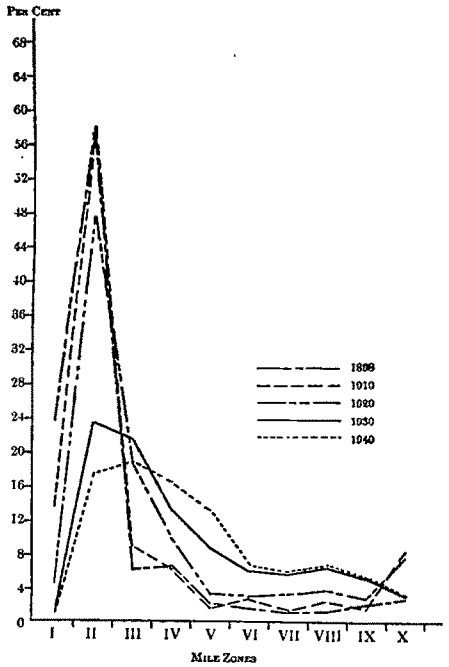


Distribution of Persons Born in Russia

States Census. In addition to foreign-born ethnic groups, the American Negro has been included in this study.

Charts XII through XXI[2] are self-explanatory. They graphically show each ethnic movement. Each ten-year period shows an orderly movement of population from the central business district outward.

CHART XX



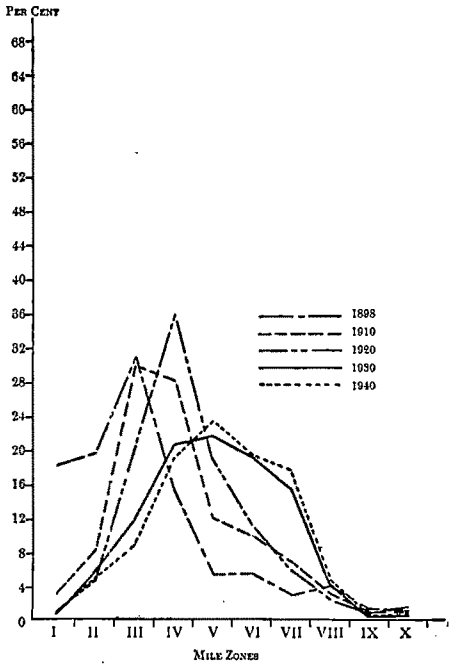
DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONS BORN IN ITALY

In all charts it will be noticed that the 1930–40 curves lie very close to each other throughout. The probable explanation is that 1930–40 was the period of the great depression, when there was very little new home construction and average incomes were low. In this time the city of Chicago increased by only 20,000 persons.

The 1930–40 data (Chart XII) show that the total population of Chicago is approaching a normal curve of distribution. Similarly, the foreign-born German (Chart XIV) and Austrian (Chart XVIII) populations are also approaching a normal curve of distribution.

The Swedish (Chart XV) and the Irish (Chart XIII) were the first foreign groups to immigrate to Chicago in large numbers. The dispersion of these two ethnic groups has been more complete than any other group. Their curves of distribution are skewed to the right, that is, the bulk of them are living on the periphery of the city. The largest percentage of foreign-born Irish (17.6) and Swedes (19.7) were living in the eighth (VIII) zone in 1940. The Irish and the Swedish curves of distribution would more nearly approach the normal curve of distribution of Greater Chicago if its zones were expanded to include the adjacent suburbs.

CHART XXI



DISTRIBUTION OF NEGROES

In sharp contrast, the foreign-born Italian (Chart XX) population shows the least percentage dispersion in time. But if the dispersion of the Italian population were plotted in absolute numbers, their curves of distribution would show that, where the per-

[2] The charts are numbered so as to correspond with Cressey's charts.

centage curve of distribution is high, the absolute number of persons is considerably less than it is when the percentage curve of distribution is lower, as in either 1930 or 1940.

One possible explanation for the differential rates of dispersion among the ethnic groups is that the Swedes, Germans, and Irish immigrated very early in large numbers into Chicago, that is, in the two decades of the 1850's and 1860's. On the other hand, the Italians and Russian Jews did not arrive in substantial numbers until after the turn of the century. The earlier immigrants had the benefit of a growing and prosperous city. Job opportunities for unskilled labor were greater for the early arrivals than for those who came later. The early ethnic groups had time to overcome the handicap of their mother-tongue and to acquire a higher and more secure economic base before the later immigrants arrived. The process of acculturation has been going on considerably longer for the Swedish, German, and Irish immigrants than for the Italians and Russians.

The Polish curve of distribution is skewed to the left but may more nearly resemble a normal curve of distribution within the first ten zones by 1950.

The Czechoslovaks are showing a different pattern of distribution. The original area of concentration (Zones II and III) is giving way to another areas of high concentration (Zones V and VI). The general outward movement of the Czechoslovaks is not so evenly spread across the other zones as is the case with the other ethnic groups.

It is interesting to note that the dispersion of the Negro population (Chart XXI) has not followed the same pattern as that of the other ethnic groups. To a certain extent this is due to the fact that the Negro is being denied the right to choose his place of abode freely. The area of Negro concentration is a geographical area known as the "Black Belt,"—a strip running north and south, cutting across the mile zones and bounded on the east by Cottage Grove Avenue. Negro dispersion resembles a normal curve of distribution for the first nine zones.

In summary, it is clearly shown that the longer any ethnic group remains in Chicago, the farther it will disperse from the area of first settlement toward the periphery. Generally, as old ethnic groups move out, new groups move in.

The 1950 data will be quite interesting from the point of view of succession, because it will show how the war has affected the movement and relocation of the ethnic groups.

Cressey's study with my supplement would perhaps be more meaningful if it also covered suburban Chicago. Because of the tendency for the higher economic groups to settle in the northern and northwestern suburbs, it seems probable that if the mile zones were extended outward to include all of Greater Chicago, these extreme zones would be shown to have received a larger proportion of the outflow than the outer zones used in this study.

CHICAGO

EDUCATION AND OCCUPATION OF MIGRANTS IN THE DEPRESSION[1]

RONALD FREEDMAN AND AMOS H. HAWLEY

ABSTRACT

This study is an analysis of educational and occupational selectivity in intra-Michigan migration to Flint and Grand Rapids in 1930–35. Selectivity is examined with reference to random groups of nonmigrants and to matched groups of nonmigrants at the points both of origin and of destination. The comparison of migrants with randomly chosen nonmigrants clearly reveals selectivity. In the comparisons with matched nonmigrants, however, most evidence of selectivity disappears. This leads to the tentative conclusion that positive findings of selectivity are a consequence of incomplete control.

THE PROBLEM

Despite the large amount of research on the selection in migration of various social and economic characteristics, the question has been satisfactorily resolved only for age and sex variables. The findings bearing on the relation to migration of health, occupation, education, intelligence, and other such conditions are inconclusive, primarily because of limitations in the available data on migration and the consequent difficulty in employing sufficient or appropriate control. The need for further research is clearly indicated.

This study deals with the relation to migration of two variables: education and occupation. Changes in the distribution of educational achievement through migration doubtlessly have important implications for both the localities losing and those gaining population. This should be true whether or not educational achievement is an accurate index of intelligence. An area that loses its more highly educated residents loses also that part of its population most qualified to participate in current civic affairs, even though the less educated nonmigrants may be potentially as competent. Likewise an area whose in-migrants are concentrated in one or another part of the range of educational achievement probably gains a more or less effective citizenry, as the case may be. A redistribution of occupational skills may have similar consequences for local economies. If given destinations draw the more skilled occupational types, they are to that extent better locations for certain kinds of industries and services and perhaps less attractive as sites for industries using relatively large numbers of semiskilled and unskilled workers. It is for such reasons that a full knowledge of the selective operation of migration is desirable.

The research reported in this paper is an effort to answer two questions, namely: (1) Is the distribution of educational achievement among intrastate migrants at the time of moving significantly different from that of nonmigrants with similar characteristics at the source and at the destination of migration? (2) Is the occupational distribution of intrastate migrants at the time of moving significantly different from that of nonmigrants with similar characteristics at the source and at the destination of migration?

DATA AND PROCEDURE

The present report is the third in a series dealing with intrastate migration in Michigan in the years 1930–35, based on the schedules of the Michigan Population and Unemployment Census of 1935. Inasmuch as those aspects of the data and the procedure common to all the studies have been

[1] This study was made possible by a grant from the Faculty Research Funds of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies of the University of Michigan.

described in detail in the first of the series,[2] these matters need not be discussed at length here.

The sample on which the present study is based includes all white male migrants to Flint and Grand Rapids from other places in Michigan who were twenty-five or more years of age at the time of migration. In addition to information on age, sex, marital status, color, and education, the schedules contain a full five-year occupational and employment history of each person over fourteen years of age. Thus the identification of occupation at the time of migration presented no problem. Although education is stated on the schedule as of the end of the period, the five-year work history permits the determination of education at the time of migration.

Each migrant is "matched" with a control nonmigrant at the place from which he moved and with another at the place to which he moved—either Flint or Grand Rapids. For the analysis of education, migrants and nonmigrants are matched in respect to age (within three years), occupation (by the major socioeconomic classes used by the United States Census Bureau),[3] occupational history before migration (in terms of changes between socioeconomic classes), employment history (one year or more of continuous unemployment), employment status,[4] and marital status. The characteristics that are used in the matching for occupation analysis are the same except that education (within two years) is substituted for occupation as a control. The marital-status control differs from others in that the data pertain to the end of the period rather than to the time of migration. Marital status is used, however, because it is felt that the error involved in including it is less than that which would result from its omission.

The attempt to match on all of six variables resulted in some shrinkage of the samples, yet the proportions matched are large enough to assure reliable results and are considerably larger than are achieved in most studies employing the matching procedure. With education under observation, 317, or 88 per cent, of the 360 migrants to Flint are matched with nonmigrants in that city, and 293, or 81 per cent, are matched with nonmigrants at points of origin. Of the 186 migrants to Grand Rapids, 179, or 96 per cent, are matched with Grand Rapids nonmigrants, and 145, or 78 per cent, are matched with nonmigrants at the source points. In the analysis for occupational selectivity migrants who were out of the labor force at the time of migration or who were unemployed throughout the five-year period are excluded. On this basis, 94 per cent of the migrants to Flint are matched with nonmigrants at the destination and 88 per cent are matched with nonmigrants at places of departure. Ninety-eight per cent of the migrants to Grand Rapids were matched at the destination and 87 per cent at the points of origin. In addition to the four matched groups of nonmigrants, four random groups of nonmigrants were drawn: one at the source and one at the destination of the migration to each of the two cities. In the random groups the education and occupation characteristics were tabulated as of the migrants' date of migration.

Thus two types of comparisons are employed in this study: migrants are compared with randomly selected nonmigrants at sources and at destinations; and migrants are compared with matched nonmigrants

[2] "Unemployment and Migration in the Depression (1930–35)," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLIV (June, 1949), 260–72; see also "Migration and Occupational Mobility in the Depression (1930–35)," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (September, 1949), 171–77.

[3] The socioeconomic classification of 1930 is used: *0*, professional; *1*, farm owners and operators; *2*, proprietors, managers, and officials; *3*, clerks and kindred workers; *4*, skilled workers and foremen; *5*, semiskilled workers; *6*, farm laborers; *7*, other laborers; and *8*, servant classes. Specific occupations are classified under these headings according to Alba M. Edwards, *Alphabetical Index of Occupations* (Washington, D.C., 1937).

[4] Unemployment status is that of the premigration period and is represented by three classes: (1) employed throughout the period; (2) unemployed throughout the period; and (3) unemployed during part of the period.

at sources and at destinations. It is possible that there may be a significant difference in one type of comparison and no significant difference in the other.

Although the data of this study are approximately fifteen years old, that should not detract from their value. It is conceded that the findings from these data may apply only to migration under conditions of general economic depression in an industrial state, but that such an occurrence may be repeated seems not altogether improbable. Furthermore, the data have the unique advantage of permitting identical observations of both ends of a migration stream.

EDUCATIONAL SELECTIVITY

An examination of the education distribution of migrants to Flint in comparison with that of the random group of nonmigrants at the points of origin indicates a selectivity of the least educated. The difference, by the chi-square test, is significant beyond the 1 per cent level. An equally significant indication of selectivity, though in a positive direction, appears in the migration to Grand Rapids. It is interesting to note, however, that the random groups of nonmigrants at the destinations do not differ significantly from the migrants in educational distribution.[5] Thus it appears that, while the two migration streams were selective at the sources, each city drew migrants that closely resembled its resident population.

Before observing the effects of the controls upon selectivity a further word about the tabulation of the data is necessary. In view of the uncertainty involved in matching farm occupations with urban nonfarm occupations (e.g., farm operators with proprietors, managers, and officials, and farm laborers with semiskilled and unskilled workers), two different distributions of the sample are made for the education analysis. One involves migrants and nonmigrants exclusive of farmers, and the other involves farm migrants with farmer nonmigrants at the source points and with the nearest comparable occupational types among nonmigrants at the destination. These distributions appear in Tables 1 and 2, respectively.

Contrary to expectations, the data in Table 1 fail to reveal any pronounced tendency toward educational selectivity when the six variables are controlled. In all but a few comparisons the differences are inconsequential. Migrants to Flint have approximately the same educational distribution as have nonmigrants in Flint. Migration to Grand Rapids shows some tendency to educational selection: there are fewer migrants with less than five years of education and considerably more migrants with twelve or more years than is true of the nonmigrants in that city. When the comparison of migrants to Flint with nonmigrants at the points of origin is observed, a slight tendency for the better educated to be attracted to that city appears. The same tendency seems to operate in the migration to Grand Rapids. Despite these traces of selectivity, no one of the comparisons reveals a statistically significant difference by the chi-square test.[6]

Analysis of the mean years of education of the several pairs of migrant and nonmigrant populations also fails to indicate a general tendency to educational selectivity. In but one instance—the Grand Rapids migrants and Grand Rapids nonmigrants—is the critical ratio of the difference between means significant at the 5 per cent level.[7]

[5] Flint migrants and random source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 21.6, n = 3$.

Flint migrants and random destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 2.0, n = 3$.

Grand Rapids migrants and random source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 14.8, n = 3$.

Grand Rapids migrants and random destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 3.2, n = 3$.

[6] Flint migrants and matched source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 7.6, n = 3$.

Flint migrants and matched destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 3.6, n = 3$.

Grand Rapids migrants and matched source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 0.8, n = 3$.

Grand Rapids migrants and matched destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 5.2, n = 3$.

[7] Critical ratios are corrected to take into account the correlations between the migrant and nonmigrant groups.

The indications of educational selectivity are no more definite among migrants from farms. In Table 2 it appears that farm migrants have much less education than nonmigrants in the two destinations; the former show a far greater concentration in the under nine years of education groups. Actually, however, only in the case of Flint is the difference of educational distribution statistically significant.[8] But the evidence of selectivity in this instance is probably due to the inaccuracy of matching farm with urban

[8] Flint migrants and matched source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 4.4$, $n = 3$.

Flint migrants and matched destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 26.0$, $n = 3$.

Grand Rapids migrants and matched source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 4.4$, $n = 3$.

Grand Rapids migrants and matched destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 4.0$, $n = 3$.

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY EDUCATION, MIGRANTS TO FLINT AND GRAND RAPIDS AND MATCHED NONMIGRANTS AT SOURCE AND DESTINATION, MICHIGAN 1930–35 (FARMERS EXCLUDED)

Education (Years)	Destination Matches				Source Matches			
	Flint		Grand Rapids		Flint		Grand Rapids	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under 5	4	4	4	8	4	4	6	8
5–8	38	42	41	42	37	48	38	42
9–12	46	42	36	39	46	33	37	31
13 or more	12	12	19	11	13	15	19	19
Average	10.2	9.8	10.2	9.2	9.9	9.6	10.2	9.6

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY EDUCATION, MIGRANTS FROM FARMS TO FLINT AND GRAND RAPIDS AND MATCHED NONMIGRANTS AT SOURCE AND DESTINATION MICHIGAN, 1930–35

Education (Years)	Destination Matches				Source Matches			
	Flint		Grand Rapids		Flint		Grand Rapids	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
Under 5	9	6	15	15	10	11	10	21
5–8	82	48	74	57	78	66	79	64
9–12	9	42	9	24	12	22	8	15
13 or more	0	4	2	4	0	1	3	0
Average	7.3	8.8	6.7	7.8	7.4	7.8	7.0	7.0

occupation. The same may not be said of any educational disparities found between farm migrants and nonmigrants at the source of migration, for no inconsistencies occur in matching the occupation of those groups. And in these comparisons, shown in Table 2, the farm migrants exhibit no appreciable differences in education relative to nonmigrant farmers. The observed differences could result from chance in about 93 of every 100 comparisons. Comparisons of the mean years of education attained bear out these findings. The difference between the average for farm migrants to Flint and Flint nonmigrants is the only one with a critical ratio in excess of 2.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY OCCUPATION, MIGRANTS TO FLINT AND GRAND RAPIDS AND MATCHED NONMIGRANTS AT SOURCE AND DESTINATION, MICHIGAN 1930–35 (FARM MIGRANTS EXCLUDED)

Occupation	Destination Matches				Source Matches			
	Flint		Grand Rapids		Flint		Grand Rapids	
	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant	Migrant	Non-migrant
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
White collar	44	32	56	46	46	42	55	43
Professional	9	5	9	6	10	4	7	8
Farm operators	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	2	.....	3
Proprietors, etc.	17	8	24	19	17	16	25	18
Clerks, etc.	18	19	23	21	19	20	23	14
Blue collar	56	68	44	54	54	58	45	57
Skilled	22	24	13	21	23	23	12	20
Semiskilled	23	37	20	25	22	26	23	25
Farm laborers	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1	.....	1
Other laborers	10	4	10	6	8	7	10	9
Servants	1	2	1	1	1	1	.....	2

OCCUPATIONAL SELECTION

In the earlier study of the association of occupational mobility and migration it was discovered that more than half of the migrants to Flint and Grand Rapids were in the same socioeconomic group after migration as that which they occupied prior to migration. It is possible that occupational stability of that degree may be a consequence of occupational selectivity. Such, at any rate, may serve as a working hypothesis. In fact, the comparisons of migrant groups with random groups of nonmigrants disclose a marked selectivity of the higher occupational ranks at both sources and destinations. The chi-square measure exceeds the 1 per cent level of significance in three instances and the 5 per cent level in the remaining instance.[9]

Table 3 presents the several comparisons under controlled conditions. There it appears that the majority of migrants to Flint are blue-collar workers, while the migrants to Grand Rapids are predominantly white-collar workers. But among the migrants to Flint the proportion of white-collar workers

[9] Flint migrants and random source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 21.6, n = 4$.

Flint migrants and random destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 19.2, n = 4$.

Grand Rapids migrants and random source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 9.7, n = 4$.

Grand Rapids migrants and random destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 16.6, n = 4$.

is greater than it is in the population of comparable nonmigrants in that city. This is also true of migrants to Grand Rapids. Both cities attract white-collar workers in greater proportions than they occur at the source points, though the excess among the migrants to Grand Rapids is much greater than among migrants to Flint. Selectivity at the sources, however, is attributable mainly to chance. On the other hand, in the destination comparisons the differences in occupational distributions are statistically significant.[10]

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY OCCUPATION, NONMIGRANTS IN FLINT AND GRAND RAPIDS MATCHED WITH MIGRANTS FROM FARMS, MICHIGAN, 1930–35

Occupation	Flint	Grand Rapids
Total	100	100
White collar	4	11
Professional	.....	.....
Proprietors, etc.	1	.....
Clerks, etc.	3	11
Blue collar	96	89
Skilled	16	11
Semiskilled	57	30
Other laborers	21	33
Servants	2	15

In passing, it seems worth while to note the occupations of nonmigrants who are in all other respects comparable to migrants from farms to the two cities. These are shown in Table 4. When these data are compared with those for nonmigrants in Table 3, it becomes apparent, contrary to general belief, that migrants from farms are not similar to the lowest occupational types in cities. The matched nonmigrants are distributed in six of the seven occupational classes, though their numbers are greatest in the blue-collar occupations. In other words, migrants from farms resemble the manual worker nonmigrants in cities more closely than they do the white-collar nonmigrants. It is noteworthy that the matched nonmigrants in Grand Rapids are clustered nearer the bottom of the occupational scale than are those in Flint.

[10] Flint migrants and matched source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 5.6$, $n = 4$.

Flint migrants and matched destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 19.2$, $n = 4$.

Grand Rapids migrants and matched source nonmigrants: $X^2 = 6.0$, $n = 4$.

Grand Rapids migrants and matched destination nonmigrants: $X^2 = 14.8$, $n = 4$.

CONCLUSION

The intrastate migration to Flint and Grand Rapids, from 1930 to 1935, was neither consistently nor pronouncedly selective of educational and occupational characteristics. In fact, except for three instances, the evidence pertaining to closely comparable populations of migrants and nonmigrants fails to support the hypothesis of selection in migration.

This finding raises an interesting question: Does the control of as many as six or more relevant variables describing individual characteristics eliminate all differences between experimental and control, or migrant and nonmigrant, groups, leaving no difference that may be attributed to selectivity? Stated differently, are the evidences of selectivity of individual characteristics found in previous studies a result of incomplete control? In view of the results of this study, that would appear to be entirely probable. It will be recalled that, when random or unmatched samples of nonmigrants were used, selectivity was clearly indicated in respect to both education and occupation. The tentative conclusion of this study, then, is that selectivity of given individual traits is a function of partial control of the remaining characteristics. This, however, does not apply to migrants' behavior after migration, as demonstrated in earlier reports of this series. Although migrants may have characteristics that are identical with those of nonmigrants, migration places individuals in a novel situation, which calls forth particular ways of acting.

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MORALE IN A TRADE-UNION

CAROLINE BAER ROSE

ABSTRACT

This is a study of morale in a large CIO industrial union in the Midwest. A questionnaire asking about specific shop situations was given to forty-five students in a workers' education class. Low morale was indicated by failure to believe that economic advancement is possible; by poor work and by dislike of work; by failure to engage in union activities; by a desire for more services from the union; by the presence of long-standing shop problems; by lack of confidence in shop stewards' handling of grievances; and by divisions among the men caused in part by difference in ability and by seniority.

Union leaders have not always been aware of the low morale that exists in many of their unions. When it has been brought to their attention, they have not understood what caused it or how to cope with it. This situation has apparently come about because until now unions have concerned themselves mainly with organization and with the obtaining of various types of security for their members. Union leaders have been little concerned with the effects on the workers of either the kind of society they live in or the side effects of the union's own activities or lack of them. In this study we shall try to illustrate the problems of morale[1] as they exist in a single union.

American unions today are facing a series of problems. First, unions are no longer rapidly expanding, as they did in the late thirties. There are fewer workers to organize, and they are more difficult to organize. Second, wages in many industries have been raised to the point where little more can be expected in the near future, especially in the face of the recent deflationary trends. Union leaders must now hold their members' support without dramatic strikes and without getting substantial wage increases. There is also evidence that employers have greatly increased their resistance to union demands, and there is some evidence that they are contemplating all-out opposition to any growth in union power. Third, unions have been committed to certain policies, as, for example, racial equality and certain kinds of political action; the rank and file have not always been persuaded of the rightness of these policies. Increasingly, therefore, union leadership is concerned about the morale of the rank and file, especially since they may have to engage in long and costly strikes without much hope of the great gain in wages and prestige of the recent past. It is the various aspects of this problem of morale that shall be discussed.

The opportunity to make this study came about as follows: In the early part of 1949 a union asked the author to teach a six-week course called "Human Relations in Industry." The course was to include discussions of the grievance procedure and some social psychology applied to the everyday problems of the shop. Now, unions are thought of as conflict groups, and, of course, usually they are. They are not always, however, in conflict situations, and this paper deals mainly with problems that arise in an accommodation situation. Union leaders desired this class to help solve two problems: (1) how to increase membership interest in the union and (2) how to help shop stewards solve day-to-day shop problems on something other than a conflict basis.[2]

To get some idea of what were the crucial problems, for both teaching and research

[1] In this paper we mean by "morale" two things: (1) a positive feeling on the part of the workers that the union is of help to them in the work situation and (2), consequently, a willingness to support the union and its leaders.

[2] That these are widespread problems is indicated by the fact that shop-steward training is everywhere the second most popular course given in workers' education, the most popular being public speaking.

purposes, the author prepared a questionnaire asking about shop situations. The questionnaire was given to forty-five students the first night of the class. The information from this questionnaire and that gathered in the free and informal class discussions form the bases of this paper.

The union is a large CIO industrial union in one of the heavy industries in the Midwest. The members of the class were not a representative sample of the rank-and-file memberships: twenty-five of the group were shop stewards, six had at one time been shop stewards, and it can be assumed that the fourteen remaining were either being groomed for shop stewardship or were unusually interested and alert rank-and-filers. As interpreters of union problems, however, the group was well chosen, not only because of the preponderance of shop stewards, but because they represented many diverse groups in the union. Practically every local was represented, including skilled and unskilled labor, heavy work as well as lighter assembly work, and machining.

Most of the men were under forty years of age; there were, however, some older men. The group was heavily weighted in favor of men who had been in the union more than five years, but there were a few new members. There was a sprinkling of Negroes, representing all-Negro shops. Mixed shops had no Negro representatives. There were no women in the classes at all, but women work in only a small part of this industry. All in all, one can say that the group was not too biased a sample and that it was better informed and more vocal about union affairs than most rank-and-filers.

The questionnaire does not pretend to measure all aspects of rank-and-file satisfaction with the union. The questions fall into two categories: (1) those showing the degree of satisfaction with the work situation and (2) those showing the degree of satisfaction with union action on the shop level.

SATISFACTION WITH THE WORK SITUATION

Traditionally, in the United States, one expects to be able to improve one's economic position throughout life. Even though we know that large numbers of working people never did this, it is still an effective myth. Table 1 shows the extent to which this myth is no longer held by this group.[3]

TABLE 1

HOW MANY OF THE WORKERS IN YOUR SHOP THINK THEY HAVE A GOOD CHANCE OF GETTING AHEAD?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	32	71
About half	3	7
All	3	7
No answer	7	15
Total	45	100

Since our society still holds forth the hope of individual advancement as a major incentive, we can surmise that disbelief has caused much frustration and psychic discomfort. Undoubtedly, disappointment has been important in turning workers' allegiance from the principle of individual advancement to that of collective action. This offers great opportunities to the unions, but it also puts them in the position of having to deliver the goods or themselves becoming the target of frustrated hopes.

Table 2 seems to corroborate the idea

TABLE 2

HOW MANY OF THE PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP ARE GOOD AT THEIR WORK?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	3	7
About half	24	53
All	16	36
No answer	2	4
Total	45	100

that individual advancement by hard work and skill is no longer a major ideal in the work situation. This table means that, in more than half the shops, half the men are

[3] In reading these tables, one should remember that frequently the figures refer to the opinion of one well-informed person about other workers in the shop.

not considered good at their work. Explanations are hazardous: poor work decreases the chance of promotion, and no chance for promotion stimulates poor work. At any rate, failure to do good work and hopelessness in regard to advancement raise two problems for the union: (1) how to get merit rewarded (which conflicts with the seniority principle as we shall note later) and (2) how to set up other goals which are attainable and which will give satisfaction to the individual.

Related to this problem is the question asked in Table 3. If in 49 per cent of the shops half the men do not like the work they are doing and in 11 per cent of the shops very few like their work, clearly a substantial proportion of the men are reported as not liking their work.

TABLE 3

HOW MANY OF THE WORKERS IN YOUR SHOP LIKE THE WORK THEY ARE DOING?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	5	11
About half	22	49
All	15	33
No answer	3	7
Total	45	100

It is evident now that in a large proportion of the shops in this union (in the judgment of the shop stewards) at least half the men do not particularly like their work and an even larger proportion expect no advancement. In addition, half the men in more than half the shops are not good at their work. Those men who are dissatisfied in many or all of these respects create problems for both management and union. What effect can this have on the union? On the one hand, workers may look to the union for relief in the form of higher wages, help in getting promotion and transfers, improved working conditions, and the better settlement of grievances. But this is an industry with a well-established union, highly successful in many of these objectives, especially that of getting higher wages. Certainly there is an elaborate grievance processing machinery and much of the contract concerns promotions and transfers. Even with the gains made by the union, there are unpleasantnesses in modern industrial work which are revealed in the answers to these questions. It is possible that the resulting dissatisfaction may be turned against the union.

SATISFACTION WITH UNION ACTION

We turn now to questions which throw some light on the attitudes of the men toward the union (Tables 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9).

TABLE 4

HOW MANY PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP ARE INTERESTED IN UNION ACTIVITIES?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	14	31
About half	27	60
All	3	7
No answer	1	2
Total	45	100

TABLE 5

HOW MANY PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP COME REGULARLY TO UNION MEETINGS?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	24	54
About half	19	42
All	1	2
No answer	1	2
Total	45	100

TABLE 6

HOW MANY PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP SPEAK UP AT MEETINGS?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	36	80
About half	8	18
All	1	2
No answer	0	0
Total	45	100

TABLE 7

HOW MANY PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP COME TO UNION SOCIAL AFFAIRS LIKE PARTIES AND DANCES?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	14	31
About half	22	49
All	3	7
No answer	6	13
Total	45	100

TABLE 8

DO YOU THINK THAT THERE ARE OTHER ACTIVITIES AND SERVICES WHICH THE MEMBERS WANT THE UNION TO GIVE THEM?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	29	65
No	6	13
No answer	10	22
Total	45	100

TABLE 9

DO YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING ACTIVITIES WOULD BE USEFUL? (CHECK THOSE YOU THINK WOULD BE USEFUL)

	Number	Per Cent
Health and medical services	25	56
Athletic teams	13	30
College scholarships	13	30
Credit union	12	27
Co-operative grocery store	6	13
Library	4	9
Women's auxiliaries	1	2
Other:		
Courses	1	2
Financial aid from welfare agencies during strikes	2	4
Stronger union	1	2
Total	78*	.....

* The numbers add to more than 45 because some checked more than one item.

These tables show that the results of these questions are consistent and fulfil expectations. More people are interested in union activities than actually come to meetings; about the same number come to social affairs as are interested in union activities; very few take an active part in union affairs, as indicated by their failure to speak up at meetings; a substantial majority feel that there are many additional services that the union could and should provide its members. Although there is no evidence that this union is any worse than most other unions or voluntary organizations in interesting and serving its members, there is certainly evidence of lack of interest in the union (more than half the men in 96 per cent of the shops do not come regularly to union meetings).

Some of the reasons for this situation can be found in the answers concerning long-standing problems (Tables 10 and 11). In

TABLE 10

ARE THERE LONG-STANDING PROBLEMS IN YOUR SHOP THAT CAUSE TROUBLE ALL THE TIME?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	31	69
No	13	29
No answer	1	2
Total	45	100

TABLE 11

COMMON LONG-STANDING PROBLEMS LISTED IN RESPONSE TO FREE-ANSWER QUESTIONS

1. Management won't co-operate	7
2. Unfair basing point for piece-work prices	5
3. Seniority	5
4. Poor job classification system	5
5. Wages	4
6. Unsafe working conditions	3
7. Poor foremen	2
8. Female operators suspected of being favored	1
9. Paid holidays	1
10. No chance for promotion	1
11. Nonunion members in the shop	1
12. Running other people's machines	1
13. New union; co-operation hard for both union and management	1
Total	37*

* Some failed to answer; some listed more than one problem.

69 per cent of the shops long-standing problems cause continual trouble. Undoubtedly, this union is strong enough to have solved many of these problems through collective bargaining; it already has won a union shop, very high wages, and has been accepted as an integral part of the industry. Why has it failed to solve long-standing problems? First, changing job-classification systems and piece-work prices is technically difficult. Second, the international representatives of the union may have been too busy or indifferent to work at the solutions. Third, the international representatives may not have been aware of the existence of these problems. In classroom discussions it was revealed that shop stewards frequently did not know how to contact the international representative. This came as a great surprise to the top union officials who were present.

The long-standing problem labeled "Management won't co-operate" covers a lot of ground. If management is violently antagonistic, the union can only oppose force with force. In many cases, however, the union leaders felt that they had been unable to discipline their members in regard to maintaining production schedules and obeying the contract provisions, so that management had a legitimate complaint. The questions involving grievances and counseling were designed to get the facts (Tables 12, 13, 14, 15, and 16).

In 73 per cent of the shops only a few people have most of the grievances. Yet a glance at the list of long-standing problems indicates that most of them are of such a kind as to affect all workers. Why then do only a few people file grievances? Discussions in the class revealed that there are two major reasons why only a few people file grievances. On the one hand, there is a small group of chronic complainers; on the other hand, most people will not file grievances because they do not have faith in the protective power of the union or the effectiveness of the shop stewards. The shop stewards feel that the rank-and-file members are

TABLE 12

DO JUST A FEW PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP HAVE MOST OF THE GRIEVANCES?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	33	73
No	10	22
No answer	2	5
Total	45	100

TABLE 13

HOW MANY PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP DO YOU KNOW WELL ENOUGH TO KNOW ABOUT THEIR TROUBLES AT HOME?

	Number	Per Cent
Very few	29	64
About half	12	27
All	3	7
No answer	1	2
Total	45	100

TABLE 14

DO YOU HAVE TIME TO TALK TO A PERSON LONG ENOUGH TO FIND OUT WHAT HIS PROBLEMS ARE WHEN HE HAS TROUBLE?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	36	80
No	9	20
No answer	0	0
Total	45	100

TABLE 15

CAN YOU CALL UPON ANY TRAINED PERSON LIKE A SOCIAL WORKER OR PSYCHIATRIST TO HELP YOU WITH A PERSON'S PROBLEMS?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	12	27
No	30	67
No answer	3	6
Total	45	100

not "willing to stick their necks out" and frequently do not back up the shop stewards. On both sides there seems to be low morale.

Table 13 indicated that in 64 per cent of the shops these men (thirty-one of whom were or had been shop stewards) knew only a very few men well enough to learn about their troubles at home and that in 27 per cent more of the shops they knew only half the men this well.[4] They do, however, usually have time to listen to a man. In most cases (67 per cent) there is no trained person to help the shop steward, although in 18 shops the shop steward would like to have one (Tables 15 and 16). In view of the general dissatisfaction with the work situation (Tables 1, 2, and 3), the low morale which motivated the union leaders to run this class in the first place, and the specific lack of confidence in union and shop stewards reported in the previous paragraph, we feel that more adequate counseling help might change the general tone of union morale.

TABLE 16

IF THERE IS NO TRAINED PERSON, WOULD YOU LIKE TO HAVE ONE?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	18	60
No	6	20
No answer	6	20
Total	30	100

Classroom discussion in this and other unions reveals that in problems of interpersonal relations either among union members or between union members and managerial staff, shop stewards in general do not have sufficient training to do an adequate job. The most valuable help that a trained person might give in this situation is not psychiatric or social work guidance per se but the stimulation of a more adequate system of communication from rank and file upward. Expert help paid for entirely by the union might go far to solve many morale-lowering problems on the shop level.

There were several other problems raised which are much more of a threat to union morale because less easily attacked and solved. These questions and answers are presented in Tables 17–24. The problems mentioned in these tables are those with which industrial relations experts and management have long concerned themselves but which unions have more or less ignored. Answers to the question as to what kind of difficulty underlies formation of cliques are not very enlightening (Table 19). Tables 20, 21, and 22, however, indicate that varia-

TABLE 17

DO THE PEOPLE IN YOUR SHOP GET INTO SMALL GROUPS WHICH DO NOT HAVE MUCH TO DO WITH ONE ANOTHER?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	22	49
No	21	47
No answer	2	4
Total	45	100

TABLE 18

IF SMALL CLIQUES DO ARISE, DOES THIS CAUSE TROUBLE?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	16	73
No	5	23
No answer	1	4
Total	22	100

[4] The sizes of the shops were as follows:

No. of Men	No. of Shops
0– 49	16
50– 99	6
100–149	3
150–199	2
200–249	1
250–299	2
300–349	7
350–399	6

The median size was 108 men. Theoretically, each shop steward is responsible for only 25 men, but this does not work out in the larger shops.

TABLE 19

WHAT KIND OF PROBLEM DOES THIS FORMATION OF CLIQUES CAUSE?

	Number
Gossip which destroys morale	8
Each group feels discriminated against	2
Disputes over hourly wages	1
Hatred between union and nonunion groups	1
Total	12*

* Some failed to answer this question; some gave more than one answer.

TABLE 20

ARE SOME OF THE PEOPLE MUCH BETTER WORKERS THAN OTHERS?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	45	100
No	0	0
No answer	0	0
Total	45	100

TABLE 21

IF SO [THAT SOME ARE BETTER WORKERS THAN OTHERS], DOES THIS CAUSE PROBLEMS?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	30	67
No	12	27
No answer	3	6
Total	45	100

TABLE 22

HOW DOES HAVING SOME WORKERS BETTER THAN OTHERS CAUSE PROBLEMS?

	Number
Jealousy	11
Poorer workers hold back better ones	6
Poor workers can't make the grade	6
Helps management violate seniority rules	5
Poor work is turned out	3
Total	31*

* Some failed to answer this question; some gave more than one answer.

TABLE 23

DO SENIORITY RULES CAUSE MUCH DIFFICULTY?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	17	38
No	26	58
No answer	2	4
Total	45	100

TABLE 24

ARE THERE QUARRELS BETWEEN THE YOUNGER AND OLDER WORKERS?

	Number	Per Cent
Yes	15	33
No	26	58
No answer	4	9
Total	45	100

tions in ability and interest cause considerable friction (cf. Tables 1, 2, and 3). In about a third of the shops, seniority rules also divide the men (Tables 23 and 24).

SUMMARY

The questionnaire shows that the workers in this union (in the opinion of their shop stewards) are dissatisfied with both their work situation and the union situation in a number of ways. Dissatisfaction with the work situation is indicated among a considerable proportion of the workers by failure to believe that economic advancement is possible, by poor work, and by dislike of the work they are doing. Dissatisfaction with the union is indicated by failure of many to engage in union activities and by a desire for more services from the union. Questions about the grievance procedure indicated that in many shops only few people present grievances, that long-standing problems cause difficulties, and that, although stewards have enough time to help members solve problems, they know considerably less than half the men well and have no expert guidance themselves. Finally, it was in-

dicated that in half the shops there are cliques; in a third of these shops clique formation causes trouble; variation in ability and seniority rules are among the reasons for quarrels.

From the rather startling and consistent results of this questionnaire one might suggest to unions that it would be profitable to look into the causes of both low and high morale.[5] Likewise the student of industrial relations might find studying the relationships between the union and its members well worth their while.

MINNEAPOLIS

[5] Because of the small number of cases we have not thought it valid to present cross-tabulations. There were three shops, however, in which all indexes of morale were high and a few, on the other hand, where all indexes were low.

THE BEHAVIOR OF PARENTS OF SCHIZOPHRENIC, NEUROTIC, AND NORMAL CHILDREN

JAMES EDWARD McKEOWN

ABSTRACT

Statistically significant differences appear among the parents of selected groups of schizophrenics, behavior problems, and normals. Among the schizophrenics, the parents of the same sex show heavy incidence of demanding antagonistic behavior. Among the behavior problems, both parents show a similar heavy incidence of the same type of behavior. Among the parents of the normals, encouraging behavior predominates. Encouraging behavior is rare among parents of the schizophrenics and the behavior problems, and demanding-antagonistic behavior is rare among the normals. The samples used in this study conformed rigorously to thirteen criteria of selection.

Kallmann has proposed that the appearance of schizophrenia is due to the presence of a recessive gene that penetrates at 70 per cent effectiveness.[1] He has also ably supported this proposition in a study of 691 pairs of twins. In interpreting the study of the twins, he has remarked that his findings indicate that schizophrenia does not appear under unusual life-conditions unless a predisposition toward it has been inherited from both parents. He remarked that his theory does not necessarily invalidate other theories of schizophrenia and is not incompatible with the view that schizophrenia can be prevented or cured.[2]

THE ANALYSIS

The present work is a further exploration of the social-psychological aspects of schizophrenia. The behavior of the parents of a number of schizophrenics, neurotic children, and normals has been analyzed and has yielded some fairly definite results. The marital adjustment of the parents and the reactions of the individuals to their parents and sibling were also studied, but these brought forth few differences that were well removed from the major area of chance.

The schizophrenic cases were collected from the case histories compiled by the psychiatrists and social workers at the Illinois Neuropsychiatric Institute in Chicago. The neurotic children all were drawn from those compiled by the psychiatrists and social workers of both the Illinois Neuropsychiatric Institute and the Institute for Juvenile Research in Chicago. The term "neurotic children" in this study indicates a range of conduct and emotional disturbances usually described as simple maladjustments or neuroses. The common characteristic in this category is that, while the individuals were problems to themselves and others, the diagnosis was in no case one of psychosis. They are intended to represent a problem but a nonpsychotic group.

The term "normal" in this study indicates the absence of marked conduct and emotional disturbances and psychoses and reasonable success in dealing with the environment. The normals were selected and interviewed by the author from among students registered in the winter quarter 1948–49 at New Mexico Highlands University.

In selecting cases to be studied, a variety of complicating situations were controlled by disqualifying cases in which the individual was (1) married; (2) from a broken home; (3) from a childhood home from which one of the parents took prolonged absences; (4) the child of socially stigmatized parents or (5) of physically or mentally disabled parents; (6) reared in a home shared by outsiders; (7) a member of a minority racial or national group; (8) a case with highly traumatic experiences; (9) from a family of less than two or more than four

[1] Franz J. Kallmann, *The Genetics of Schizophrenia* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938), p. 163.

[2] Franz J. Kallmann, "The Genetic Theory of Schizophrenia," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, CIII (1946), 309–22.

children; (10) one of a family including delinquent or mentally ill siblings or (11) siblings who died after his birth; (12) lacking in good informants to corroborate his case; or (13) a case with complicated diagnosis that would not fit into the schizophrenic, neurotic children, and normal classifications used in this study. Under the above criteria 126 cases were accepted and about 3,000 were disqualified. The ages of individuals selected ranged from twelve to thirty-two at the time of recording. All these were from nonfarm backgrounds.

The categories employed in the analysis of the behavior of parents are:

1. *Demanding-antagonistic.*—Parent demands that patient live up to parents' ideas of right conduct and/or achieve the occupational, athletic, and/or social goals parent has set. Parent is generally rigid and Victorian in his ideas of right conduct. Parent attempts to dictate patient's career plans and may frustrate or discourage the patient's own plans. The status needs of the parent rather than the needs of the patient guide the parent's behavior. The parent appears to be seeking vicarious social recognition through the patient and/or attempting to command deference from the patient. Parent may expect patient to discharge responsibilities for which he has not been adequately prepared. Parent may attempt to gain conformity to his plans and ideals by criticism, nagging, threats, punishments, and/or display of temper. Parent is prodding.

2. *Superficial.*—Parent takes a laissez faire attitude toward the patient. Parent appears slightly concerned or indifferent to the patient's welfare, achievements, and/or problems. Parent appears not to want to be bothered by patient. Parent employs no discipline or employs it chiefly to ward off patient's attention-getting attempts. There is little understanding and/or appreciation of the patient's needs. Parent may grant much autonomy to the patient. Parent is withdrawn or preoccupied with the patient's siblings or with business or social interests beyond the family circle. Parent does not encourage the patient in confiding. There is no evidence of marked closeness and perhaps some evidence of distance between parent and patient. The parent's behavior is either cold or casually friendly.

3. *Encouraging.*—Parent attempts to encourage and assist the patient in the process of growing up. Parent encourages patient in school, occupational, athletic, and/or social activities with an understanding of patient's abilities and limitations. Parent will spend time leading, teaching, or otherwise assisting the patient. Parent does not attempt to dictate career plans but encourages patient to make own. Parent encourages the patient in confiding. There is an attempt to understand and appreciate the patient's needs. The parent's behavior is affectionate and patient.

4. *Protective-indulgent.*—Parent is protective of the patient and reluctant to employ any discipline. Parent attempts to keep patient tied to his apron strings. Parent encourages a dependent attitude in the patient. Parent may discourage school, occupational, athletic, and/or social progress. Parent gives much attention to the patient's real or imagined inferiorities. Parent defends the patient from criticism or hostility. Parent appears to be seeking satisfaction of own dependent needs through the patient. Parent may also attempt to keep patient dependent by displaying own inadequacies and demanding love and attention from the patient because of these inadequacies. The parent's need for affection and response rather than the patient's needs guide the parent's behavior. The parent's behavior is anxious.

The results of the analysis of the behavior of the parents of the same sex are set forth in Table 1. Those relating to the behavior of the parents of the opposite sex appear in Table 2.

In some cases it was necessary to use two or three of the categories to describe adequately the behavior of a parent. In such cases an entry was under each category that was employed in the description. Thus the figures in the "Total" columns do not necessarily represent the totals of the other numbers and percentages appearing in the same row. In the majority of cases, however, the behavior of the parents was consistent enough to fall fairly easily into but one of the categories. Among the schizophrenics the behavior of 33 of 42 parents of the same sex (79 per cent) and 32 of 42 parents of the opposite sex (76 per cent) was consistent to such an extent. Among the neurotic children the comparable figures were 31 of 42

TABLE 1

BEHAVIOR OF PARENTS OF SAME SEX

Category	Demanding-Antagonistic		Superficial		Encouraging		Protective-Indulgent		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Schizophrenics:										
Males	15	60	6	24	6	24	4	16	26	100
Females	11	65	3	18	1	6	6	35	17	100
Total	26	62	9	21	7	17	10	21	42	100
Neurotics:										
Males	16	64	6	24	2	8	7	28	25	100
Females	9	53	3	18	1	6	9	53	17	100
Total	25	60	9	21	3	7	16	38	42	100
Normals:										
Males	8	32	11	44	13	52	0	0	25	100
Females	3	18	5	29	9	53	1	6	17	100
Total	11	26	16	38	22	52	1	2	42	100

TABLE 2

BEHAVIOR OF PARENTS OF THE OPPOSITE SEX

Category	Demanding-Antagonistic		Superficial		Encouraging		Protective-Indulgent		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Schizophrenics:										
Males	9	36	3	12	9	36	13	52	25	100
Females	4	24	6	35	3	18	5	29	17	100
Total	13	31	9	21	12	29	18	43	42	100
Neurotics:										
Males	15	60	2	8	2	8	12	48	25	100
Females	12	71	2	12	0	0	7	41	17	100
Total	27	64	4	10	2	5	19	45	42	100
Normals:										
Males	5	20	3	12	20	80	3	12	25	100
Females	4	24	5	29	10	59	1	6	17	100
Total	9	21	8	19	30	71	4	10	42	100

(74 per cent) and 32 of 42 (76 per cent), respectively. Normals showed 34 of 42 (81 per cent) and 33 of 42 (79 per cent), respectively.

The most prevalent type of behavior on the parts of the parents of the same sex among the schizophrenic and neurotic children was the demanding-antagonistic. This type of behavior, however, was found to be fairly rare on the parts of the parents of the same sex among the normals. These differences are fairly well removed from the major area of chance. The difference in incidence between the schizophrenics and the normals is significant at the .001 chi-square level; that between the behavior problems and normals is significant at the .01 chi-square level.

Least common on the parts of the parents of the same sex among the schizophrenic and neurotic children and most common on the parts of the parents of the same sex among the normals was the encouraging type of behavior. These differences are also fairly well removed from the major area of chance. Here the differences in incidence between the schizophrenics and normals and neurotic children and normals were also significant at the .001 and .01 chi-square levels, respectively. Significant differences did not appear in incidence of superficial and protective-indulgent parents of the same sex among the three groups.

Incidence of the demanding-antagonistic behavior in parents of the opposite sex was slight among the schizophrenics and normals and heavy among the neurotic children. At this point, the difference in incidence between the schizophrenic and neurotic children groups is significant at the .01 chi-square level. That between the normals and neurotic children is significant at the .001 chi-square level.

Encouraging behavior, on the other hand, was often displayed by the parents of the opposite sex among the normals but seldom among the schizophrenic and neurotic children. Here the difference in incidence between schizophrenics and normals is significant at the .001 chi-square level. The same is true of the difference in incidence between the neurotic children and normals. Significant differences did not appear in incidence of the superficial and protective-indulgent behavior. It might also be noted that no type of parent behavior appears in a majority of cases among the schizophrenics with reference to the parent of the opposite sex.

The data in Tables 1 and 2 are presented in generalized form in Table 3. It is evident that there is much similarity between the

TABLE 3

DIFFERENCES IN BEHAVIOR OF PARENTS

Group	Behavior of Parents of Same Sex	Behavior of Parents of Opposite Sex
Schizophrenics	Demanding-antagonistic behavior and comparative absence of encouraging behavior	Both demanding-antagonistic and encouraging behavior comparatively absent
Neurotics	Demanding-antagonistic behavior and comparative absence of encouraging behavior	Demanding-antagonistic behavior and comparative absence of encouraging behavior
Normals	Encouraging behavior and comparative absence of demanding-antagonistic behavior	Encouraging behavior and comparative absence of demanding-antagonistic behavior

behavior of the parents of the schizophrenic and neurotic children, while the behavior of the parents of the normals differs greatly from these. Among the schizophrenics, demanding-antagonistic behavior characterizes the parent of the same sex. Among the neurotic children, it characterizes the parents of both sexes. Encouraging behavior, on the other hand, characterizes the parents of the normals. It can be noted that encouraging behavior on the part of parents of both sexes is fairly rare among the schizophrenic and neurotic children and that the demanding-antagonistic behavior on the part of both parents is fairly rare among the normals.

The similarity between the schizophrenic and the neurotic children suggests the possibility that the same type of parent behavior may evoke schizophrenia in offspring that are predisposed to it and problem behavior in those that are not predisposed. It is not unlikely that some of the normals employed in this study were hereditarily predisposed to schizophrenia but that favorable parent behavior, among other things, prevented it from coming to expression.

Needless to say, the findings here cannot be applied to the universes of schizophrenics, neurotic children, or normals. All available cases meeting the selection criteria were used; hence, random sampling was not employed. Though a bias of accessibility is present, the differences uncovered by this study are, nevertheless, so strikingly clear that the speculation that they would also appear in a random sample does not seem entirely unjustified.

RELIABILITY TEST

Three graduate students in sociology at the University of Chicago were given the categories and descriptions presented earlier in this article and without instructions were directed to classify the behavior of the parents in cases drawn randomly from the male schizophrenic, female schizophrenic, male neurotics, and female neurotics—a total of four cases.

The judgments of the three graduate students added to those of the author made four judgments available on the behavior of each of the eight parents involved in the reliability test. The results appear in Table 4. All four investigators, if agreeing on the same categorical description of the behavior of a parent, score 100 per cent. Three agreeing equal 75 per cent. Two agreeing equal 50 per cent. The agreement of 62.5 per cent has been occasioned by two investigators agreeing completely, the third half-agreeing with the first two, and the fourth totally disagreeing. Here the third investigator joined two categories to describe the behavior of the parent in question.

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT AMONG FOUR INDEPENDENT INVESTIGATORS

Parent	Minimum Possible Agreement	Actual Agreement
Father of male schizophrenic	0	75
Father of male neurotic	0	75
Father of female schizophrenic	0	50
Father of female neurotic	0	75
Mother of male schizophrenic	0	75
Mother of male neurotic	0	75
Mother of female schizophrenic	0	62.5
Mother of female neurotic	0	50
Average	.....	67.18

In a conference held after the test the judges found that they had noted the same information in the case histories as had the author but had not always given it the same weight that he had. Though it was recognized that the average agreement of 67.18 per cent was not high, the judges assured the author that it could have been considerably higher if they had had some instruction from him, if they had been able to observe and question the author when he was analyzing some cases, and if they had had some practice in using the categories prior to the test.

NEW MEXICO HIGHLANDS UNIVERSITY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

CRITICISMS OF THE *ENCYCLOPEDIA OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES*

May 11, 1950

To the Editor:

I have been disturbed by the recent rash of materials vilifying a monumental contribution to American scholarship, the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences.*

The American Bar Association *Journal* of March, 1950, carries an article by one William G. McLaren devoting one and one-third pages to hysterical outcries against what he characterizes as a "Trojan horse": "Nowhere in the entire fifteen volumes do you find the views of any proponent of American capitalism, individualism, or free enterprise."

In *The Return of Adam Smith,* George S. Montgomery, Jr., describes the *Encyclopedia* as "the most perfect illustration available of the extreme to which a determined group of collectivists are resorting to subvert and corrupt the minds of American youth."

In case the hogwash cited above portends a growing hysterical determination to tar and feather scholarship in the social sciences, it would be well for all sociologists to be on the alert. A refutation which I hope to see published has been sent to the American Bar Association *Journal.* But it would be well for all of us to have the obvious facts regarding the *Encyclopedia* well in mind. Disagree as we may with one or many contributions, the integrity of the *Encyclopedia*'s auspices and that of the intellectual efforts that created it are above reproach. Merely an examination of the *Encyclopedia*'s board of directors, its editors, and its contributors should satisfy anyone, no matter what his political outlook.

It is best that we abandon our ivory towers long enough to justify our burying ourselves in scholarly volumes.

ROBERT C. SORENSEN

University of Nebraska

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS AND CALCULATIONS OF AGE AT MARRIAGE

June 1, 1950

To the Editor:

I

Very few people realize how inadequate are the statistics of marriage and divorce in this country. The Bureau of the Census holds authority, however, to determine what questions shall be asked in the Census. In view of this and the general importance of the subject, the petitions of the American Sociological Society and other groups, and the rise of sociologists in federal positions, it is hard to understand, therefore, why an adequate and simple inquiry (on a sample basis) was not made in 1950. It would seem that marriage and divorce are relatively unimportant in the thinking of Census planners.

Such a simple fact as the average age at first marriage in the United States, or how it has changed over the years, is not known with statistical certainty. The literature is honeycombed with errors and misstatements, and a great amount of theorizing has been done on faulty information. As Dr. Kuczynski has written, the expectation of life is not measured by simply taking an average of the ages of those who die; yet the age expectancy of marriage is nearly always calculated in this way. An accurate determination of age at first marriage requires that ages at first marriage be known in a

particular year, as well as the number of single persons at each year of age. This precise information has not been obtained in the 1950 Census. Furthermore, the results published by the United States Census on age at marriage, which are widely used, are even more crude and fallacious than the simple averages.

The inconsistencies in the following table of Census results have neither been admitted nor explained by the Bureau of the Census. To obtain averages from population data by marital status, (1) it was assumed that the percentage ever married in the age group 50–54 indicated the proportion who eventually marry (taking a lower age group, it is averred, would make little difference in the calculation), and (2) the point in the population distribution at which one-half of this percentage appeared as ever married was determined and called the "median age at first [*sic*] marriage." The reason given by the Census to the writer for the discrepancies in the first three columns of Table 1 was "an improved method of calculation involving the use of percentages ever married interpolated to tenths of a year." Since the calculations presumably start with the same percentage who eventually marry (and using a neighboring age group makes "little difference"), and since marital status is given in single years up to age 34, it is not apparent how such an inflexible average as the median could differ by so much for the same data (viz., 1930).

TABLE 1*

MEDIAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE

Year	Males					Females				
	1930	1935	1945	CPR	1949	1930	1935	1945	CPR	1949
1890....	.....	.....	26.1	.....	.....	.....	.....	22.0	.....	.....
1900....	.....	.....	25.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	21.9	.....	.....
1910....	.....	25.7	25.1	.....	.....	.....	22.1	21.6	.....	.....
1920....	.....	25.1	24.6	.....	.....	.....	21.7	21.2	.....	.....
1930....	25.6	24.8	24.3	.....	.....	22.4	21.8	21.3	.....	.....
1940....	.....	.....	24.3	.....	.....	.....	.....	(21.6)	.....	.....
1947....	.....	.....	.....	23.7	.....	.....	.....	.....	20.5	.....
1948....	.....	.....	.....	(24.7)	(24.2)	.....	.....	.....	(21.4)	(20.9)

* Sources: 1930, Population (838); October, 1935, release; 1945, Series P-45, No. 7; Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Nos. 10 and 23; December, 1949, handout.

A close examination of the method reveals that the result does not represent the median age *in* 1910, etc., or any precise point of time; nor do the male and female averages exactly coincide in their temporal reference. The statement that the averages refer to *first* marriages is exceedingly presumptuous. Furthermore, the method is statistically fallacious. Gauging the near-present marriage behavior (the point of one-half the maximum percentage, in the age group 20–24) by an approximate measure of the measure of the marriage proclivity of a generation ago (as represented by the percentage ever married in the age group 50–54) is patently inaccurate. In fact, while the Census has often claimed that greater proportions were getting married since 1900, the index used to calculate age at marriage shows the opposite. Part of the seeming decline in the Census averages could be a result of this improper method. The inclusion of the foreign-born in the above averages also distorts the real condition. The application of such a method separately to measure the foreign-born element is even more inept.

A number of other faults in the above Census results will be detailed in a report

the writer has prepared on the question of age at marriage in the United States. All in all, the Census averages represent three different types of data and three methods of determination. Noncomparable results have been presented in the same Census tables and also compared in textual comment by the Census and by unwitting users of the materials. Although based on population, and not marriage data, the results purport to show the median age at first marriage. No credence can be placed in the averages, however. An attempt was made to show the exact nature of marriage behavior by age in this country for 1940, using a statistical hybrid of population and marriage data and other assumptions; but one might just as well face the fact that no satisfactory body of data exists which will enable one to obtain for any particular year the average age at first marriage in the United States with statistical clarity.

II

The Census employees have again this year extolled the opportunities for research in the 1950 Census. It appears that these opportunities are highly delimited by the Census. At some time after 1930 (Notestein and others had access to Census data until this time at least) the Census introduced a new policy of excluding private researchers. Under the law, genealogists and others can obtain current records. And certain nongovernmental persons still obtain access to the data and even direct Census compilations pertinent to their particular interests, albeit in a pseudo-consultant capacity. The ordinary statistical researcher, however, must now rely upon such tabulations as the Census makes and publishes. A complete index of unpublished tables is not available, nor are Census employees fully aware of what has been assembled in this form. The *Index of Unpublished Data* from the 1930 Census is the only one of its kind and it is not entirely complete. If, by chance, unpublished tables have value and can be located, they can usually be obtained at a minimum cost. Otherwise, if tabulation cards are available, special tabulations may be requested, but the cost is frequently prohibitive to the private researcher. If the Census schedules and tabulations were designed to have optimum research value, especially in these times of supermachine methods, unpublished tables could be a rich source of information. As it is, the research value of United States Census tables is largely an incidental by-product of standardized compilations.

The exclusion of qualified persons from past Census materials is most questionable. The reason given that the material is confidential, even for statistical work, and only accessible to Census employees is unacceptable because the Census entertains certain pseudo-consultant relationships, because the law allows other exceptions, and, finally, because Census schedules up to 1870 are available at the National Archives (where genealogists are making so frequent use of them that the original records are rapidly disintegrating), and the Director of the Census could by law release the records up to 1890. The Census, therefore, has withheld not *all* schedules from private statistical research because they are "confidential" but only the schedules having current interest and value; and special persons are exempted from the ruling.

The writer has had direct experience extending over two years in the search for unpublished tables—with poor success on the whole. After considerable correspondence and delays, the writer purchased copies of what were supposed to be Tables 95 and 96 of the *Index* cited above, but which turned out to be something else. Indeed, the two tables were never located by the Census, but some tables of secondary value were obtained which were *not listed* in the *Index* (indicating unpublished tables of which there is no real catalogue). Inquiry regarding the tables produced the information that the Census had meanwhile lost its copies or misplaced them. Seeking clarification, the writer had to bring his copies to Washington—and the titles and descriptions on the tables proved to be inaccurate.

A different inquiry regarding unpublished tables on marital status for New York City and New York State in 1920 drew the reply that "the worksheets are not in any particular order" and that to obtain them from the storeroom "might take two man-weeks," the cost of which was prohibitive to the writer. Again, a mere listing (IBM) of about 20,000 cards was quoted at a cost of $250, and, the writer was told, if groupings of the cards were made prior to the listing, this would "increase the cost considerably." In this connection it is interesting to note that the writer obtained over 20,000 statistical listings from a state vital statistics office at no cost. The writer also obtained greater co-operation from state statistical offices and from some private research groups, and obtained tabulations with greater facility, than from the Bureau of the Census. In one case he was able to locate some unpublished tables, of which the Census no longer had a copy, in a separate governmental agency. What is most strange about this is that Dr. W. E. Deming made principal use of these very same tables in eliminating unknown ages from the 1940 Census tabulations.

III

Dr. Beard, the late historian, complained publicly of a distinctly unprofessional practice among historians and others in federal employment who privately published and exploited data never made public by their agencies, thereby taking advantage of their positions for personal gain. The writer has noticed recurrent examples in the field of sociology, of which the following seems most flagrant. This country has never published nation-wide data on age at first marriage for married couples. It appeared that approximate information of this nature could be elicited from the April, 1948, *Current Population Survey*. After an initial interest, the Population Division expressed its conclusion in the summer of 1948 that no such tabulations would be made, even though one of the suggested tables on relative ages was the kind needed in eliminating ages unknown from Census tables. After the writer had attempted to obtain financial support from private foundations, with no success, and after he had undertaken correspondence with the Census, the latter reversed its position and in June, 1949, suddenly announced to him that it had *completed* age tabulations on marriage according to occupational groups. Meanwhile the self-same tabulations were announced as a private research project in the *American Sociological Review* by a Census employee and submitted as such at the annual meeting of the Society last December. Although the data were prepared by Census employees at government expense, attempts to obtain them prior to the December meetings were unsuccessful. Besides, the occupational tables which were reported to have been completed six months previously were also withheld, the stated reason being that certain weighting adjustments had to be made, even though the Census had already released one nonoccupational unweighted table on the same set of data. The Census employee most concerned in this has indicated that he plans to publish the results in one of the professional journals, and the Bureau disclaims that it violates any policy in allowing the practice. It is obvious, of course, that these data were compiled at public expense, and prior to their release to the public are being exploited for their personal advantage by the Census employees who prepared the tables. Similar articles already published in this manner have the content of a typical government release, with no scholarly documentation or research. Therefore, in one sense, it appears that the publication of these articles—however valuable—makes the professional journals a new avenue of publication of governmental reports. Publication of such "private" research in professional journals seems also to encourage an unethical practice in government workers.

What hope for the betterment of the foregoing situation is there? The writer does not know the answer to the question, but a point of departure from the general tacit acquiescence might be a simple recognition

of the shortcomings of the American data and of Census operations. Greater knowledge of the facts by professionally interested persons might also effect some improvement.

THOMAS P. MONAHAN

824 South Forty-ninth Street
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

COMMENT

July 13, 1950

To the Editor:

The staff of the Bureau of the Census is well aware of the fact that statistics on marriage and divorce for this country are inadequate. Some progress toward better figures has been made by the agency responsible for the collection of registration-type data—the National Office of Vital Statistics of the United States Public Health Service, Federal Security Agency—which has been seeking the necessary authority and funds required for the establishment of a comprehensive reporting system on marriage and divorce. This spring the National Office of Vital Statistics published statistics for 1948 on age at marriage and related subjects for those states with such figures available, but averages of these figures cannot be used as indicative of national averages without caution.

The Bureau of the Census has also tried to fill the gap to some extent through the use of population data in lieu of registration data. Thus, in 1940, women who had ever been married were asked their age at first marriage. In the Bureau's *Current Population Survey* for April, 1948, and also in the 1950 Census, men and women who were or had been married were asked if they had been married more than once and how long they had been married, remarried, widowed, divorced, or separated. These questions provide not only information on duration of present marital status but also, indirectly, on the age at occurrence of present marital status. The age at occurrence is obtained by subtracting the duration from the age at Census or survey date. Duration can be tabulated in association with age at occurrence to give the number of marriages, remarriages, etc., during the past year or other period of time, by the age of the person at the time of the event; the data, of course, would be exclusive of deaths which have occurred since the event. Although the 1950 Census publication plans in relation to this general field are still in a preliminary stage, they tentatively call for a bulletin on marriage, widowhood, and divorce which would contain such information.

Mr. Monahan would have preferred a direct question in the 1950 Census on age at occurrence of present marital status to a question on duration of present marital status. The decision to use instead a question on duration of present marital status was made chiefly because it was judged to have greater usefulness than age at occurrence for the study of fertility, economic welfare, and other subjects. It should be noted, furthermore, that all questions used in the 1950 Census, their exact wording, and the many additional questions proposed by consumers had been carefully considered by our advisory committees, which are comprised of experts in related fields from many organizations, both public and private. It was the consensus of the Technical Advisory Committee on Population that a question on duration was more desirable than one on age at occurrence, and the Bureau of the Census was guided accordingly. This decision was reached with the knowledge that either one of the measures could be obtained indirectly from the other, with possibly a slight loss of precision in the one obtained indirectly. This loss was not considered to be serious enough to warrant asking both types of questions.

Mr. Monahan states that "an accurate determination of age at first marriage requires that ages at first marriage be known in a particular year, as well as the number of single persons at each year of age." This same principle was stated in a Census release entitled *Median Age at Marriage*, published in October, 1935. However, we regard the approximations made

by the Bureau, using methods described in the following paragraphs, as reasonably close to the truth; and nothing presented by Mr. Monahan disproves this view. Marriages, unlike deaths, tend to be highly concentrated within a fairly narrow age range. Estimates of age at first marriage made from the distribution of population by age and marital status depend largely on data for young women near twenty-one years of age and young men near twenty-four years of age. Deaths are few in number around these ages, and the effects of differences in population distribution by age are practically eliminated in the method used.

The Bureau of the Census has used different kinds of data and different methods in its efforts to estimate the median age at first marriage. Some of the methods later proved to be defective and were abandoned as soon as the errors were found. The estimates published in the 1930 report were superseded by those made in 1935, and these in turn were superseded by those made in 1945. The text of the 1935 release and that of other reports refute Mr. Monahan's charge that the Bureau of the Census has never acknowledged or explained "inconsistencies" with prior superseded estimates. We are happy to acknowledge any and all kinds of errors which may be found and to take remedial action in so far as feasible. The history of the estimates is as follows:

In the 1930 report which Mr. Monahan cites, the median age at first marriage was defined as that age at which 50 per cent of the population was reported as ever married. This was faulty because it made the implicit assumption that 100 per cent of the population eventually married; thus it gave estimates of the median age at first marriage which were too high. In the 1935 report the upper limit was reduced from 100 per cent to a more reasonable maximum, namely, the percentage ever married among persons 50–54 years old. The choice of this age group for a maximum was an arbitrary one, but tests showed that neither the median age at first marriage for all men nor that for all women would have been materially different if the age group 45–49 years, 55–59 years, or 60–64 years had been used instead of the age group 50–54. Subdivision by race and nativity would create small differences of the order of one-tenth of a year according to the terminal age group used. Ages over 65 showed progressively smaller percentages ever married and were rejected as not representing the "maximum" percentage.

The method used in 1935 was sound from a theoretical point of view. Unfortunately, in the computation of the medians, the observed percentage ever married among persons of each age was assumed to center on the end of the year of age. It should have been centered on the middle of the year of age. This assumption resulted in an overstatement of about one-half year in the median age at marriage. The error was found in 1945, when a method of interpolation (Sprague's Fifth Difference Osculatory Interpolation Formula) was used. This method involved no assumption as to where in the median year the observed percentage ever married centered.

In the 1945 report, median ages at marriage were computed as outlined above for men in Census years from 1890 to 1940 and for women in Census years from 1890 to 1930. For 1940 we used data on age at first marriage as reported for women 45–64 years old in the 1940 Census in answer to a direct question. The median age at first marriage was determined to be 21.6 years. Computed by a method consistent with that for other years, the estimate would have been 21.5 years. In this report the reader was specifically warned that the estimate for women was computed by a method different from that used for earlier years.

Mr. Monahan also draws on data from the *Current Population Survey* taken in April, 1948, on the median age at marriage for once-married men and women of all ages in the civilian population who were still married at the time of the survey. The median age at marriage of such a group is,

of course, not the same thing as the median age at first marriage for the whole population, including those who are remarried, widowed, or divorced. This was clearly stated in the text of the report. These medians, therefore, should not appear in the same table with those made in 1945 or in 1947. The medians for 1948 under the heading "CPR" differ from those under the heading "1949" by one-half year. The "CPR" medians were based on returns from a question on duration of marriage but were incorrectly computed as if they were based on a question on age at marriage. That accounts for the revised figures labeled "1949."

Comparable estimates of median age at first marriage can be identified among those in Mr. Monahan's table. These are estimates for 1890–1940 for males and for females from 1890 to 1930 under the heading "1945" (from Table 1 of our report, Series P-45, No. 7), and the estimates for 1947 (from the text of our report, Series P-20, No. 10). The estimates for 1948 in the table do not apply to the same kind of population as those in this series; and the estimates under the headings "1930" and "1935" have been superseded, as has been noted above.

The text of the 1945 release stated that the figures therein did not represent the estimated median age at marriage *in* each specified year but rather that the estimates drew from the experience of a period of years ending in the Census date. Each estimate, however, is largely dependent upon the recent marriage experience of young persons who were near 21 years of age (women) or 24 years of age (men) at the Census date. Most of these young people had married only a short while before that date. The percentage ever married increases so rapidly from one age to another that even considerable differences in the assumed maximum percentage who will ever marry do not greatly affect the results. Furthermore, the only way a person can pass from the class "single" to the class "ever married" is by a first marriage. Remarriage, widowhood, and divorce have no effect on the percentage of persons ever married. Considerations along these lines lead us to take issue with Mr. Monahan that the results do not refer to age at first marriage.

I wish now to discuss the final two sections of Mr. Monahan's communication, those dealing with the policy of the Bureau of the Census toward research specialists outside the Bureau. These sections have such serious implications that I should be greatly disturbed if I believed that the views expressed are shared by members of the scientific societies concerned with the Bureau's work. No other criticism of this sort has ever come to the attention of the writer, but any individuals with a similar grievance are hereby invited to let us know.

First, I should like to concede that in these sections, as well as the first section, there are some valid (even though minor) points. We have not compiled a complete list of unpublished tables. We sometimes have trouble in locating particular tables, and from time to time tables are lost or mislabeled. We have to make a charge (on an actual cost basis) for special jobs, although it might be more pleasant for us if we felt free to devote some of our appropriated funds to making listings and performing special services for Mr. Monahan and for the public in general.

Perhaps the most serious charge made by Mr. Monahan relates to the policy concerning current Census records, or schedules. The substance of the charge is that, despite the provisions of law, "private researchers" have in general been excluded from the basic schedules except for certain nongovernmental people who have access to our data in a "pseudo-consultant capacity." This implication of favoritism and discrimination is not justified by any facts which have been brought to my attention. The Bureau has at all times endeavored to follow a policy of insuring that the provisions for the confidential treatment of individual returns be administered impartially and consistently. We hope that we have been successful in maintaining public confidence in the integrity of the confidentiality provisions of the Bureau without at the same

time closing the door to legitimate research undertakings which could be carried out only through the use of information gathered in one of the major censuses.

In Section III, Mr. Monahan attempts to show that the Bureau has been guilty of unethical practices in allowing its employees to present papers and articles which contain certain Census data not previously published. The case appears to rest upon certain data on age at first marriage available from the April, 1948, *Current Population Survey*. The tabulations finally prepared in the summer of 1949 were substantially different from those originally considered and were intended primarily as a test of the feasibility of similar tabulations to be based upon the 1950 Census returns. Except for unavoidable publication delays, some of the results of this tabulation would have appeared in published form prior to the Christmas meeting at which a paper on this subject was presented.

We cannot accept the view, however, that a Census employee may not make use of unpublished data in a speech or article. Members of our staff as well as persons outside have very properly made extensive use of unpublished materials and have thereby contributed to public understanding of important social and economic relationships. Certain of the unpublished data from the April, 1948, tabulations of age at first marriage have been supplied to Mr. Monahan at a nominal cost. He will not be required to delay publication of these figures until they have been published by the Bureau of the Census.

A. Ross Eckler
Deputy Director
Bureau of the Census

Editors' Note.—Mr. Monahan is preparing a reply to Dr. Eckler, which will appear in the forthcoming November issue.

MATCHING IN EX POST FACTO STUDIES

May 9, 1950

To the Editor:

Studies of the sort described by Dr. Ronald Freedman[1] in the March, 1950, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* are to be welcomed as contributions to our knowledge of the technique of ex post facto experimental design. Ernest Greenwood[2] has given us the most thorough analysis of the logic of this design. My own attempts at application of the design have given special attention to the limitations.[3]

Some of the statements made by Freedman open up interesting aspects of ex post facto design upon which I should like to comment briefly. In the first place, the reader of Freedman's article will note an inconsistency between the statement in the last line of his abstract and the data mentioned at the bottom of page 487. The point is that there has been an inadvertent inversion of meaning.

Freedman speaks of the "serious sampling problem" involved. His statement is true as a generality but should be considered in the light of two propositions implicit in his statement. The first might be stated thus: *All* ex post facto studies which utilize samples have as their purpose the discovery (i.e., formulation) of a reliable generalization of a relationship or an inference from the samples to some universe. If this purpose is granted, then all that he states follows logically. The second implicit assumption then follows: Such ex post facto studies should be based upon random selection of the individuals in the samples compared. Again, such a sequence is correct.

With respect to the first of the two assumptions, we may say that, if the purpose of the Christiansen study had indeed been to obtain from samples a basis for generalization to a universe, then the comments are relevant and true and indicative of a serious problem. In empirical work, however, at the present stage of our limited knowledge of the

[1] "Incomplete Matching in Ex Post Facto Studies," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV, No. 5 (March, 1950), 485–87.

[2] Experimental Sociology (New York: King's Crown Press, 1945), chap. viii and *passim*.

[3] F. Stuart Chapin, C. A. Johanson, and A. L. Johnson, "Rental Rates in Dwelling Units in Manhattan," *American Sociological Review*, XV, No. 1 (February, 1950), 95–97.

method, this was *not* the case. The study in question was designed merely to discover what actually happened to two matched groups of high-school students between 1926 and 1935. The study was not designed to supply a reliable basis of generalization to larger universes. When this is recognized, then there is no sampling problem. Of what use then, is such a limited study? It is merely an attempt to explore some aspects of this technique, and, as I have stated repeatedly, only replication of the study on similar groups under like conditions can supply a basis for reliable generalization.[4]

Some interesting points appear with respect to Freedman's own study. It seems to me that the differences obtained in this study are not so much a function of "something connected with the ease of matching" as hidden relationships that exist in the nature of the system of interrelationships, which can often be expressed as intercorrelations, dealt with. To be explicit, a correlation coefficient may express a mere statistical relationship, or it may reveal the real relationship among the substantive factors in the situation. Thus it appears that the reason for the significant critical ratio when less complete matching was done (i.e., in the eighty-three cases) and a 5 per cent level of significance was obtained and for a lower critical ratio when more complete matching was done is that there is *no reclly high degree* of correlation among the data. In matching we introduce controls and create more and more homogeneity between the samples. If an initial relationship (measured by r or by T, as the case may be) is high but diminishes with matching (i.e., successive r's or T's decrease in the subgroups), then there is no *persistent* relationship between the dependent and the independent variables. The initial high r or T was due to the accident of statistical distribution of heterogeneous factors. This appears to be the explanation of Freedman's findings. Let me repeat: A high initial relationship as measured by $r_{12.0}$, when due to the accident of heterogeneity, can yield misleading evidence, *if* the partial r's, that is, $r_{12.3}$, $r_{12.34}$, etc., decrease. To put the matter another way, if the control of factors is by matching rather than by the statistical control of partial correlation coefficients and if diminished correlations or relationships are found in successive subgroups, then the evidence points to the conclusion that the original high r-value was misleading and that there was in reality no high degree of relationship. On the other hand, it is impossible to infer any degree of real or persistent relationship from the usual raw correlation coefficient. Further analysis of the data by partial correlation or by subgrouping, i.e., matching, may show an increase or a decrease of the relationship, depending upon whether a real relationship exists. Since this is a matter of some practical importance, it may be of interest to illustrate the principle from several studies, using different measures of association, r, ρ, and C (contingency).

Example 1.—Frank A. Ross, in his "The Method of Partial and Multiple Correlation Applied to School Attendance,"[5] found $r = .092$ between school attendance rate and density of population from a random sample of thirty-six Texas counties. This is strange, since one would expect to find better transportation and stricter enforcement of attendance in denser counties. When the percentage of foreign-born was held constant in computing the partial correlation, the real relationship $r_{14.2} = .496$ was revealed. This had been obscured by $r_{12.0} = -.838$ and $r_{24.0} = .206$. I obtained much the same result by subgrouping, a simpler form of holding factors constant. Thus, when twelve Texas counties of the sample with constant rates of foreign-born (i.e., 2 per cent or less) were segregated from the sample, a ρ-coefficient of .406 was obtained.

Example 2.—Calvin F. Schmid, in his *Social Saga of Two Cities*, computed numerous correlations and partial correlations among different housing factors for the Twin

[4] Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), pp. 99–109 and chap. vii.

[5] *School Attendance in the United States* (U.S. Census Monographs [1920]), Appendix A.

Cities in 1934.[6] If two of his series of correlations are compared, the results illustrate the principle that I stated previously. Thus, although the original zero-order correlations between mean rentals as an independent variable and percentage of overcrowded dwelling units in one case, and between mean rentals and percentage of structures over thirty-five years of age in the other case, were almost identical, that is, $r = -.555$ (rentals and crowding) and $r = -.559$ (rentals and age of structure), the two relationships behaved differently if factors were held constant by partialing out one factor after another. The correlation between rentals and overcrowding with five factors constant remained and was still substantial—$r_{di.ealbg} = -.400$; but the correlation between rentals and age of structure failed to persist on the partialing out of successive factors, since, with five factors held constant, $r_{dl.eaibg} = -.078$.[7] Incidentally, the multiple correlation coefficient, which measures the degree of variation in rentals associated with the combined effect of the six other factors, was $R_{d.eialbg} = .786$. A reverse relationship (declining) was discovered when two other factors, mean value of owner-occupied houses and percentage of dwelling units without central heat, were held constant; thus $r_{di.c} = -.743$, and $r_{di.ce} = -.688$. These data show that partialing out the effect of other factors is important if we are to discover the *persistent* or *real* relationship between rentals and overcrowding, and no one can tell from the size of the original correlation (raw correlation, or zero-order correlation) whether the relationship will diminish or increase as other factors are held constant.

The two examples just noted illustrate the principle in terms of results obtained by partial-correlation analysis using the conventional formula in which statistical control is used. Let us now turn to examples which illustrate the principle by use of subdivision and recorrelation.

Example 3.—Howard Forsyth[8] found a correlation of $r = -.48$, significant at the 1 per cent level, between attitude toward relief, as measured by a scale developed by him for the purpose, and the scores of the same persons on Sewell's social status scale. The sample was of 80 townspeople. Then he divided the group of 80 into two subgroups, one of 38 who had no experience of receiving relief, and the other of 42 who had been on WPA. Now the nonrelief group showed a correlation of only $r = -.15$ and the WPA group a correlation of $r = .08$, neither r being statistically significant. He found substantially the same results for an open-country sample of 75 cases.

Example 4.—E. F. Witte[9] made a study of case-work practice among 112 social workers who were church members. The aspect of case-work practice investigated in this study was use of the church as a resource. He obtained a contingency coefficient of $C = .01$ between church attendance and use of the church as a resource. On the face of it, this result seemed strange, since one would expect that social workers who attended church would use the church in practice. He then broke down the total group into subgroups and recomputed the contingency coefficients with the following results: for 62 social workers who were Protestants, $C = .451$ (one control); for 36 social workers who were both Protestants and college-educated, $C = .616$ (two controls); for 24 social workers who were Protestants and aged 24–29 years, $C = .641$ (two controls); and for 17 social workers who were Protestants, college-educated, and aged 25–29 years, $C = +.653$. Thus, by partialing out one to three

[6] (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Council of Social Agencies, 1937), pp. 297–98.

[7] Where a = percentage of structures needing major repairs; b = percentage of one-family structures; d = mean rentals; e = percentage of structures without central heat; i = percentage of dwelling units crowded; and l = percentage of structures thirty-five years of age and over; g = percentage of dwelling units with no gas; all units being census enumeration districts. There were no census tracts in the Twin Cities before the 1940 Census.

[8] "The Construction of a Scale To Measure Attitudes toward Relief" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota [November, 1939]).

[9] "A Study of the Relation of Social Workers to the Church" (M.A. thesis, University of Minnesota [July, 1934]).

factors by the simple device of subdividing and recorrelating, he discovered that there was in fact a substantial degree of association between church attendance and use of the church as a resource in case work, despite the fact that the original C-value was practically zero.

Example 5.—In my own study of ecological dynamics of Minneapolis churches,[10] using contingency coefficients to measure relationships, I found for the total of 124 Protestant churches studied that $C = .459$ for the degree of association between the compactness of the church's parish (residential scatter of membership) and the complexity of the structural pattern of the church. This meant that the more highly organized churches with elaborate programs were located downtown and drew from the entire city, whereas the simpler little neighborhood churches drew their members from the immediate environment. A breakdown of the total was then made, and the contingency recomputed. For 29 churches, in which the rates of growth of both membership and Sunday-school enrolment were held constant by matching, $C = .499$; and when identical matching was made on these two controls the subgroup dropped to 12 churches, for which $C = .744$!

A great many other examples of the principle I am trying to illustrate may be found in the literature of sociology, relating to all sorts of interpersonal and institutional situations. Perhaps the five examples given above may establish the following principles: (1) an original low or high measure of association (a raw, or zero-order, coefficient) often has little real meaning, because it may be a statistical accident; (2) if the scatter diagram of such a raw coefficient is examined with subgroups entered in *different colors*, it may at once become evident that control of one or more factors will result in a substantial change in the degree of association; (3) partial correlation should then be used to hold constant one or more factors, or the sample should be subdivided into lesser groups and recorrelated; (4) the results obtained from this sort of analysis will show clearly the real degree of relationship between the dependent and the independent variable. Thus control of factors brings out hidden relationships, which, if persistent and pointing in the same logical direction, may be regarded as the *real* relationships.

F. STUART CHAPIN

University of Minnesota

[10] Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1935; Dubuque, Iowa: William C. Brown, Publishers, 1948), p. 365.

NEWS AND NOTES

Belle Boone Beard, professor of sociology at Sweet Briar College, Sweet Briar, Virginia, is making a study of the activities and attitudes of centenarians and requests the assistance of sociologists and persons in related professions in securing names and addresses of men and women a hundred years old and over. Professor Beard would especially appreciate their willingness to interview the centenarians in their locality.

American Association for Public Opinion Research.—At the annual meeting held at Lake Forest, Illinois, in June the following officers were elected: Julian L. Woodward of Elmo Roper, president; Bernard Berelson, University of Chicago, vice-president; Matilda White Riley, American Sociological Society, secretary-treasurer.

American Social Hygiene Association.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death in Bangor, Maine, of Dr. William Freeman Snow, founder and board chairman of the American Social Hygiene Association. Dr. Snow was also president of the International Union against the Venereal Diseases and a special consultant for the United States Public Health Service since 1936. During the war he was a member of the government's interdepartmental Venereal Disease Committee, comprising representatives of the Army, Navy, Public Health Service, and other federal agencies.

Brooklyn College of the City of New York.—Willoughby C. Waterman, for seven years chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, has voluntarily relinquished the chairmanship to devote himself entirely to his teaching and other interests.

At the triennial election Alfred McClung Lee, who has been a member of the department since September, was elected chairman to succeed Professor Waterman, his term to begin July 1, 1950.

The Social Science Research Council has made a grant to Samuel Koenig, assistant professor of sociology and anthropology, to subsidize a study of the culture of Israel and the adjustment problems of new immigrant groups during his sabbatical year, beginning in September. On the return trip he will seek additional background material in Italy, Switzerland, and France.

CARE–UNESCO Book Fund Program.—Twenty countries are now served by the book plan which CARE added to its food and textile package service last year. Under the plan, contributions in any amount can be sent to the CARE Book Fund, 20 Broad St., New York 5, N.Y., or any local CARE address. Sums under $10 are pooled in the general fund. Donors of $10 or more may specify the country, institution, and any one of numerous book categories covered by the plan, including chemical engineering, chemistry, and metallurgy. CARE makes delivery in their name and returns a receipt signed by the recipient.

Centre College.—Betsey Castleberry, of Michigan State College, has accepted an appointment in the department of sociology.

Duke University.—Edgar Thompson visited Jamaica, Puerto Rico, Barbados, and Trinidad this summer in connection with his current investigations in race relations.

Japan Planned Parenthood Quarterly.—The *Journal* has received Volume I, No. 1 (January–March, 1950), of the *Japan Planned Parenthood Quarterly*, an international exchange of population news to be published by the Japan Birth-Control Institute, Tokyo, Japan.

Among others, this issue contains an article on "Japan's Population and Planned Parenthood" by P. K. Whelpton, "Mothers' Clinic" by Marie C. Stopes, and "Birth Control in United States" by Dr. Fumiko Y. Amano (in Japanese).

An interesting selection of abstracts in English presents opinions of the various political parties in Japan on population problems.

Japanese Sociological Society.—E. Isomura, professor of sociology at Toyo University, Tokyo, instructor in the Japanese School of Social Work, when visiting the *Journal* office in May, reported that the first issue of the *Japanese Journal of Sociology* was being planned to appear in July. The editor is M. Hayashi, head professor of Tokyo University and chairman of the department of sociology. Professor Isomura, who is an associate editor of the proposed journal, hopes to arrange for the inclusion of short English abstracts of each paper.

Requests for information about the new journal should be addressed to M. Hayashi, Office of the Japanese Sociological Society, Tokyo University, Bunkyo-Ku, Tokyo.

Professor Isomura informed us that the Japanese Sociological Society is planning to have its 1950 meeting in October on the campus of Osaka University. The society now numbers over six hundred members. The annual meeting of 1949, which was held in June in Tokyo University, was attended by more than three hundred Japanese sociologists. The meeting lasted two days, and there were sixty speakers. Sections of the conference were on general theory, applied sociology, social research, public opinion, and other subjects.

The president of the Japanese Sociological Society is Dr. T. Toda, professor emeritus of sociology, University of Tokyo. In commemoration of Professor Toda's retirement in 1949, a commemorative volume was published to which the leading Japanese sociologists contributed articles.

The general secretary of the society is M. Hayashi.

Menninger Foundation.—In co-operation with the Grant Foundation of New York, which has made a financial contribution to a training program, the Menninger Foundation will offer a three-year advanced training curriculum in marriage counseling beginning in September, 1950. The length of training will constitute from ten to twelve months. Persons with the Ph.D. degree or the M.D. degree and with three years or more of experience in the field of counseling may apply for these residencies.

There will be two $2,500 fellowships offered by the Grant Foundation to be known as Grant Foundation Fellowships available to married persons who wish to apply for this training. For further information write Robert G. Foster, Menninger Foundation, Topeka, Kansas.

University of Michigan.—Many of the offices and classrooms of the sociology department were destroyed by fire on June 6, and many files, books, and records of members of the staff were lost. Since many of the correspondence files were lost, persons who had unfinished business with the department are requested to contact that office.

Amos H. Hawley has assumed the directorship for the Scripps Foundation of a metropolitan decentralization study financed by the Housing and Home Finance Agency. Professor Hawley will spend the next fifteen months working full time on the study, which is to extend over a four-year period.

Middlebury College.—The Committee for the Social Scientific Study of Religion has been formed by a group of sociologists and other social scientists. The purpose of the organization is to stimulate research in religion by the use of scientific methods and to facilitate contacts between social scientists and students of religion. At a recent meeting in Boston the following officers were elected: chairman, Walter Houston Clark, Middlebury College; vice-chairman, Paul E. Johnson, Boston University; secretary-treasurer, J. Paul Williams, Mount Holyoke College. The next meeting has been scheduled for

October 12 in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Membership is open to interested social scientists, and inquiries may be addressed to any of the officers.

University of Pittsburgh.—The first bulletin of the Graduate School of Public Health, University of Pittsburgh, contains the program of the department of biostatistics which will be of particular interest to sociologists. The teaching and research activities of the department of biostatistics are aimed primarily at the development of methods for the statistical appraisal of the health problems of groups: the community, the family, and special aggregates such as populations in industry and in school. The curriculum has been devised to provide a progressive demonstration of the means by which statistical reasoning applied to the several medical and biological sciences can help in the determination of group health needs, the evaluation of efforts to meet these needs, and the measurement of the influence of social and biological factors on health and disease.

Princeton University.—Gerald Breese has received a research grant from the university to make a study of the location of industry in the areas south of Trenton, along the Delaware River.

Research in Contemporary India Field Project.—The Research in Contemporary India Field Project has completed the initial steps of a two-year program of research on cultural-historical elements of character formation in three contrasting Indian villages. This program is part of a wider study of contemporary cultures in the Middle East and Far East launched by Abram Kardiner under auspices of Columbia University's departments of sociology and anthropology. As the first village for intensive study, the director of the project in India, Mrs. Gitel P. Steed, has selected a Hindu community in Gujarat Province, where she is assisted by a University of Wisconsin anthropologist, James Silverberg; Robert Steed, visual arts educator; and a small staff of Indian workers. A village in the Todgarh hill valleys in Rajputana is being investigated simultaneously for control data on projective and other behavior. Morris Carstairs, M.D., psychiatrist of Edinburgh University, is the field worker there.

Before the investigators settled down in the field, preliminary conferences were held in Delhi with Hilda Raj, an anthropologist of Delhi University, to plan for research in an Old Christian community; and in Bombay with Uma Chaudhuri, the staff psychologist in the Government of India Department of Anthropology who is now working on a UNESCO field project, on tentative adaptations of TAT's and the use of Rorschach, Horn-Hellersberg, and other projective materials. These adaptations were completed in January, 1950. Sampling has begun in Bengal, Rajputana, Bombay, and Gujarat, with further sampling planned in the Cornell University project under Morris Opler in the United Provinces. In co-operation with B. S. Guha, director, Government of India Department of Anthropology, plans are also under way for the study in 1951–52 of a Moslem village community in eastern rural India.

Sociatry.—The title of *Sociatry: Journal of Group and Intergroup Therapy* has been changed to *Group Psychotherapy: Journal of Sociopsychopathology and Sociatry.* The undertitle is now made the chief title to notify group psychotherapists of all versions of the urgent need for a realignment of forces and of the plan of this journal to become the official platform for all significant varieties of group psychotherapy. Its board of contributing editors will be enlarged by the addition of new members to indicate the broadened outlook. The original policy of the journal, to develop foundations of a mass psychopathology and mass psychiatry, a sociatry, is not altered, but the emphasis is now placed upon the theory and practice of group psychotherapy.

University of Southern California.—Harvey J. Locke, associate professor of sociology, has been appointed by the State Department to be a visiting professor of sociology at Uppsala University, Sweden, for the academic year starting in September. Mrs. Locke and their two children will accompany him.

Stanford University.—Gregory Bateson, an English anthropologist, who offered a seminar in the department of sociology and anthropology on communication and cultural transmission during the spring quarter, is currently doing research at the Veterans Administration Hospital, Palo Alto, and serving in a consultative capacity at the Langley Porter Psychiatric Clinic, San Francisco.

During the summer quarter Joseph Klapper, of the University of Washington, gave courses in the department on social psychology and urban sociology.

Felix M. Keesing, executive head of the department, as United States Senior Commissioner on the South Pacific Commission attended the South Pacific Conference held in the spring under the commission's auspices at Suva, Fiji. Delegates of island populations met at the conference with representatives of governments holding nonself-governing territories in the Pacific to discuss their common problems. Later Dr. Keesing went on to Noumea, New Caledonia, to attend the fifth session of the South Pacific Commission.

World Association for Public Opinion Research.—At the annual meeting held in June at Lake Forest, Illinois, the following were elected: president, John F. Maloney, *Reader's Digest;* secretary-treasurer, Stuart C. Dodd, University of Washington; chairman of the nominating committee, Joseph R. Hockstim, Opinion Research Corporation; chairman of the research committee, J. Stevens Stock, Bureau of Labor Statistics; chairman of the public relations committee, Wilfred Sanders, Canadian Institute of Public Opinion. The chairman of the 1951 conference committee is Mark Abrams, Research Services, Ltd. (London). The conference will meet in early September, 1951, in London, jointly with the European Association for Public Opinion Research.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Sociology of Georg Simmel. Translated, edited, and with an Introduction by KURT H. WOLFF. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. lxiv+445. $5.50.

American sociologists have recently translated, compiled, and commented upon many works of various German sociologists. Among them are Howard Becker on von Wiese, Loomis on Tönnies, Parsons, Gerth, and Shils on Max Weber, Wyon on Troeltsch, Epstein on Sombart, and now Wolff on Simmel. What explains the apparent need for such publications? What is the importance of these men for America and the modern day?

This review will focus upon Simmel from the viewpoint of such questions. But first a few parenthetical remarks. Wolff makes Simmel more understandable by the introduction of terms which render Simmel's meaning more accurately than do currently used words. He also divides the long German sentences, subdivides chapters into smaller units, and adds an elucidating Introduction. The effect would be even greater if the translation included the entire *Sociologie* instead of the albeit well-selected chapters from this work and two shorter publications. However, this may be due to the difficulty of selling the longer writings of foreign authors.

To understand Simmel's position within the development of social thought, a few biographical remarks may be indispensable. Although he had only a small chance of advancing, since he was Jewish, nevertheless he chose an academic career. But, since he remained just a *Privatdozent* most of his life, he did not have to waste time in administrative and committee work and was free to expend his energies in teaching only a few hours a week. Regardless of what subject he chose within the realm of philosophy, psychology, or sociology, he enjoyed the presence of hundreds of students. Among them were many anti-Prussian Poles and Russian revolutionaries, including Mensheviki, Bolsheviki, and Narodniki, although Simmel himself was neither intellectually nor in practice a revolutionary. In view of this fact it is interesting to note that the government of Baden refused to call Simmel to Heidelberg for fear of revolution if this action were taken. In 1914 the University of Strassburg proposed him as a full professor. At that epoch the Alsatian intelligentsia was dissatisfied with the Wilhelminian regime. The latter was forced to make concessions and approved the calling of Simmel to Strassburg. Here he soon discovered that he was suffering from a lethal cancer. In consultation with his physician, Simmel carefully planned the last years of his life in order to terminate as many of his writings as possible before death. He died in 1918.

Simmel's career began as an "evolutionist" in the European sense of the term. That is, he believed in perceptible changes occurring at various places in space, more or less independently of one another and more or less automatically in the same sequence. Moreover, he considered such changes as representing successive progress. Thus he believed with every "evolutionist" rooted in Darwin and Spencer at that time that it is possible to compare and to measure values. Simmel even went so far as to be something of a biological pragmatist. Actually such a position was taken by many "liberal" scholars of the nineties who had lost contact with the church and who lived for the most part in the large cities such as Berlin. From his study of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, Simmel very soon accepted the theory of the limitation of pure reason and of the a priori and definitely abandoned positivism and evolutionism. At the same time neo-vitalistically-minded biologists such as Hans Driesch denied the validity of the mechanistic laws in the realm of the organic world, considered the processes of life unexplainable by the laws of physics, and asserted that life is to a certain degree self-determining. Furthermore, historically minded ethnologists such as Ratzel, Ankermann, and Graebner, and, most of all, the German Neo-Kantians attacked the epistemological, biological, and anthropological basis of Darwinism and evolutionism. Thus, even prior to World War I, the adherents of Darwinism retreated, and evolutionism lost importance, especially in so far as the development of Continental European sociology is concerned. Accordingly, in this translation Wolff has omitted

Simmel's publications of that epoch. Therefore, we may shift at once to Simmel's second period, as represented in the book under consideration.

In this period Simmel considered himself a philosopher rather than a sociologist. His philosophy is "idealism" of an antisensualist, antibiological, antipsychological, and antimaterialistic character. This philosophy is related to special sciences in a twofold way: Philosophy precedes them in the form of an epistemological foundation, but it follows them in the form of a philosophy of the particular topic (e.g., music) with which the special science under consideration is dealing. The special sciences themselves must be subdivided into natural and historical sciences. The former are concerned with the universal validity of the rule; the historical sciences, with the special cases of the rule. This idea is especially developed in the untranslated book *Die Probleme der Geschichtsphilosophie* ("The Problems of the Philosophy of History"). The following four attempts to explain historical phenomena are criticized here for being basically wrong and illicit. First, all unilateral determinism which considers any change to be the result of the one, always dominant cause, as, for example, Marxianism. Second, all constructions of a unilateral historical chain. Such a concept tries to explain changes occurring within the sequence of phenomena of the same kind, as, for example, musical phenomena, by constructing a chain of phenomena in which every link is supposed to be caused primarily by the preceding one within the same chain. Third, the equalization of psychological and historical laws. This explanation relates the former to the latter in a manner similar to the relation supposed to exist between physiological laws and the life of plants, presumed to be regulated by such physiological laws. For to be able to apply such laws of psychological character to historical phenomena in a successful form (i.e., in such a form that it provides us with valid knowledge), it would be necessary for the investigator to retrace the psychological content of the soul of every individual of historical importance to its origin, even beyond the personal consciousness of every individual under consideration. This is obviously impossible. Fourth, the equalization of laws of nature and the so-called "historical" laws. Such a concept considers historical phenomena as occurring in accordance with an automatism similar to that which regulates the sequence of occurrences within the realm of natural sciences and accordingly as predictable. But, in reality, there are at least two distinctions between the historical sciences and the natural sciences. The role of the individual not as the only but still as one of the indispensable factors in history must indeed be maintained; second, the mind must build and use concepts denoting historical complexities in their respective uniquenesses (e.g., the Italian Renaissance).

Inseparably connected with the concept of history are the concepts of sociology (which is supposed to belong to the sphere of nonnatural science) as well as of the object of sociology, namely, the society. In spite of some remarks which appear to define society as a reality comprehended in a nonatomistic sense, Simmel's two definitions of society as a sum either of interactions or of interacting individuals are nominalistic-atomistic. This being the topic of sociology, it can be subdivided into (*a*) general sociology, the study of the whole of historical life, in so far as it is formed societally; (*b*) formal sociology, the investigation of social phenomena as such, independent of their content; and (*c*) philosophical sociology, that is, the inquiry into the metaphysical rather than epistemological ramification of sociological study. The majority of Simmel's work as well as the content of Wolff's compilation belongs to the second part, namely, formal sociology. It concerns the relation of individual and society, the quantitative aspect of the group, especially the mass, the dyad and the triad, superordination and subordination, including bureaucracy. To this must be added the theory developed in the untranslated book, *Die Philosophie des Geldes* ("The Philosophy of Money"). Here Simmel argues that the increasing dominance of money in the modern occidental society is attended by the increasing opportunities for the individual to move, to make independent choices of the partner to be dealt with, and to remain in a nonpersonal relation to others. At the same time, the traditional types disappear, a general leveling occurs, and the culturally more valuable types must adapt themselves to the less valuable, especially to the mass type. Moreover, there is a disposition not only to express the value of every economic good in money but also to reduce every particular quality which appears in the realm of natural science to quantitative differences. The latter are assumed to be expressible by a formula. This formula, for its part, is supposed to be an application of one, or more than one, general rule to the special case under

consideration. The general rule is expected to approach as much as possible the form of a mathematical statement. This process of quantification within the realm of scientific thinking and the process of reducing the value of each economic good to a quantity of money are, sociopsychologically speaking, procedures of the same kind. For in both cases the comparison of phenomena has been rendered feasible by reducing them to a common denominator. This attitude and the incapacity or unwillingness to appreciate uniqueness, or to view historical phenomena with eyes other than those of the natural scientist, are characteristic expressions of the number mentality, the basic mentality of the money age.

The translator, Wolff, criticizes Simmel first for wrongly defining sociology as a "scientifico-philosophical enterprise" rather than as a pure special science; second, for defining philosophical sociology as an inquiry into the philosophical ramification of the sociological study rather than "an inquiry into the nature of reality suggested by the study of social phenomena"; third, for defining society in a sense not always purely atomistic; and, finally, for regarding society in a nonuniform way, once as a sum of interacting individuals and once as a sum of interactions. By doing so, Wolff shows his hand—not as a more productive scholar but certainly, at least to some extent, as a more logical thinker than Simmel. Nevertheless, enough remains to make Simmel an indispensable link in the chain of philosophical thinking. To substantiate this statement, let us see where Simmel stands in comparison with others.

Simmel's ideas, of course, presume Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, with its theory of the a priori, its separation of the sphere of pure reason, natural law, and necessity from the world of practical reason, religion, ethics, and freedom, and its refutation of the belief in the possibility of a pure empiricism. Moreover, Simmel's thought presumes the three refutations elaborated by that earlier Neo-Kantian, Friedrich Albert Lange. These are the refutations of Hegel's Platonic metaphysical construction of history and society; second, of the seemingly nonmetaphysical but actually rather crypto-metaphysical, naturalistic materialism; and, finally, of the economic determinism of Marx. But Schopenhauer as well as Lange claimed to be the true continuation of Kant. Simmel made both Kant and Schopenhauer the subject of special investigations. Schopenhauer and Simmel, it is true, accept Kant's separation of spheres, his belief in pre-eminence of practical reason over theoretical reason, and his consciousness of the existence of the radical evil. But while Schopenhauer's scorn of human weakness is a loveless Luciferian disdain, Simmel's gently Mephistophelian smile still contains an element of human sympathy. In the final analysis, Simmel is not a pessimist; rather he sees some possibilities of an increasing recognition of man's right and dignity and of a society that to some extent grants their realization. On this point he differs from Nietzsche. Indeed, there is a similarity in the brilliance of their style and their intuitive combination of particular phenomena into a universal historical concept; but there is a difference between Nietzsche's anticipation of an aesthetic, aristocratic culture of the future, guided by a small elite of supermen, on one hand, and Simmel's, certainly not formally democratic but nevertheless Kantian-humanitarian attitude.

Among the recent neo-Romanticists, all anti-intellectual pessimists who emphasize Asiatic mysticism, German peasantry, or complete antirationalism are basically different from Simmel. Certainly the latter is aware of the tragedy of modern man, but he never would have agreed to sacrifice theoretical scientific thinking, which he considered an inevitable and indispensable part of life. However, he felt a kinship with Henry Bergson, who attributed supremacy to the *élan vital* over scientific analysis, and with Stephan George, the Catholic poet, who emphasized distance and rank order. Through his concept of the money culture, Simmel directly anticipates some concepts used by Max Scheler in a much more phenomenologico-metaphysical sense and by Spengler to support his *Decline of the West*, although Simmel would have disagreed as to the automatism and accordingly as to the inescapability of the end of occidental culture. Here he is in agreement with Windelband, Rickert, Lask, Jellinek, Troeltsch, Sombart, and Max Weber (i.e., the southern German Neo-Kantians). Simmel, in common with them, holds to the Kantian limitation of the capacities of theoretical reason and to some of the historico-philosophical concepts mentioned above; for example, the denial of the equalization of natural and cultural sciences and of the possibility of elaborating historical rules similar to the natural ones and the acceptance of the role of the individual in determining world history. Simmel and Max Weber in particular are alike touched

by the problems raised by the neo-Romanticists. However, there are differences. The first difference lies in the domain of the special science, where Simmel occasionally maintains a gentle inclination toward a not purely atomistic concept of society in contrast to Weber's inexorable sociological nominalism. A second difference lies in the sphere of practical life and ethical judgment. Weber preaches the inescapability of sin, regardless of whether man chooses not to resist evil and therefore becomes ethically responsible for its continuance in the world or whether he struggles against evil and thereby becomes tainted through the use of power, that tool of evil. This almost apocalyptic dichotomy indeed lies far from Simmel. Simmel, too, was completely familiar with Tolstoy and Dostoevski; but, unlike Weber, he did not have to undergo an inner struggle with them or with the Sermon on the Mount. Although Simmel was aware of the tragedy of modern occidental man, he remained a Western intellectual. On the contrary, Max Weber had to convince himself again and again that it was his religioethical duty, despite his own temperament, to be an objective investigator and at the same time for patriotic reasons a realistic politician.

Although Simmel was aware that the work of every specialist must rest within the framework of a philosophical system, he likewise never claimed to have elaborated a complete philosophical system of his own.

What, then, in final analysis, is Simmel's unique contribution?

First, various parts of his explanation of the essence, limits, and indispensability of historical thinking; second, his unexcelled analysis of the changes brought about by the dominance of money within all spheres of life and thinking; and, third, countless special observations within the field of formal sociology. Von Wiese is often said to have contributed one of the most complete listings of the forms of human interaction. This is true only with reservation, for Wiese's classification is not based on history, and, accordingly, it is substantially incomplete. In contrast, Simmel's formal sociology is historically based and thus conforms more completely with reality. These facts explain the many recent translations of German sociologists.

For historical reasons, sociologists in the United States have developed a primarily experimental procedure and have applied the results to the solution of practical problems. At the same time, American scholars have been more impressed with the regularities in group life than with the uniqueness of the individual. Furthermore, they have been more interested in the present than in the whole of historical experience. But this emphasis is beginning to be considered insufficient.

Everyday forms of life and values, considered hitherto incontestable, disappear in unexpected situations. The individual detached from family and church and often isolated in the big city feels unable to cope with the new situation. The answer given by the specialized empirical sciences seems to be unsatisfactory. On the other hand, fascism, Catholicism, and sovietism claim to have answers to everyday problems and promise to spare the individual the necessity of thought and decision which he feels is beyond him. In the long run this means the elimination of the right to make independent decisions, that is, the elimination of that right for which the occidental world, as no other culture before, has struggled ever since the Middle Ages. It is not surprising, therefore, that those devoted to independence anxiously seek remedies which may prevent the development of a Catholic medievalism or an Asiatic gregariousness under the name of sovietism. To be sure, not simple facts are sought but rather systems (especially historical systems) concerned with the change, disappearance, and reappearance of phenomena.

Interest naturally turns to the Germans, who, although difficult to understand in their seeming self-contradiction, nevertheless have always been the creators of philosophical systems, historical thinking, and the combination of both, the philosophy of history. German thinkers since Kant—Friedrich Albert Lange, Rickert, Jellinek, Lask, Troeltsch, Max Weber, and Simmel—have insisted on the distinction between the world of natural laws (i.e., the reign of necessity) and the world of cultural sciences (i.e., the sphere of freedom). Moreover, they transcended simple empiricism while avoiding Platonic metaphysics. They worked for the right of the individual to make independent decisions in the spiritual sphere. Their systems, perhaps, can be of some help in the coming struggle. Western Europe may be dying; eastern Europe, even more than in the epoch of czarism, now stands outside occidental culture. Perhaps a continuance of the great German past in the realm of social philosophy and historical thinking will be found in this country.

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Cybernetics or Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine. By NORBERT WIENER. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1948. Pp. 194. $3.00.

The last two decades have witnessed the development of mathematical biology; in particular, the mathematical biology of the central nervous system. By postulating relatively simple laws of interaction between neurons or groups of neurons, but assuming structural arrangements of various degrees of complexity, a mathematical theory of a number of quantitatively measurable psychophysiological and psychological phenomena has been developed—for example, reaction times, comparative judgments, discrimination of intensities, and learning (A. S. Householder and H. D. Landahl, *Mathematical Biophysics of the Central Nervous System* [Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1945]). In many instances a remarkable agreement was found between the theoretically derived expressions and observed data. By considering even more complex structures, specific neural mechanisms have been suggested which possess some of the important properties of Gestalt transposition (N. Rashevsky, *Mathematical Biophysics* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938], chap. xxvii; W. S. McCulloch and W. Pitts, "How We Know Universals: The Perception of Auditory and Visual Forms," *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, IX [1947], 127–47; and J. T. Culbertson, "A Mechanism for Optic Nerve Conduction and Form Perception. I," *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, X [1948], 31–40, and "A Mechanism for Optic Nerve Conduction and Form Perception. II," *ibid.*, pp. 97–102) and also throw light on some higher mental activities (N. Rashevsky, "The Mathematical Biophysics of Some Mental Phenomena," *Bulletin of Mathematical Biophysics*, VII [1945], 115–31, and *Mathematical Biophysics* [rev. ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948]).

There is another new field which covers the developments of such varied engineering devices as computing machines, automatic control mechanisms, and all types of rapid communication equipment used in telegraphy and telephony (for an extensive bibliography see E. C. Berkeley, *Giant Brains* [New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949]). Some of the recent automatic control devices perform functions of a complexity which remind us of the human "mind." Yet, of course, both engineers and biologists are fully aware of the fact that a nerve fiber is not a wire, a neuron not an electronic tube, and a synapse not a switch. We may ask, however, an important question: "Is it not possible to develop a general mathematical theory of such features as are common to the brain and the machine?" In other words, is it not possible to develop a type of theory of isomorphism of function? If the answer to these questions is in the affirmative, then we are faced with a real progress in science, because the greater advances of science usually consist of establishing connections between apparently unconnected phenomena.

It is, therefore, particularly significant that no less a scientist than Norbert Wiener has written a book which does give us that affirmative answer. The word "cybernetics" is derived from the Greek *κυβερνήτη*, or "steersman," and implies the study of *steering* or governing systems, regardless of whether a system is a part of the brain which controls a complex movement of the body or an electromechanical device which controls the flight of a plane.

A thirty-three-page Introduction gives a historical review of the author's interest in this field in a personal, somewhat autobiographic, mood. The first chapter contains a nontechnical presentation of the problem of reversibility and discusses the difference between deterministic and statistical approaches in physics and biology. The next three chapters deal consecutively with "Groups and Statistical Mechanics," "Time Series, Information and Communication," and "Feed-Back and Oscillations." To a large extent they are mathematical, and a reader without mathematical training may find them rather difficult. The mathematical treatment is, however, accompanied by nontechnical discussions which give the nonmathematical reader a general idea of the subject matter. The reader should not look in these chapters for a discussion of the design of telephone transmitters, mechanical regulators for different types of engines, and the like. The author deals, as said above, with the problem of a general formal mathematical theory of the phenomena in question, a theory that is general enough to apply to any mechanism, whether biological or electromechanical. He illustrates the various possibilities, however, by mentioning examples from both biology and engineering.

Chapter iv, "Computing Machines and the Nervous System," is less mathematical than the preceding chapters. Again, the reader does not find here any engineering design of computers. It is the general theory of computers

and the neurobiological aspects that are discussed. The last three chapters—"Gestalt and Universals," "Cybernetics and Psychopathology," and "Information, Language and Society"—are not mathematical and will be enjoyed by any lay reader. There is a charming touch of humor in the discussion (pp. 172–73) of some analogies between disorders of computing machines and those of the brain.

The sociologist will be especially interested in the last chapter. The author is skeptical of the assumption that a knowledge of the laws of social phenomena will necessarily bring with it a possibility of controlling the destinies of society—a doubt which is heartily shared by the reviewer, though the latter does not share the author's implied skepticism as to the possibility of establishing general quantitative sociological laws.

Biologists may feel disappointed because of the lack of specific theoretical developments applicable to definite cases and may consider this a serious shortcoming. This lack is, however, due to the very nature of the book, which opens the field of a general theory to cover a large class of varied phenomena. The future will undoubtedly bring in more specific problems. It is usually a relatively easy task to find shortcomings, especially in a pioneering work. Anyone who likes may, without difficulty, enumerate the shortcomings, for example, of Newton's *Principia*. In the opinion of the reviewer, the value of a book is to be judged primarily by the answers to two questions: "Does it contain new ideas?" and "Does it suggest new lines of research?" For *Cybernetics* the answer to both is an unqualified "Yes."

One criticism the reviewer feels, however, compelled to make, and this is intended for the publisher: It is utterly inexcusable that such a book has no index!

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The Pre-election Polls of 1948: Report to the Committee on Analysis of Pre-election Polls and Forecasts. By FREDERICK MOSTELLER, HERBERT HYMAN, PHILIP J. MCCARTHY, ELI S. MARKS, and DAVID B. TRUMAN. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1949. Pp. xx+396. $2.50.

Surveys, Polls and Samples. By MILDRED PARTEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xii+623. $5.00.

In the book published by the Social Science Research Council the failure of the polls to predict the 1948 election is analyzed. Today, the echoes of the fiasco have died away; the main effect, aside from a few canceled contracts, is a healthy caution in the use of the word "scientific" in news releases. The work known as research proceeds on essentially the same old presuppositions in the unspoken hope that the clients, like the researchers, will forget. If a study done under pressure (in the six weeks between November 2 and December 15) can be monumental, this one is. It is a good, single study which mobilized efforts that would otherwise have produced several less effective investigations.

More than the standing of market research was involved in the pollers' failure. The many uses of sampling based on probability that boomed over the last fifteen years seemed on trial. The polls had become an established social phenomenon: there were congressional appropriations for population and agriculture sampling and growing demands for sampling experts and for the setting-up of schools for the better teaching of certain branches of mathematics. The Council wished to insure that the real if unplanned gains to science through this evolution would not be lost. It was urgent to find what it was in the polls that led to the disaster, in order to judge other work, such as, for example, the sample surveys on which government and the public increasingly rely for data.

The first topic to be examined was therefore the sampling methods of the polls. These have been questioned more and more widely since the 1944 election, when experts studied them on behalf of a congressional committee. The random selection which is the condition for the balancing-out of uncontrolled variation (error) and the calculation of its amount from the results of the sample itself had not generally been a part of the poller's method. If the sample were constrained on age, sex, and income, the moral and financial disaster of the *Literary Digest* would, it was thought, be avoided, control on age apparently being suggested by the differential between the voting of young and old during the 1930's. But such controls can eliminate only those sources of error revealed

in *preceding* elections. The trade-unions, which now have become a recognizable voting entity, will be treated as such, it is hoped, in surveys in the future; but by then, perhaps, the pollers will have learned to give all members of the population a known nonzero chance of selection.

No decisive evidence has appeared to prove that sampling defects alone accounted for the failure. It was rather that in certain states a "null result" was the only one that should have been predicted with the sizes of sample used. Any poll, however carefully made, will encounter elections before which it can say only that the result will be close. The poll in such cases gives an advance picture of too coarse a grain; resources at the disposal of the predictors are not easily extended for a close election and contracted for a landslide. This coarseness results not only from sampling error but from other difficulties well described by the committee—nonvoting, last-minute changes of opinion, the undecided group, etc.

Perhaps the sampling aspect can be brought out simply by starting from a somewhat ideal sample—the independent random selection of three thousand voters. For a party having 49 per cent of the electorate behind it there is almost one chance in twenty that the sample would show less than 46 per cent or more than 52 per cent. To make this error realistic, we would have to add that arising because of clustering, and we could deduct whatever gains stratification might secure. The net result for the degree of clustering usually considered efficient is likely to be nearly double the error of independent random selection (and indefinitely increasing from this point with biases in enumerator selection of respondents). A party could score 45 per cent in polls and 49 per cent in the election rather more often than once in twenty surveys with unbiased sampling. Thus, though there would be some improvement, the pollers could not have counted on random selection in any one survey to do very much better than the quota result. Added to this consideration is the grim evidence of persistence calculations—that in three out of four cases a simple assertion that the last election figures would be repeated is as good or better than the polls. Persistence as used by the committee staff seems an ingenious formulation of a minimum standard of accuracy, a level below which polls are worthless. The discussion of the handicap which the system of voting by states places on any prediction method is pertinent.

The assertion that the polls give "a faithful picture of the total electorate" (Gallup) is no qualification whatever. The statement that "a scientifically conducted and antiseptically clean survey will coincide with the actual choice of the voters within a close limit of error" (Roper) goes no further, except to suggest that an analogy of the food and drug laws may be applicable. The polling organizations are, as the report states, in a dilemma. If they are accurate, their releases lack news value; if they are spectacular, they sacrifice accuracy. Because the samplers are competing for attention in the news arena, they may be tempted to forego the long-run virtue of accuracy for a short-run advantage in making news.

One easily infers from the study that probability samplers who survey factual data meet the difficulty in so far as they tabulate and publish the errors of their results at the same time as the results themselves. Except for errors that are equally likely to occur in complete censuses the comparison of their survey results with outside sources cannot precipitate the surprise that the election of Mr. Truman offered. It is suggested in the *Report* that "one could say that a person's . . . preferring one candidate is motivated to some extent by some desire on his part." This seems an understatement. The chapter on political behavior stresses the need for research on the questions entering the minds of voters in a political campaign and the relation of these to the way in which they cast their votes. The influence of personality, as in the "coattail effect," would not be outside the scope of the pollers if they follow the committee's suggestions. The divisions of the public, the way in which events are converted into issues and become symbols around which support is effectively mobilized, the paths of influence along which opinions disperse through the population, including the way individuals respond to the suggestions of the organized groups to which they belong, are vital questions for which a political campaign provides a vast testing ground. It seems plain that, unless these questions are tackled systematically, the number of respondents in random samples must be increased greatly, and, even then, nonvoting and last-minute changes will often leave the issue in doubt.

Polling has now arrived at the point where textbooks are written on how to do it. Text-

books are not suited to the subleties of the subject; they blunt the fine points which have been developed in the theoretical literature. *Surveys, Polls and Samples*, whose subtitle is *Practical Procedures*, is arranged roughly in the order in which a survey is conducted. Anyone using it to carry out a survey for the first time could read the successive chapters as he went along.

The Parten work begins with a historical introduction to show the enormous extent of polling activity in the United States. Though we are all aware that the pulse of radio listeners is kept under observation by organized mail, telephone, street, and household surveys and that constant research, elaborately corrected for misstatement, is conducted on how readers read magazines, it appears also that General Motors, for example, asks owners to suggest mechanical improvements on its product and investigates their reactions to sales promotion and that the Reed Candy Company polls the opinions of the thirteen- to sixteen-year-olds on subjects of interest to school children.

Irrespective of the state of actual work, one wonders if an academic course could not make better use of the extensive theory and data available on many of the topics treated by the author. For example: "In designing schedules that are to be filled out by farmers, housewives, employers, or any other group, the level of education, the biases, and the interests or other characteristics which affect the ability and desire to fill in the form truthfully and correctly should be taken into consideration" (p. 153). Phenomenological psychologists have much to say on the way in which objects such as questionnaires come into the field of perception and are integrated with the subject's interest and preconceptions; their methods could help in decisions ranging from the physical form of the schedule to the questions (p. 175) that separate informed respondents from uninformed. Again, theory and empirical data on costs which Hansen, Mahalanobis, and others developed are ignored, the main contribution being a listing of survey costs and suggestions that they be kept to a minimum. Five chapters deal with samples: chapter iv on their role, chapter vii on their types, chapter viii on procedures for drawing them, chapter ix on their size, and chapter xvi on their evaluation. But, while these cover many important points, they hardly give the reader an understanding of what sampling can and cannot do. A single chapter on the principles of probability sampling would have given the reader the necessary grounding to make effective use of the services of an expert.

On many other points no theory exists, and the guidance provided is practical to the point of being superfluous. For example, on respondent's sex: "This item can be secured without asking questions if recorded for the informant only" (p. 165); on legibility: "If the manuscript is handwritten, the writer will save himself much grief if his writing can be easily deciphered by the typist" (p. 528); on ringing doorbells: "The interviewer should ring the bell or knock on the door rather briefly. He should not act impatient but should give the inhabitant sufficient time to answer. While waiting for a response, he should note the address, time of day, or other facts which he may need to record on the schedule or on his report" (p. 349).

Several pages are devoted to sampling from lists. Though the checking of lists to find out how complete they are has its place, the fact that lists which are incomplete may be made a frame for unbiased sampling by some device for picking up omitted addresses is much more important. Among the devices available are the use of the list merely to give measures of size of blocks, etc., with selected blocks to be relisted, and the taking of intervals between addresses as the sampling unit.

This textbook will undoubtedly be widely used. Its timeliness, covering as it does the 1948 election and more recent events, makes it a live piece of instructional material. It is helpful in describing devices such as code cards and hand tallies, which are the standby for the many surveys which are not backed up by a mechanical installation and which may sometimes be more efficient than those produced with mechanical equipment. It gives useful advice on the general administration of surveys, on wording and editing of schedules, and on preparation of reports.

NATHAN KEYFITZ

Ottawa

Movies: A Psychological Study. By MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN and NATHAN LEITES. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. 316. $4.00.

This volume is the first serious and systematic attempt to analyze the recurrent themes of American movies. The authors, viewing

movies as common and ready-made daydreams of our culture, achieve by a combined psychoanalytic and anthropological approach a striking and brilliant analysis.

The volume consists of four parts: the first deals with the typical movie patterns of love and romance; the second, with family relationships; the third, with violence and crime; and the fourth, broadly, with the relationship between the protagonists and those characters who observe and judge the protagonists.

The source material for the study is over two hundred American, British, and French films. Sixty of the American films—those "A" pictures with a contemporary urban setting released in New York City for the year following September 1, 1945—were given the most thorough analyses, and quantitative statements are occasionally made about them. In their interpretations the authors combine three classes of statements which have different degrees of confirmation. First, and best confirmed, are the statements of the manifest recurrent themes. Such, for example, is the theme of the "false appearance"; of the "good-bad girl" type of heroine who appears wicked but in reality is virtuous, or of the hero who appears a criminal though actually is not.

Second are the psychological interpretations of the emotional significance of such themes. Thus, in explaining the tendency of movie plots to deny dangerous impulses to the hero and to attribute them to the world about him, the authors at one time suggest that the hero is projecting his own hostility upon an attacking father figure and his forbidden sexual wishes upon a mother figure.

The third class of statements, which the authors consider least confirmed, relates the movie themes to cultural patterns in American life. Thus, in discussing the relative unimportance of manifest familial figures in movies, the authors cite the American habit of emphasizing the family one makes rather than the family one comes from and the expectation that a son will surpass his father rather than look upon him as a model of achievement.

Throughout the study the patterns typical of American films are compared with those of the British and French. In discussing the conflict between sacred and profane love, for example, an eat-your-cake-and-have-it-too solution of the American films is contrasted with a more tragic solution by the French. The British are less concerned because they avoid ambivalent images of heroines. In dramas of violence the most common American pattern, wherein the hero is threatened by external forces, is contrasted with the British, wherein the hero is threatened by destructive inner impulses. The French emphasize the irony of human justice. The authors are very careful to avoid value judgments in presenting such comparisons. In a concluding chapter are summarized the essential plot configurations which distinguish each of the three groups of films.

By the use of this psychoanalytic-cultural method in analyzing movie content, the authors arrive at interpretations which are full of insight. They bring into sharp focus the unique characteristics of our films and point out discrepancies between manifest and latent content. The insights are evidenced in such choice phrases as the following: the "good-bad girl," the "standing-offer man," the "rescuer of women," the "man-as-child," the "magic contact" (with a benefactor), the "missed opportunity" (of satisfying sexual impulses), and "fun morality" (the idea that, if you are not having fun, something is wrong with you).

There are many problems raised by a study of this kind which the authors, partly in their caution not to go beyond the data, have not touched upon. What, for example, is the significance of the fact that American films are so popular in England and France? Might the conclusions be modified by a sample which included "B" pictures, or those with rural settings, or all British and French films rather than the limited number released in this country? To what degree are the patterns tempered by extraneous factors; for example, were suicides not so strictly regulated by the industry's censorship board, there would probably be a much higher proportion in American films than the authors note.

It would likewise have been helpful had the authors made their own assumptions more explicit—assumptions, for example, about national characteristics and their expressions in popular culture, or about the process of identification between the members of the audience and the screen heroes and heroines.

This volume by Wolfenstein and Leites is of much greater significance than Edgar Dale's Payne Fund study of movie content or the more recent works of Kracauer and Parker Tyler. It is, without question, a major contribution to

the literature on the mass media and popular culture.

FREDERICK ELKIN

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A Village That Chose Progress: Chan Kom Revisited. By ROBERT REDFIELD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xiv+187. $2.75.

In 1931 Dr. Redfield made a community study of a little village in Yucatan named Chan Kom; seventeen years later, in 1948, he went back to study social change there. The resulting study is one of the few in existence in which we have an analysis of the same community at two distinct points in time by the same observer.

Chan Kom is today still a small community of between four and five hundred people but is considerably larger than seventeen years ago, when the population was only about 250. The increase in population has been accompanied by a number of interrelated and socially significant changes. The changes are those which have accompanied the successful plans of the community leaders to make Chan Kom the leading community of the area and to gain formal recognition of this by becoming a legal pueblo with a community office and a school affiliated with the national state. This has brought more contacts with the nearest town and city, more commerce, and more associations with officials. At one time it also promised a change from Catholicism to Protestantism, but, with the consequent threat to internal unity and Chan Kom's leadership among neighboring settlements, a reaction set in, and the early converts to Protestantism either went back to the old ways or left the village.

The account is one of remarkably successful cultural change under traditional Mayan leadership. The community, by and large, seems to be satisfied with its achievements. One interesting sidelight on the change is that it has been toward the things represented by Anglo-America: material progress, yet with a certain disdain for emotional excess and with an emphasis on work as a virtue and with an attitude that most recreation is a waste of time—all this in contrast to the Latin values of urban Mexico, with a delight in festivals, a need for extravagant forms of greeting, and persiflage in conversation.

In the final chapter a note of gloom is apparent as one looks to the fruits of having chosen the path of progress. In twenty years progress has meant continued social solidarity and increasing importance. But the path ahead, to more participation in the greater Mexican society, can only mean a weakening of internal social solidarity and a relative lessening of the power of the elders as compared with younger men who become technologists or in other ways participate in the larger society. Some of the elders have already foreseen this and for their own peace of mind have built places in the bush to which they can retire from time to time.

The title of the study implies that a village can choose the direction in which it will develop. If a case can be made for this, Redfield has done so in Chan Kom. This is a clear documentation of the voluntary choice to develop the community on the part of its leaders—and there is some indication that mere convenience of geographic location did not enter into the choice. Yet, similar "choices" must have occurred over and over in Yucatan as a part of the general process of cultural change—with the growth of cities like Merida, with the rise of Mexico as an independent national state, and with the spread of a money economy. Chan Kom must have been one of a number of villages so affected. In its area it stood out as a leader and neighboring villages as "less progressive." But can this be laid to "choice" any more than it could be said that Middletown "chose" to become a center in its region of Indiana?

Regardless of any ultimate answer to such questions, the studies of Chan Kom provide us with analyses of cultural change which show, in meaningful social contexts, the ways in which such changes actually come about—who serve as leaders, what determines their choice, and how social forces modify their decisions. Certain changes are rejected, as they threaten the unity and strength of the community, yet other quite drastic changes are very readily assimilated. Being remote from Merida and not in the path of a gold rush, Chan Kom has become a real laboratory in which to observe the processes of acculturation.

JOHN F. EMBREE

Yale University

The Jews: Their History, Culture, and Religion. Edited by LOUIS FINKELSTEIN. 2 vols. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xxxiii+744; 745–1431. $12.00 (set).

These volumes, prepared with the help of a grant from the American Jewish Committee, represent the fruits of a project started some seven years ago by Dr. Finkelstein, distinguished president of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America. Thirty-four specialists contribute studies under four rubrics: history of Judaism and the Jews; role of Judaism in civilization; sociology and demography of the Jews; and the Jewish religion.

Monographs are plentiful, and the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and the *Universal Jewish Encyclopedia* adequately fill the demand for survey articles. It is as an intermediate resource that *The Jews* should find many readers. Students who wish to supplement their knowledge in the field of ethnic groups and minority problems should find here a historical orientation on contemporary Jewish problems.

In general, we conclude that the standard attained is a high one. The various articles dealing with the Bible are handy summaries of available information. The history of the Jews is adequately explored, particularly in its earlier periods. Not only is their history in Western countries reviewed, but also the important though less well-known story of Jewish communities in Eastern countries. Jewish philosophy and literature are ably covered. The main tenets of the Jewish religion are effectively reviewed. Subjects of special interest are explored, as, for example, "Judaism and Art" and "The Mystical Element in Judaism." Each writer was allowed to add several pages of notes at the end of his contribution, together with a bibliography. There is also an appendix which details the pages where one may find the answers to questions commonly asked about Jews and Judaism.

In charting a guide to the study of these volumes, it is well to realize that the publication is both a collection of research by scholars with many different viewpoints as well as a *document* in itself. It mirrors the position of its sponsors and as such must be used with an understanding of its special emphases. The editor states:

> More complete information about Judaism may perhaps avert, in some degree, the growth of anti-Semitism.
>
> The long persistence of anti-Semitism may be due in part to the unwillingness of Jewish scholars and thinkers to deal with it. Apologetics for Judaism have been written from the days of Artapanus . . . but clearly the problem cannot be solved by apologetics. Judaism needs not a defense against calumny but an effective presentation and fulfillment.

It is to Dr. Finkelstein's credit that he lays bare his situation and gives us to understand that, as a scholar representing a minority group struggling toward equal rights in the American family, he views his present labors as an accommodative technique as well as a contribution to the final victory. The intellectual consequences of such a starting point can be summarized easily. They are of real interest to all students of racial and cultural relations. A considerable portion of the two volumes is devoted to such articles as "The Jewish Contribution to Music," "The Contribution of the Jews to Medicine," "Judaism and the Democratic Ideal," "The Contribution of Judaism to World Ethics," and "Science and Judaism." Much of this material is not organically related to what is the central problem of these volumes. Indeed, several contributions merely give us patiently compiled material on the feats of Jewish cultural heroes. This material does, however, have an important function, for it reassures the insecure member of a minority group as to his real worth and thereby adds to his self-esteem. It might be added that Jewish personalities and movements of great significance which do not measure up to "heroic" proportions are passed over in silence. For example, the role of Jews in radical movements, a subject of great importance, is merely given one sentence: "Similarly the modern Socialist movement was founded by Ferdinand Lassalle; while Karl Marx, who was of Jewish parentage though fundamentally and intensely antagonistic to Judaism, became the prophet of communism and one of the most influential figures of the age."

Another consequence is the lack of material on subjects which indicate developments in Jewish community life running counter to the "integrationalist" viewpoint. We have in mind particularly material on Jewish nationalistic and ethnocentric movements. Palestine during biblical days is well covered; modern Palestine is not dealt with. The editor accounts for this obvious omission by explaining the difficulty of communication with Israel during the hostilities there and the impossibility of checking references "because of war conditions." But surely there are native and resident scholars

capable of writing the story of Zionism, which is touched upon only tangentially in a contribution on "The Modern Renaissance of Hebrew Literature" and in several other places merely *en passant*. The editor feels compelled to explain away the growth of Jewish nationalism and place it in a universalist setting: "The complexity of modern life persuaded a considerable number of Zionists that the future of the Palestinian community and its full usefulness to the development of civilization would be impeded unless that community had self-government."

The particular emphases detailed above limit the material of specific interest to sociologists. Samuel Kohs's study of the American Jewish community is good as far as it goes. It fails, however, to present the story in terms of social process and leaves out much that might be considered, from the point of view of an interested party, to be poor public relations. Herskovits' "Who Are the Jews?" adequately summarizes the problem from the viewpoint of contemporary anthropology. "Sources of Jewish Statistics" by U. Z. Engelman analyzes the difficult problems encountered in estimating Jewish populations. "Jewish Religious Life and Institutions in America" by Moshe Davis covers the story well in the historical section, but the obvious interest and bias displayed by the author when contemporary problems are reviewed limits its usefulness. Nathan Reich's "The Economic Structure of Modern Jewry" is a straightforward treatment of available information in this field. As the editor recognizes in his "Prefatory Letter," owing to the limitations of present-day knowledge in this field, the sociological material is the least satisfactory of all the subjects presented in the volumes. This, then, sets the stage for future work.

MARSHALL SKLARE

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Catholic Social Thought: Its Approach to Contemporary Problems. By MELVIN J. WILLIAMS. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. xv+567. $5.00.

Dr. Williams wrote on the topic of Catholic social thought for his doctorate in sociology at Duke University in 1941 and now publishes this dissertation in somewhat amplified form. He states in the Preface that he is a member of the Methodist church. One very notable feature of his work is the lack of all trace of bias in his studies. Another feature is its comprehensiveness, for Williams not only gives a brief survey of Roman Catholic social thought from Thomas Aquinas to the present day but covers more than a century of recent development in the United States and Great Britain, with some mention of France, Germany, and other countries, in sociology and several of its specialized branches, economics, political science, history, anthropology, and social work. He uses the term "Catholic" to include anyone "who was or is a member of the Catholic Church and who has shown sympathy with some or all Catholic social teaching" (p. viii). For this reason N. Timasheff and Herbert Agar are included, as is the important German sociologist Max Scheler (whose Catholic connections are treated at length by John M. Oesterreicher, "Max Scheler and the Faith," *The Thomist*, XIII, [April, 1950], 135–203); the exclusion of Comte is reasonable, but Montesquieu and D. W. Brogan (the Scottish counterpart of Agar) are not included; and Francis Bacon and Otto von Gierke seem to be included in error.

In his conclusion (p. 432) Williams states that Catholic sociologists possess a " 'scientific attitude' which few non-Catholics possess. For most Catholic sociologists admit that their approach to sociology is 'colored by a philosophy' "—which is useful to the scholar who examines their studies. Many others who adhere to the philosophies of materialism, Hegelianism, Freudianism, and the like do not always clearly admit, or even perhaps realize, their particular slant. The object of his book has been, indeed, to examine what precisely is the social philosophy to which Roman Catholics subscribe and how it has affected their work. He specifically exempts himself (p. vii) from giving a "review of 'official' Catholic social thought or philosophy," since this has been handled competently by a number of Catholics. His brief review of Catholic social philosophy is, however, very well stated in the early chapters. It will correct some of the errors to be found in certain well-known histories of social thought. Catholics will wish that he had taken note of more recent statements of the American hierarchy than that of 1940 and of the present Pope's attitude toward woman's place in the world (the 1945 and 1947 pronouncements) and that he had given a clearer view of Catholic ideas about the natural law and the ownership of private property. Because the ideas on the Traditionalists (pp. 45–46) seem to be taken only from a short article on them, no

account is made of the fact that in turning from the individualism of influential thinkers of their time, and emphasizing the influence of society in the molding of the individual, De Bonald and De Maistre ignored the "personalist" aspect in Catholic social teaching. But these ideas can easily be read about elsewhere and are minor deficiencies in a valuable survey.

The amount of work which Williams devoted to his study is apparent when one notes not only his lucid summaries of Catholic social thought in the past but also the vast coverage of present-day topics. Inevitably, so wide a range includes some errors. Priests, bishops, and cardinals at times get somewhat mixed as to title or are given no title at all ("Cardinal" Bossuet, pp. 200–201, was a bishop; A. J. Muench, p. 324, and Edwin V. O'Hara, p. 344, are bishops; "Albert" LeRoy, p. 160, is Archbishop Alexandre LeRoy; etc.). Some typographical errors include Cavardi *for* Civardi, Leclerq *for* Leclercq, M. J. Legrange *for* M. J. Legrand, and Angiers *for* Angers. Often the author has to resort to lists of names to include those who hold a particular theory, type of thinking, or method; and these are not always well chosen; sometimes men who have written but one article or a mediocre dissertation appear in lists before scholars of repute. Some notable omissions are Gerald Schnepp, S.M., John L. Thomas, S.J., Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., E. K. Francis, Richard J. Purcell, Henry Spiegel, Toniolo in Italy, and the work of the "Économie et humanisme" group in France. Dr. Garrod, the well-known Cambridge University archeologist, and Dr. Ruth Reed in the United States are allotted but cursory notice, yet the latter has also published several substantial works on the family and on illegitimacy.

All social scientists have advanced rapidly in thought and method within the last ten years, and Catholics are no exception to the rule. Perhaps it is due to the fact that the author must have done the major part of his research before 1941 that Catholics will find several statements which certainly are not correct today. Writers of a few mediocre articles are noted as leading scholars; some who are anything but "scientific" in outlook in the accepted sense of the term are listed as leading others in that direction. No account is taken of the changed outlook in thought noted in the *American Catholic Sociological Review* (Vol. X, No. 1 [March, 1949]), and often important later articles of the scholars mentioned are omitted. The author generously acknowledges the help of a number of Catholics in his Preface, but the present reviewer, who is among them, had not seen the manuscript since the spring of 1941, and from reading his work it would seem that others had seen it only shortly thereafter.

If the reader will bear these small deficiencies in mind, then Williams' work may indeed be recommended as the only existing summary of Catholic social thought which thus far has appeared in English, one which calls attention to the fact that there have been many Catholics whose work has been somewhat neglected, and which also gives summaries of the work of the social historian Christopher Dawson and others not easily available elsewhere.

EVA J. ROSS

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Patterns of Panic. By JOOST A. M. MEERLOO. New York: International Universities Press, 1950. Pp. 120. $2.00.

Although military psychologists and disaster relief workers as well as professional social scientists have long been concerned with the phenomenon of panic, the available literature is remarkably meager, consisting largely of journalistic accounts and *ad hoc* interpretations of descriptions by a few eyewitnesses. Dr. Meerloo's contribution—one of the few books now available—is addressed primarily not to social psychologists but to relief workers, doctors, and others who deal with frightened people. Hence, while abundant descriptive accounts are included, theoretical considerations are kept to a minimum, and the author announces at the outset that he hopes to deal in more detail with the underlying theory in a subsequent publication.

The major weakness of this volume arises from the author's inability to identify precisely the nature of the class of phenomenon with which he is dealing. In the formal presentation he declares that he is concerned with (1) individual reactions to fright and (2) collective "explosions." "One speaks of panic when a dangerous occurrence causes a spontaneous, disorganizing reaction in the individual or the community. . . . The socially important factor is the sudden reaction, the decomposing effect, the disintegration of the social formation or the individual which results" (p. 11). Subsequently, he discusses fleeing troops on the battlefield, the reaction of an isolated man caught in an earthquake,

collective tension in an inadequately defined situation, lynching mobs and plundering troops, spy hysterias, the confused voter in an election, and stampeding patrons in a theater fire—all as instances of panic. The question may be raised as to whether all these different forms of individual and collective behavior may be regarded as instances of the same generic process. So many different referents for a single concept make it impossible to formulate and verify precise generalizations.

Although the author is a psychiatrist and uses psychoanalytic terminology, his theory of panic is somewhat different in emphasis from that explicitly formulated by Freud. When men feel helpless in the face of what is regarded as dangerous, they become unsocialized; it is the "uncultivated animal" that acts. Panic reactions are regarded as regressions: severely frightened individuals, as the author points out, may drool, assume fetal postures, prattle and giggle, and suffer from diarrhea and enuresis.

Sociologists are probably more concerned with collective panic than with individual fright. Unfortunately, the distinction between the two made in the initial chapter becomes quite blurred in subsequent portions of the book. To be sure, a "panic crowd" consists of frightened individuals, but the problem still remains of accounting for the manner in which the affective orientation becomes shared. Is collective panic to be regarded as the simultaneous and similar reactions of a number of psychologically isolated individuals, or is each individual in some manner affected by his perception of others? Dr. Meerloo speaks of panic as a "contagious disease" for which a few "ringleaders"—whom he characterizes as psychopathic—are responsible. Thus, implicit in the author's treatment of collective panic is the contention that the direction of activity is built up in the course of the interaction of the individuals with one another. Unfortunately, however, there is no systematic discussion of the conditions under which human beings become highly sensitized to expressions of fear on the part of their fellows or of the process, which is simply designated as "panic contagion."

The volume contains a wealth of anecdotal descriptive material. The forty-seven-item Bibliography will be of considerable assistance to serious students of elementary collective behavior. On the whole, however, it adds little to the existing inadequate knowledge of panic. While the author is making a pioneering effort in an undeveloped area of inquiry, it is to be hoped that he will introduce greater precision in his future formulations.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI
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Cooperative Group Living: An International Symposium on Group Farming and the Sociology of Cooperation. Edited by HENRIK F. INFIELD and JOSEPH B. MAIER. New York: Henry Koosis & Co., 1950. Pp. vi+261. $3.50.

When anomy prevails in any society, there will be many who yearn for the familistic *Gemeinschaft* believed to be found in co-operatively operated farming enterprises and communities. Also, when the larger society requires that members violate their norms, as is the case with groups of conscientious objectors, they may long for co-operative enterprises of their own. Because of rapid changes with accompanying secularization and great personal insecurity, the interest in group and co-operative farming is on the increase. This book will, therefore, have an audience. Its twenty-two chapters, written by twenty authors, deal with group farming in the United States, Canada, the Soviet Union, Mexico, Israel, England, Nova Scotia, French North Africa, and Germany. The industrial co-operatives of China are also treated, and considerable attention is given to various principles involved in co-operation in general and group farming in particular.

Although Infield's three chapters and introduction are objective descriptions and analysis and although the book contains excellent thumbnail sketches of the Mexican *ejido*, the *kolkhoz* of Russia, the *kevutzah* and similar organizations in Palestine, the Antigonish Movement in Nova Scotia, and the co-operatives in China, Germany, and North Africa, most of it is a polemic for co-operatives which are contrasted with competitive farming operations. For example, we read: "On the ordinary family farm diversification means usually overwork for the farmer himself and exploitation of wife and children. So long as the wife and children do not protest too vigorously, it may go on, as no wages are charged against it. In some communal groups a similar situation may arise; but the accounting should reveal whether or not labor is being used efficiently" (L. E. Drayton on p. 41). "When crops and prices permit, [the Saskatche-

wan family wheat farmer] is likely to move into a town or city for the winter months. . . . The wheat farmer tends to exploit his land, and to remove himself from any emotional association with the soil. He is driven by the economic facts in his life to invest in more land than he can properly farm. . . . There are strong strains of individualism in the wheat farmer" (Williams on p. 51). The fact that much of the book is a polemic for what has gone under the term "co-operation" obscures the fact that all group activity is co-operative and that the agencies described are not so different from so-called "capitalistic" activities as the authors assume.

The book may be criticized for failing to take into account cross-cultural variations in social structure and values which may either foster or hinder the idealized type of co-operative activity. This is obvious in many places, including the following: "Urban workers who are in constant contact with each other at work usually agree well. . . . It is no insuperable task for a group of farmers to remain on friendly terms with the group. . . . It would appear essential that the domain of cooperation be marked out and that the members be left an area, preferably in their home life, where they can express and develop their individuality" (L. E. Drayton on p. 44). Certainly the Russian peasant of the last generation, accustomed as he was to the various restraints of the mir, and the isolated rancher or wheat farmer have different needs for privacy and sociability. Such variations are not discussed in the book.

Sociometricians will be interested in an analysis and comparison of interpersonal relations between fifteen settlers at Matador, Saskatchewan, and fifteen at Macedonia, Georgia. Group coherence was measured by a study of mutual choices, and the social status score of each person was calculated on the basis of the number of times he or she was chosen as companion in working, bunking, eating, hunting, town-visiting, and in sports and in discussing farm and personal problems. Infield, the author of this, the most scientific and objective part of the book, does not furnish the first data to disprove Bronfenbrenner's claim that persons who are accepted on the basis of one criterion are likely to be accepted on the basis of other criteria. Most recent data on this are furnished in Helen Jennings' revised *Leadership and Isolation* and Bobbie Norfleet's article, "Interpersonal Relations and Group Productivity," *Journal of Social Issues*, Volume IV, No. 2 (spring, 1948).

CHARLES P. LOOMIS
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Cases and Readings on Law and Society in Three Books, Book One: *Law and Society in Evolution;* Book Two: *Law in Modern Democratic Society;* Book Three: *Law, Totalitarianism and Democracy.* By SIDNEY POST SIMPSON and JULIUS STONE, with the collaboration of MAGDALENA SCHOCH. St. Paul, Minn.: West Publishing Co., 1948–49. Pp. 692; 1592; 2389.

There are several hundreds of selections gathered into these volumes. I am sure that it must be the largest and most comprehensive set of selections ever put together on the relation of society and law. The sociological bent is made evident by the fact that Roscoe Pound wrote the Introduction and by the nature of the several essays written by the compiling authors themselves. Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown are quoted in the first book, along with Maine, Hartland, Vinogradoff, and other classical writers on the evolution of law. But it is the evolutionary conceptions of Maine and others of his school which are given the greater weight. One could have wished more attention had been given to simple local communities and other units not strictly of kin; to communities where a mixture of peoples has compelled some composing of difference of concept and rule; to the crises in social control occasioned by migration, conquests, revolution, and catastrophe. Such matters appear to be treated (in a section entitled "From Kin to Political Institutions") rather as some ancient series of generalized events playing a part in some single evolution of the law than as repeated processes which are with us today on a large scale and perhaps will be with our race as long as we survive on the earth. However, I am reluctant to push such a criticism because of the fact that in the wealth of selections presented almost any idea ever expressed about these matters turns up in some form or other.

I was also a bit disappointed that the cases from among primitive and exotic societies are not really cases but general descriptions. It would be good to have in our comparative study of law and society some cases of actual quarrels in other cultures, so that one could see their

kinds of evidence and reasoning in the same detail as in cases presented from courts in our own part of the world.

After the book on the evolution of law comes one on the effects of the industrial revolution on society and law. The authors' Introduction to it is an outstanding original contribution. It is an essay on the interaction between the laissez faire conception and the facts of life that should be included in any sociological treatment of law in modern society. The last volume contains a rich selection not merely of general statements concerning the consequences for law of the totalitarian philosophies but of cases from courts in Nazi Germany.

Where one is dealing with so fine a collection of ideas and material one can do little but recommend it to others. The authors have made available to anyone interested in a comparative sociology of law a fascinating and valuable collection. I am confident that many generations of students and teachers of social science, as well as of law, will be grateful to them.

EVERETT C. HUGHES
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Society and Its Criminals. By PAUL REIWALD. Translated and edited by T. E. JAMES. New York: International Universities Press, 1950. Pp. xix+315. $4.50.

This psychoanalytic interpretation of the criminal law was translated from a German work published in Switzerland in 1948. The author is a lawyer-turned-psychoanalyst. The book organizes a wide array of ethnological, historical, legal, and psychological facts into a systematic interpretation of the criminal law. The principles of this system of thought have been stated by Freud and other psychoanalysts but are here elaborated and developed better than in any other psychoanalytic treatise on the criminal law. The important question with which the book deals is that of the emotions which are released in society by criminal behavior and the part these play in the criminal law. The argument is that society must retain the criminal to satisfy its emotional needs for punishment and for aggression; society fights the criminal but does so in a manner which perpetuates him. This process in society is similar to self-punishment in the neurotic; and criminal law might be called a societal neurosis. Reiwald pays particular attention to crime novels, newspaper accounts of crimes, and other popular expression of interest in crime. This interest is interpreted as due to infantile sexual curiosity, as an expression of need for punishment, and as a displacement of aggression; also, it is due to identification with the criminal, for we have all stood before the punishing judge in the person of the father.

The validity of this system of thought depends primarily upon its basic concepts. With a few exceptions the system has internal consistency, but so do the systems constructed by patients of the psychoanalysts. Among the basic concepts are instincts, especially the instinct of aggression, and the unconscious. Reiwald's interpretation has no validity and little meaning to one who denies the instincts and the unconscious, as do many scholars in the social and psychological sciences. Consequently, this book does not represent empirical science, as the translator states, but a philosophical system. Reiwald states that criminal justice is incomprehensible without the acceptance of the unconscious, but this means merely that Reiwald's particular interpretation cannot be made without this assumption. Reiwald implies that the persons who do not make this assumption wish to retain the scaffold and the prison in order to satisfy their own need for punishment.

In company with other psychoanalysts, Reiwald's theory closely approaches an "iron law of aggression": there is a relatively fixed fund of aggression in the person which must be released in one manner if not in another. He speaks of the "indestructible strength of the human instincts" and asks whether the reduction in the murder rate in the earlier generation was not the reason for the world wars. Consistent with this position, he states that punishment is "immortal" and changes only in minor details. This is in direct conflict with the findings of Durkheim, Ranulf, and other sociologists who not only noted wide variations in the principle of punishment but developed cultural hypotheses to explain them. At this point Reiwald consistently advocates substitutes for punishment, a proposition which is obviously in conflict with his concept of the "immortality" of punishment. He speaks with enthusiasm of Aichhorn's policies of mildness and kindness; of the English Prevention of Crimes Act of 1908, which "reduced crimes 20 per cent"; and of a similar statute in Australia which "reduced crimes 50 per cent." But he makes no attempt to explain why the emotional needs for the criminal were lowered in

England and Australia so that these statutes which reduced punishment could be enacted. This conclusion, inconsistent as it is with his general interpretation of the criminal law, raises the question whether his general interpretation is not primarily an attack on criminal law from the point of view of policy; he seems to attack the criminal law by innuendo rather than by a rational demonstration that punishment is less effective than some other method of protecting society against crime.

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Chance To Belong: Story of the Los Angeles Youth Project, 1943–1949. By DUANE ROBINSON. New York: Woman's Press, 1949. Pp. xvii+173. $5.00.

This book is a report of the Los Angeles Youth Project, an organized endeavor initiated in 1943 to offer services on a large scale to youths in disadvantaged groups in the city. The project was a concerted response of the community as a whole to the tensions and social unrest of insecurely established minority groups and newcomers most acutely affected by the wartime growth of the city. These dislocations had come to the fore during the summer of 1943 in the "zoot-suit" riots, hostile outbreaks between servicemen and gangs of Negro and Mexican-American youth. Ten, and, later, eleven, private agencies combined to develop a program to attract "slum" youth; they were soon joined by such public bodies as the Board of Education and the City Recreation Committee.

Both in its method of attack and in the ambiguous significance of what was accomplished, the Los Angeles Youth Project poses a number of questions which must be faced by any community presuming to deal with the problems commonly subsumed under "delinquency." In the youth-serving programs of agencies the range of vision is limited by the facilities and techniques at their disposal and their assumptions, the most important of which are those concerning the nature of the persons to be served, the objectives to be sought, and the extent to which the services offered actually assist in the achievement of the latter.

It is to the credit of the Los Angeles Youth Project that a clear insight into the character of the problems of underprivileged youth led to a number of modifications of the traditional approach. The project made a distinction between youth accessible through conventional programs and those for whom a special approach had to be devised. In practice this led to the setting-up of a Special Service Unit designed to contact and work directly with "delinquent gangs" and to introduce them gradually to agency services.

A further and equally important modification was the decision of the Youth Project to work on an area basis rather than segmentally through the city-wide agencies as units. The author does not state the antecedents of such a plan, but it is clear from the description of the districts that they are those whose populations are known to share many social and economic characteristics and problems. This decision soon brought out the issue of the division of labor between agencies operating within a given area, and the relation of agency expansion to the most pressing of local problems. The function of area co-ordinator was developed to meet this contingency. His office placed a premium upon a close acquaintance with the inhabitants and problems of the area and demanded personal qualities of imagination, flexibility, and ingenuity.

The very multiplicity and diversity of local problems confronting area co-ordinator and agencies affected the methods and tactics that could be applied. The co-ordinator had to work with indigenous social forces and to encourage them to assume increasing responsibility for local programs. Where such local leadership had not developed, he had to call it into existence. Agencies, churches, schools, playgrounds, and other facilities were all utilized.

There are three possible criteria for the evaluation of such programs: (1) some objective index such as a diminishing rate of official delinquency; (2) an appraisal of the subtle changes in self-conceptions and social orientations of the youth reached; and (3) an examination of the assumptions and values which lie behind and motivate the program. This work has not rested its case upon changes in rates, although a decline in official delinquency is suggested. Nor has it attempted a thoroughgoing evaluation of the changes in attitudes and conduct of the youth served. The attempt made at self-criticism was primarily in terms of considerations that would increase the efficiency of the existing organization as organization. Consequently, the book not only stops far short of adequate evalu-

ation but indicates also the extreme difficulty of doing so.

This report treats insufficiently or not at all of a number of issues which arise from the various dimensions of the social relationship between project workers and youth. The first refers to the qualifications and training requisite to the selection of workers who can establish effective contact with slum youth and particularly with those generally inaccessible to conventional agency programs. The second is the problem inhering in the difficulty of transferral of "delinquent gangs" and other inaccessible youth into regular agency programs; the report comments on frequent difficulties and disappointments. Perhaps the actual problem is one of unrealistic expectations. The assumption behind such attempts at transferral is that the desirable goal of work with any group of youth is the forming of a club. But this not only may be an imposition alien to their way of life but may even destroy their original informal interpersonal relationships.

In so far as this book attempts the task of inquiring into the meaning of such projects to the young people themselves, it does so in the terminology of group work. For example: "Group workers are interested in the growth of a group from its primitive beginnings to the maturity of a highly democratic, cooperative group. This growth should bring increasing security and satisfaction to the members and permit them to develop those qualities of personality and character which have been accepted as desirable for our culture" (pp. 164–65). It is submitted that such ideology may serve merely as a blinder rather than a stimulus to further investigation into the significance of their activity for the youth concerned.

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EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN SOCIOLOGY AFTER TWO WORLD WARS[1]

FLORIAN ZNANIECKI

ABSTRACT

The suppression of sociology in Europe by adherents of several conflicting ideologies, indicates that sociology is practically important precisely because it is an objective science. The two world wars made social thinkers realize the growing interdependence between cultures manifested in the causal and functional relationships between diverse social groups. A study of such groups all over the world thus becomes the main function of sociology. This function requires changes in methods. Since social groups are cultural systems, the naturalistic approach to social phenomena must be eliminated. Since they are dynamic systems and their relations continually change, the antithesis between statics and dynamics must be solved.

We cannot understand fully the present condition of sociology or predict its future without taking into consideration the impact of the two world wars upon the task of sociology as a science, the range of sociological problems, and the methods used to solve them.

We must remember that before the first World War the main achievement of Europe in the realm of social thought was the development of objective sociological theory, independent of any philosophy of values, and of methodical research, independent of practical social problems. This began in the countries where freedom of thought was least impeded and where immediate practical issues did not seem too urgent, that is, in France, England, and a little later in Germany and Austria. It spread rapidly in the United States, more slowly in other countries.

The first World War brought into focus many practical problems on a world-wide scale; but the peace treaties seemed for a while to have settled the most important of them. Objective sociology continued to grow in France, Germany, and the United States; and it expanded into the countries which regained their independence, especially Poland and Czechoslovakia. In Soviet Russia, however, after the Bolshevik revolution, sociological theory disappeared, although some monographic research continued. A few years later, Italian sociology began to be impeded by the Fascists. In Germany, when Hitler came to power, scientific sociology was entirely eliminated, and after the German invasion of Europe it was repressed in all conquered countries.

With liberation from Nazi control, sociology has fully revived in France and Poland—less so in Czechoslovakia. It is beginning to revive in western Germany and Italy. The situation in Poland is highly sig-

[1] Address given to the Midwest Sociological Society, Omaha, April 21, 1950.

nificant. You may have read Abel's enthusiastic report in the February number of the *Sociological Review*. There is, undoubtedly, a strong sociological movement in Poland. But in his optimism I believe Abel underestimated the possible influence of certain recent trends, especially the increasing pressure of political authorities to make Polish sociologists accept Marxism-Leninism as the one absolutely valid social theory and to direct the results of sociological research exclusively to the development of the Communist state.

Why this recent widespread tendency to eliminate or limit sociology as an objective science?

Certainly it is not because sociologists are judged to be useless in practice, inclosed in an "ivory tower," gathering knowledge without answering the question: "knowledge for what?" Rather it is because they are considered dangerous by the adherents of certain ideologies, dangerous not only as theorists whose generalizations may disagree with the dogmas of communism, fascism, naziism, or some other doctrine, but also as objective investigators of contemporary events. Agents who, under the guidance of some ideology, introduce changes in social reality which from their point of view are absolutely *right* cannot bear to have their activity and its results scientifically investigated or objectively compared with the activities of others whose ideologies conflict with their own.

Thus, the history of European sociology since the first World War is instructive as to the relationship between sociological theory and social practice. It is now obvious that sociology cannot be made subservient to practical ideals without losing its theoretic validity and, in the long run, its utility. There is only one way to promote the development of sociological theory and at the same time the usefulness of its applications and that is by considering every attempt to solve a social problem as if it were an experiment in which some sociological theory may be tested. This requires, first of all, that the theoretic assumption underlying the practical activity be clearly defined and that the total course of the activity be methodically investigated. As a consequence of such investigation, the theoretic assumption may be validated or invalidated, or the practical experiment may result in new discoveries leading to hypotheses which will modify, supplement, or expand the original theory; and these can be tested by new experiments. This is already being done by many American sociologists. They are aware, of course, that practical problems usually require the cooperation of other scientists; and, obviously, in order to use this method, sociologists must be allowed to observe what social agents are doing. One of the most important practical experiments in human history is now being carried on—the United Nations—based mostly on theories of statesmen. I have often wished that sociologists might be given an opportunity to investigate this experiment thoroughly and objectively, but there seems to be no hope of this, and not only because of ideological conflicts.

The second well-known effect of the two wars upon social thought in general is an awareness of the growing interdependence between societies with widely different cultures all over the world and a realization of the powerful influence of these cultures as bonds of in-group solidarity and as factors of intergroup conflicts. Since in Europe, where nearly forty different national cultures coexist, the influence of cultural nationalism grew steadily during the nineteenth century, European social thinkers became aware of this before their American colleagues. The first World War made it obvious that the same social forces were already active on other continents. Political thinkers and leaders tried to eliminate culture as a source of conflict by making states more or less coextensive with cultural nationalities and protecting the rights of cultural minorities in areas where such coextension could not be achieved. The final failure of this attempt, the ineffectiveness of the

League of Nations, and the unprecedented manifestations during the second World War of the power of cultural nationalism in aggression and defense have brought this problem into the foreground of social thought.

Consequently, many students are now trying to develop some kind of synthetic conception of particular national cultures, based on the idea that every such culture in its totality is somehow integrated. Such attempts, of course, can be traced far back into the philosophy of history: to Herder, Hegel, and, more recently, Spengler and Toynbee. But they have gained new impetus from cultural anthropology, since anthropologists have found synthetic conceptions of nonliterate cultures seemingly much easier than historians have found them when dealing with more complex literary cultures.

Such studies, however, leave untouched a problem which is most significant from the practical and from the theoretical point of view: what do societies with different cultures have in common and what kind of exact generalizations—taxonomic, causal, functional—can be drawn from a comparative analysis of them? The age-old conception of a uniform "human nature" seems to provide an easy solution. Of course, the vast diversity of cultures and their undeniable influence upon human lives eliminate once and forever all biological explanations of cultural similarities and differences; the last survival of this explanation—the racial doctrine—is no longer considered by scientists as a theory to be criticized, only as a cultural phenomenon to be investigated. But psychological theories which combine comparative studies of biological and cultural factors in the formation of human personalities have been expanding at an unprecedented rate, largely because of their wide use in solving practical problems concerning human individuals. And, at the present time, some of the thinkers and leaders who are striving to overcome international conflicts and to promote international unity look upon psychology as the only general science which, by discovering the essential uniformities of human nature underlying cultural variations, can help in the achieving of their goal.

Sociology must dispel this illusion. National solidarity and international conflicts are not individual, but group, phenomena, and they can be explained only by a systematic comparative study of social groups. In every collectivity where common national culture is a bond of social unity, similar social groups can be found. There are, for instance, educational groups, transmitting the culture and imparting national loyalty to the young generation; groups attempting to assimilate or dominate ethnic foreigners or to defend their own culture and nationality against such attempts; groups functioning for the development of original contributions to the national culture in such realms as literature, art, history, philosophy, technology, natural science; groups promoting economic co-operation within their own nationality in competition with ethnic foreigners; groups exerting political pressure upon governments in favor of their own nationality; groups carrying on internal and external nationalistic propaganda; and so on. On the other hand, we also find groups composed of members of various nationalities tending to develop cultural co-operation between them. Comparative study of such groups constitutes an important task of sociological research.

But this is only a part of the function of sociology. For there are many other kinds of social groups of various size and complexity: religious groups, which sociologists of religion are studying; governmental groups, which those political scientists who function as sociologists, rather than as practical thinkers, have been investigating for some time; organized class groups, which have been growing in size and power in the past hundred years; industrial and commercial groups, the study of which is already recognized as a part of sociology; military groups, of which the first sys-

tematic study was made in antiquity by Polybius. If we want to understand what is going on in the modern world, we must investigate all these groups comparatively as social systems and discover their multiple relationships.

This does not imply, however, that sociologists can neglect the individual. For the individual, after all, is not a passive object of social control but an active participant in social life, a contributor to the maintenance of culture, often to its creative growth, sometimes to its destruction. But from the sociological point of view he should be considered primarily as a participant interacting with other participants and only secondarily as a total personality. This sociological approach is steadily developing. We notice two different, but mutually supplementary, trends. On the one hand, some sociologists investigate culturally patterned, normatively regulated systems of relationships between a particular individual and a number of others: a teacher and her pupils, a physician and his patients, a merchant and his customers, a hero and his worshipers. The term "social role" has been coined to denote such systems. On the other hand, sociometrists and students of informal groupings among the members of organized groups investigate interpersonal attitudes and actions which are apparently not subjected to specific standards and norms but spontaneously initiated and maintained. All these studies of interindividual relationships constitute an indispensable connecting link between the sociology of social groups and social psychology.

The recent growth of the scientific functions of sociology has raised important methodological issues. We are familiar with the concerted efforts of certain American sociologists to make sociology an exact natural science, on the model of physics, by a combination of radical empiricism and mathematical dogmatism. According to their basic doctrines, only those phenomena can be scientifically investigated which are fully accessible to sensory observation and only those generalizations about phenomena are truly scientific which can be mathematically formulated. This has led to a multiplicity of logically unconnected statistical generalizations, most of which contribute little, if anything, to the solution of those complex and diverse sociological problems which we have mentioned here. Sociologists should remember that cultural systems, unlike natural systems, must be studied as they are experienced, not by external observers but by those agents who conceive them, produce them, and keep them in existence by acting individually and collectively on their behalf. And as methodologists they should be aware that the relationship between problems and methods is reciprocal, not one-sided. Mathematics should be used not as an a priori criterion for the selection and definition of sociological problems but as an instrument for the solution of those specific problems which require quantitative methods. There are vital problems which are now awaiting the use of such methods—for instance, the measurement of the expansion or recession of modern ideologies, the increase or decrease of the power of various social groups, and so on.

Another, very old, methodological issue remains unsolved. Throughout the history of social thought we find, on the one hand, studies of presumably stable collectivities with an inner static order—mainly political and ethical, but also religious, technical, and economic—and, on the other hand, studies of changes in those collectivities—wars, revolutions, migrations, and moral, religious, technical, and economic changes. This dualism was accepted by the founders of sociology, explicitly so by Comte in his distinction between "social statics" and "social dynamics," and it continues to affect sociological thought to this very day. Some sociologists give priority to the static approach; they speak of the theory of "social structure," "institutional structure," or "social order" as the foundation of sociology. To others the theory of change, defined as "social process," is the foundation. But

neither of these functions when applied to the modern world. Nowadays there is no static structure anywhere, outside of a few culturally isolated communities; new social groups and social roles continually evolve, become functionally integrated or functionally differentiated, change under the impact of external changes. On the other hand, there are no "processes" of social change which can be defined and investigated apart from those evolving social systems with their dynamic functional order and their causal interrelationships. Sociologists must devise a new heuristic approach which will synthesize those two.

Thus, at the middle of this century, sociology faces a tremendous task—but not an impossible one. Let sociologists cease to be involved in metaphysical doctrines concerning the essence of the universe, natural and cultural, or in ontological doctrines of the essence of man as a natural and cultural microcosm within the macrocosm. To be a science, sociology must deal specifically and exclusively with social systems. This is enough to make it more important from the humanistic point of view than any other science; for social systems constitute that category of cultural systems on which the very existence of all culture, including science itself, and, indeed, the existence of all mankind, depend.

We, the older generation of sociologists, who have worked all our lives and barely suucceeded in starting our science on its new road, must leave the performance of this task to the younger generation. May they profit by our errors even more than by our achievements. And, most of all, may they be fully aware of their great responsibility to mankind, not merely as active participants in social life but primarily as scientists. For adequate scientific knowledge of social systems and their relationships is a fundamental condition without which no long-term planning for a harmoniously united and increasingly creative humanity can be realized.

University of Illinois

RESEARCH IN LABOR UNIONS

KERMIT EBY

ABSTRACT

Typically the student of the labor movement relies primarily or solely upon memorandums, convention proceedings, and written questionnaires, yet the personal, political, and dynamic nature of the labor movement inevitably makes these formal records inadequate. Since every phase of labor history is conditioned by the political and human character of the labor movement, genuine understanding can be attained only by active participation in the union and intimate association with the men who determine its history.

Eighteen years of my life have been spent working with or for organized labor. The first six were during the depression and the formation of the UAW–CIO in Michigan; the second six were spent as executive secretary of the Chicago Teachers Union (AF of L); the third six were spent in Washington, D.C., as assistant director and then director of education and research for the CIO. During most of that time I was constantly solicited by students who were studying some aspect of the labor movement, and heaven alone knows how many questionnaires I filled out in the last twelve years which they sent to me and to other union officers. Now I am a teacher and, if anything, more busy than ever trying to help students interested in organized labor, labor leaders, and labor politics meet their academic requirements and incidentally learn a little about the world they are studying. The statements which follow, being a product of my experience, are certainly subjective and most certainly conditioned by my particular background and philosophy.

The initial interviews I have had with students about to embark on a piece of labor research characteristically bring forth an individual eager with questions, eager to know and understand the dynamics and color of labor. But then—and this is for me always the saddening aspect—all too often I find they expect to satisfy this thirst through conscientious hours spent in the file cabinets of union offices and by a bulky mailing of long and detailed questionnaires.

Students who come to the labor unions expecting to find confidential and revealing documents are usually disappointed. In the first place, there are few such files and few such documents. This is a technological era, and the diary and the epistolatory art are dead. Things once written are now settled over the telephone, and seldom is there a secretary at the other end taking down the boss's immortal words. Nor are the significant statements arrived at by the leaders in political huddles recorded. Theirs are usually gentlemen's agreements within the framework of existing forces and balances. Furthermore, the labor movement is not far removed from the days of the Pinkerton raids and company stooges, and men who have had their files raided before are not too anxious to incriminate themselves again by establishing intimate records. It is only recently that the tapping of telephones has become respectable. Nor are the labor leaders influenced by the vacuum they create for future historians when they fail to put into writing their more significant conversations and agreements. And, what is more unfortunate, files filled with matters of secondary importance are regularly thrown away. The accumulated records and considerable of Sidney Hillman's correspondence were consigned to the wastebasket after his death, and Mr. Kroll regularly cleans his own files.

This is serious, but not too serious, however. All memos are political, written in a political environment for political reasons. They are written for the record and can be

interpreted only if that record and the persons involved in it are understood. None is written to facilitate the writing of theses. Instead, they are written to interpret events at a meeting in such a way as to give direction to the next meeting or, conversely, to reverse the direction projected at the last.

To illustrate: I brought with me to the University of Chicago the memorandums I wrote while in the CIO. Occasionally I look at them and dream about a book which might be writen on power and policy formation in the CIO. More often, however, I recall the meetings out of which the memos grew, the people present, the relaxed or heated exchanges, the jockeyings for position—all the little interplays which become discernible only when one knows the balances between men and events. So, should I use these memos, I should use them as pegs on which to hang all the unwritten impressions and happenings, certainly never as the final word. Only memory can fill in the scene when Alan Haywood came into Mr. Murray's office as I was pleading for an expanded budget and completely upset my well-laid plans by asking how many dues-paying members educators brought into the CIO. Memos are not dedicated to a description of the nuances of events and the personalities of the men through whom the events are enacted.

Memos written by the several labor leaders and experts vary quite naturally according to the political and other purposes of the men who write them. It was often my delightful experience to go through the jockeying necessary to get a memo on some economically significant issue on one or the other of the bosses' desks. Other men motivated by their ideologies and ambitions did likewise. Consequently, our bosses, under pressure from their advisers, like all good politicians, had each expert comment on the other's work and sometimes a third on both. In the process victories or defeats were registered.

Furthermore, men who feel deeply fight hard and, being human, are likely to record in their files their original memos or the amended versions which reflect their point of view. To be specific: I would want to see both the Jim Carey and the Lee Pressman versions of any event in which both participated in the CIO and both the Mary Herrick and the Ethel Parker versions of anything which took place in the Chicago Teachers Union. These were aggressive personalities, motivated by definite drives for power, related to different philosophies of history. Thus clashes of personality and interest flowed inevitably from their relationships with one another.

Every organization has its official documents, and the labor movement is no exception. The most important in the latter are the report of the president or of the president and the board to the convention. The convention report and resolutions usually include the president's report and the reports of the various staff people, plus the reports of constitutional or standing committees. These reports, with a foreword by the president, give an account of the administration's stewardship. But, here again, the student who looks to these documents as a source of knowledge and understanding must remember that they, no less than the memos, are written in a political milieu and that therefore meaningful insights can be gleaned from them only if the student is acute to the influences operating therein.

Naturally each department head or committee chairman is conscious of the nature of the report; each realizes his department or committee will be justified by it, or not. In it he makes both himself and the administration "look good" and argues incidentally for the continuation of his department or committee. But it is not only the relation of the staff to the administration which plays a part in the preparation of these reports; there is also the ambitions of each department head and committee chairman and his political orientation. More than once have I read reports in which these differences have shaded the meanings and the implications of the report, and, silly as it may seem, played

a part in the number of pages allocated to one department as contrasted with the space given another.

Convention reports are a little more spontaneous. It is not easy to control delegates as a staff. However, as more and more labor organizations are made up of bureaucrats, the same problems are rising to the surface. What is discussed at labor meetings is more or less controlled by the presiding chairman through his recognition of spokesmen. Often the same is true of demonstrations and applause. Novices, ignorant of the nature of the process, often assume a degree of democracy which is nonexistent. Particularly is this true of left-wing unions where discussion is permitted as long as it supports the line at the given moment.

Resolutions which purport to express the will of the members and act as a guide to the organization for the following year may be a product of the expressed hopes of the rank-and-file delegates from some local. Or they may be prepared by some staff man and in turn planted in a local delegation. If the staff person does not wish to follow such resolutions through the long process of the union machinery, he turns them in indirectly to the secretary of the resolutions committee and begins the nursing procedure with friendly members of the resolutions committee. Really important resolutions, such as those dealing with wages, communism, or foreign policy, are specifically intrusted to staff rather than to spontaneous action. They are prepared at the order of the leaders, approved by them, and usually agreed upon before they are put into the hopper. When they come before the convention, the officers speak for them in direct order of their rank in the union hierarchy, and they are usually passed unanimously. Lesser resolutions, such as those supporting a labor extension bill, are passed mechanically, and too long speeches in support of them are frowned upon. But in the final report of the convention there is no indication of the process by which resolutions were adopted or of their initiating source. Such information does not come ready packaged for the student. He must search for it himself in the living dynamics of the unions, by getting as close a view of the process as he possibly can while it is going on.

Enough has been said about these reports of the president and the convention and the resolutions which grow out of the convention if it is perfectly clear that they are not created in a vacuum; that even a report such as the president's is caught in the cross-currents of personal and political differences. Nevertheless, with the possible exception of official minutes, these are the most adequate sources of a picture of union activity. While I was with the Chicago Teachers Union all meetings of the executive board and house of representatives were recorded by a competent office secretary as well as by the recording secretary. Occasionally there were discrepancies due to the political bias of the recording secretary, who, after all, was a political official. For example, if one wanted to get a true picture of the facts in the Fewkes-Eby struggle in 1941, it would be absolutely necessary to have access to both these reports, stenographic and official. Similarly, in the CIO, the main motions are recorded by Mr. Carey, secretary-treasurer, at executive board meetings, but the stenographic reports are used as the basis of the secretary's reports. At the national convention and other large meetings the records are taken down by court reporters or stenotypists.

When exact reports are kept, there is little possibility of error. The human factor comes in only during the editing process, where an omission, a change of emphasis, or a little editing can make quite a difference in the total emphasis. Unfortunately, these reports are not easily available to researchers and historians. And without them a true picture of the inside struggles of the organization is difficult to understand and describe. For example, one of the best Ph.D. theses at the University of Chicago describing the relation of the Chicago Teachers Union to the political structure of the labor movement in

the city lacks the insights which access to the records of the Teachers Union would have supplied.

Up to the present I have not heard of a single student having had access to the official minutes of the CIO executive board meetings or any of its internationals. Only time will make them available. Studies of the day-by-day workings of the union are much less difficult. Here the records of the press, checked with the reports of the union, make possible a complete story. The reason, of course, is obvious. Internal political power struggles are covered up, and the attention of the public is not invited to them. But in the struggles for economic gains the opposite is true. One has only to imagine the degree of resistance he would experience studying the personnel practices of unions and the co-operation unions would give to a study of the personnel practices of industry.

The files of union offices are filled with pamphlets describing the unions' economic and social programs. How many I wrote I do not know. I do know, however, that they were written with two objectives in mind: the activization of the rank and file and the wooing of the public to the union's point of view through identifying the union's interest with the public interest. This material is always available, and so are the speeches and testimonies in support of particular legislation. Sometimes I think that some of the finest and most objective presentations in all union literature are contained in the testimonies before congressional committees. The introductory statement contains the position of the union, and the argument confirms it. Hence, there is little room for evasion or circumlocution. If there is circumlocution, it comes in the interpretations given those speeches and testimonies in the labor press. There are no objective labor papers, and most of them are dedicated to the maintenance and creation of the boss as a superman. They will cease to be so if and when the leaders are mature enough to hire a man who is willing to emphasize news more and union bosses less.

As a source of understanding of the union movement and union personalities the questionnaire, particularly the mailed questionnaire, is even more deceptive than misunderstood documents. In the first place, busy union officials have not time to fill out questionnaires. Union leaders and staff men are busy men—so busy, in fact, that they play low man on the totem pole when questionnaires come into their offices. Mr. Murray sends them to Jim Carey, who theoretically determines which staff man is most competent to fill them out and passes them on to him. If the staff man is busy, he decides which one of his assistants is to be the "fall guy" and presents the task to him. Generally, it does not rest there but is passed on to the assistant's secretary. She, poor girl, has no one to pass them on to.

Being the educational officer in both labor organizations in which I served, it always seemed to me that I got more than my share of questionnaires. Perhaps this was because the political officers who passed them on to me felt that there was some relation between education and questionnaires or, more likely, that union educators are a little less indispensable than other union people and would therefore be more inclined to fill out the blanks. Most certainly their time is less valuable than that of a busy lawyer fighting Taft-Hartley or a busy researcher working on a wage case. Be that as it may, the largest number of questionnaires ever to come to my desk at one time was eleven. I filled out nine. Then, incapable of devising new variations, I had my secretary fill out the last two. I understand that these replies are part of a book which purports to describe *The New Men of Power*.

Questionnaires often add to the burden of an already overburdened man. They are impersonal instruments to plague the unwary —an exercise with which men of affairs do not concern themselves but with which lesser men may concern themselves if they have nothing more important to do. I wish every

person who has sent or who contemplates sending a questionnaire to an official of the CIO or one of its staff men could see in his mind's eye the stack of mail which daily comes to such a man's desk and understand why matters of immediate concern to the union come first—why Mr. Murray reads the badly scrawled personal letters from steelworkers before anything else on his desk —and realize that most union leaders are activists unsuited by temperament to the minutiae of desk work.

Of course, not all questionnaires go to the "top brass." Some go to the tertiary and secondary leadership, some to the rank and file. The possibilities of getting a well-studied reply from one of the officers of labor's lower echelons are better. The latter are not quite so busy and are more likely to be impressed with a letter from a university or college. They meet fewer "big shots." And most certainly their replies will be more authentic, for they have fewer people to do their work for them.

Questionnaires too often seem to desire to ascertain the obvious or to prove the already agreed-upon. I am more inclined to trust the insight of the novelist than the measurement of the statistician. I say that I did not handle all questionnaires in the manner of the eleven mentioned above. There were times when I knew the person who sent them or when the letter of introduction or the contents of the questionnaire stimulated my interest. These naturally received more than perfunctory replies, and, if I confess to being human, I would also guess that others were no less so. But the variation still prevails. There is no department or person within the labor movement whose chief task it is to see that questionnaires are properly and equitably handled.

As Merlyn Pitzele so clearly said in the spring issue of *Labor and Nation,* "Union politics do not stop at the union's edge. They are public politics as well." Understanding union politics is therefore a social necessity.

But the motives of this politics can only be understood by people who participate in it. Consequently, we need to find and develop in labor's own ranks men who as participant-observers are conscious of the history they are making and are willing to write about it. This might best be done by a kind of workers' education which deals with ideas and is not so everlastingly pragmatic that it seldom goes beyond public speaking and stewardship training. It is only, it seems to me, when men have a sense of history that they will be willing to write about it.

The age-old dilemma that men who make history seldom write it and those who write it seldom make it perhaps cannot be reconciled, but we can at least advise students to go into the movement, become a part of it, and get close to its history. Is there any reason why research clinics should not be set up to investigate men and events? Why should the history that is made by a union political boss not be taken down? Students might work with, work for, and even live with the boss and take down his reminiscences in moments of relaxation. Why could not clinics get together the available information about any event and then check with the history-maker, it being understood that anything he said would be kept confidential until a reasonable period after his death.

I have been aware, over the years, of the amount of history labor leaders take with them to their graves, and it is the kind of history which puts flesh on the bones of fact. When I first came to the Chicago Teachers Union and began to handle their negotiations, I was thrown in constant contact with John Fitzpatrick, the old AF of L pioneer. Occasionally he would be in a talkative mood, and the insight he gave me on AF of L politics and personalities was more profound than anything I ever read in books. For years I have spent hours quizzing men like John Brophy of the CIO about John L. Lewis. Brophy is a man who knows Lewis and the miners better than any other man alive, and no record exists of his knowledge outside his life and memory. Why should

not a student live with a man like John Brophy, write his biography, bring together the history which his life encompassed, and then speculate, if he must, on how different the miners would be today if Brophy had headed them rather than Lewis. There is precedent for this. In ancient times the young men followed their teachers and soaked up their lives and wisdom. If it is not done this way and soon, much of the history of the CIO will never be written. Van Bittner died without leaving a record, yet his life cut across the last fifty years of labor history.

It must be pointed out, however, that a relationship which can lead to an honest exchange of thought is not built overnight. Most labor leaders who come up from the ranks distrust intellectuals. Consequently, for an intellectual to lose his identity in the ranks of labor and become accepted for himself alone is difficult indeed. It is precisely because the achievement of rapport is difficult that it is of primary importance for the student who undertakes an extensive research project in the field of labor and industrial relations to become oriented. In order to study the world of the labor movement, we must go to it, for it will not come to us.

In doing so, we must learn to appreciate the reality of the "factory world" and get acquainted with the worker, the smell of grease and oil and sweat, the lunch basket, the sound of factory noise, the compulsion of the assembly line, a ride at midnight on a crowded bus loaded with fellow-workers. We must learn to meet workers as people, not as concepts or as elements in an economic theory. We must get to know intimately those men who contribute most of their time to their fellow-workers. Experiences on the assembly line are valuable, for they are the real and vital areas of conflict confronting union organization. We must know the situations as they arise through sitting in the smoke-filled rooms, through discussions with men over a glass of beer after a union meeting, by standing in the picket line during a strike, or through discussions at conventions with members of other locals. Such participation is on the problems as they exist, and it orients the student realistically to the union situation. It is only by an understanding of the world which produces the man that the man himself can be understood, and neither the man nor the world can be understood unless the struggles of the man are shared.

This I learned early in my union experience, for, while I did not share all the struggles of the auto workers, I did bore holes in the running boards at Studebaker. I know how it feels to be tied to a machine. I helped organize in Michigan when we were afraid to meet in homes, and I went through the Flint sit-down days, helped peel potatoes and crank mimeographs, spoke in rooms filled with company goons, and had my teaching contract held up for my troubles. During these and other days I took part in many a goodly fellowship made up of men who were willing to die so that their children would know a better world. It is in such experiences that confidences are won and, once won, become sacred and not to be exploited. It is out of such experiences and relationships that men's souls are molded and in such experiences and relationships that they bare them.

It takes time and several beers to bring a life into focus. I do not think that I really understood Alan Haywood, for example, until we were riding home from Cleveland one night and he told me how he went down into the mines of England as a boy of eleven to help support his family, and how one Sunday his father took him to a union meeting to hear the great Keir Hardy.

To return to the subject of questionnaires and the worker: if questionnaires must be used, keep them short. Confine them to a few leading questions and, above all, avoid taking notes. If you are accepted, gently guide the conversation while you work with the man, and you will be surprised at what you will learn. Above all, do not begin with the questionnaire. Let its answering become

a common task of questioned and questioner. The labor movement is a profoundly dynamic movement and a highly political movement and, like all dynamic and political movements made up of human beings, refuses to remain fixed in time and space. Many students have asked me: "What does labor want? What do workers think?" And I could only reply, "What union, what local, what man?" From knowing them, I understood a little of the differences between Hillman's Amalgamated and Murray's Steel and between Reuther's and Addes' Auto Workers. After explaining to students the difficulty of giving an easy answer, I attempted to explain that the whole was a blending of the parts and that the parts had to be understood to give meaning to the whole.

Many years ago, when I was a boy on an Indiana farm, I was taught to believe that cicadas were both mysterious and poisonous. Consequently, I was attracted to the dead shells they left behind under the apple trees. I knew that, being only empty shells, they could not hurt me, and they gave me a picture of locust anatomy. All these empty shells lacked were body, life, and motion! Later, in college, I learned that cicadas were not poisonous. Realizing this, I was wildly impatient for the next August when I might catch and see and study that mysterious insect which so enlivened the hot summer afternoons. To this day I am thrilled by the contrast between the inner dynamics and the overt form and by the knowledge that investigation must not be limited to empty shells.

University of Chicago

LEADERSHIP IN A LOCAL UNION

JOEL SEIDMAN, JACK LONDON, AND BERNARD KARSH

ABSTRACT

The circumstances of joining a union become relatively unimportant where the union's method of operation, the status it achieves, or the pressure of events leads people to become active in its affairs. All the leaders of a union local identified themselves with the union and believed it had brought about substantial gains. Such identification indicates that the union has become a way of life, serving the needs of its members apart from, and in addition to, the reasons that initially brought it into existence. Convictions such as these leaders reported make it appear certain that the union is here to stay.

I. INTRODUCTION

The local union, with its group of leaders and active members, is the basic unit of the American labor movement. Although current academic and popular interest centers upon the national leadership of important national unions or federations, to the fifteen million organized workers of the country their national union is a distant source of power and the federation with which the national union is affiliated is little more than an abstraction. The union experiences of the member are in the local union, which is one of between sixty-five and seventy-five thousand locals in the country. The officers who mean most to him are those who manage the affairs of his local union, together with the grievance man or steward who represents the union in his department.

The leaders in these locals are often unknown beyond the ranks of their members and the companies with which they bargain, but they constitute the backbone of the labor movement, influence the attitudes of members and employers toward it, and shape its functions to a significant extent. Who are these leaders? How and why did they join the union and become active in it? What do they think they accomplish? What is their conception of the accomplishments of the union, and why, in their judgment, do some workers refuse to join? Would it matter to them if their union disappeared?

In an effort to find preliminary answers to these and related questions the authors undertook to study, as a pilot project, a local union of the United Steelworkers of America. This study, which is part of a larger project carried on by the authors at the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago, is concerned with the orientation or attitudes of local union members at three levels of participation—leaders, active rank-and-file members, and inactive members. A comprehensive interview guide was constructed, with the aid of an interdisciplinary committee,[1] to include questions on the union, the employer, the community, and family and organizational background.

The United Steelworkers of America local selected for study has a reputation for militancy. It has about fourteen thousand members, all employed in a midwestern integrated steel mill. The mill produces finished steel products, which are then fabricated by other companies. Between the local union and the steel company there is conflict and suspicion. The authors selected this local because the local was large enough to raise problems with regard to significant differences in orientation between the leaders and rank-and-file members; the union bargained with a company where policy was made locally—a bargaining relationship in which a high degree of autonomy was enjoyed by both parties; and a great deal of co-operation was offered by the officers of

[1] The interdisciplinary committee was composed of faculty members from sociology, economics, political science, human development, industrial relations, and the social science staff of the College of the University of Chicago.

the local. Finally, the plant was readily accessible to university investigators.

The local union has thirteen officers and twenty-one grievance committeemen, or "grievers" (four of whom are also officers at present), elected biennially. To these thirty officials were added chairmen of key committees and past presidents, to form a group of thirty-six leaders. Thirty of these thirty-six have been interviewed,[2] and the material thus gathered has been supplemented by observation of virtually all types of local activities over eleven months. The authors also had the advantage of frequent conversations with the leaders and active rank-and-file members. This paper summarizes and analyzes the responses of the leaders in this one local to a few significant questions in the interview.

Out of the total of one hundred and nineteen questions, eight were selected for analysis in this paper. Taken as a whole, the responses to these eight questions reveal the concept of unionism held by a group of local leaders. Two of the questions relate to the circumstances under which the leader joined the union and to his judgment of the reasons why some workers refuse to join. Two other questions relate to union activity, one on how the leader happened to become active and the other on what keeps him active. Two questions deal with the achievements of the union as viewed by its leaders. Finally, two questions inquire into the leaders' opinions and feelings with regard to the disappearance of the union. These questions define the role that the union plays in the lives of its leaders, the reasons given for joining and becoming active, the leaders' conception of the local's accomplishments, and the importance to them of the continued existence of the union.

II. JOINING THE UNION

The circumstances under which a worker joins a union suggests his initial orientation toward unionism. Those interviewed were asked, "How did you happen to join local ———?" and, later in the interview, "Why do you think some refuse to join?" In response to the earlier question, an overwhelming majority of the leadership group reported themselves sympathetic to unions prior to the organization of the local at the plant.[3] Twenty-two out of twenty-eight[4] joined the union when the original organizing efforts were made at the mill, some because of family background, earlier work experience or union membership, or their experiences at the plant under nonunion conditions. These men had independently become union sympathizers. They were among the earliest to join, and many of them helped to organize the workers in their departments.

Sometimes conditions in general were responsible, sometimes a particular experience. Illustrative of the former was the statement, "After only two or three days I caught on to

[2] The union leaders were interviewed at the union hall or at any other place convenient to them. Some interviews were held at home, some in bars, some on picket lines. Inactive members, however, were interviewed at their homes, unless they suggested the union hall. An effort was made to interview each person in an environment to which he was accustomed, in the belief that rapport is more readily established there and that more honest and revealing answers are given. The interviewers were careful to avoid showing disapproval, by word or gesture, of any attitude expressed. Everyone interviewed was assured that all material would be kept confidential and that his identity would not be revealed to anyone. The interviews averaged from one to four hours in length, the most frequent length being between one and a half and two hours. Notes were taken during the interview and were written up as quickly afterward as was possible under the circumstances.

[3] In evaluating these responses, the possibility must be borne in mind that a leader, with the best of intentions, may no longer be able to report accurately how he happened to join the union. The passage of from five to fifteen years may have blurred his memory or have led to a rationalization or idealization of his conduct consistent with his conception of himself as a union leader.

[4] The reason that a varying number of leaders answered the questions is that not all leaders gave usable answers. The authors added and revised questions during the initial stage of their study. Time did not permit re-interviewing of those who were not asked the questions subsequently added to our interview guide.

the setup, and I didn't like it. The men were being pushed around a lot. The only way to get some action was to join the union and start beefing about conditions." With others, union interest began with some unpleasant incident:

> We were having trouble with oil in our furnace. I found out what was the matter and told them what to do. The superintendent walked up and started questioning me and told me that maybe I did it on purpose because I corrected the trouble at once. A helper helped me argue, and he asked me to join the union because I had guts enough to argue with a superintendent. They made me a steward as soon as I joined.

Another leader became a union member after he was discharged for what he considered a minor offense.[5]

Typically, then, the leader of this local joined the union when it was organized and was instrumental in getting other workers to join. He was sympathetic to unionism before entering the company's employ or became a union sympathizer because of his experiences there. Sympathetic persons such as these are to be found in virtually any unorganized plant in this country, and the success of an organizing effort largely depends upon the union's ability to discover them and to persuade them to accept union leadership.

Only six of the leaders held no pro-union convictions at the time the union started. One was convinced he should join the union by the argument that it was hopeless to expect improvement through individual effort: "I heard the fellows talk about it in the mill. They were all saying that you can't get any place by yourself, but you have to get the guys together, and then maybe you can do something."

A significant minority joined under pressure. Some did not believe in unions at the time, and still others were simply ignorant of them. "I didn't know anything about the union," one stated; "I suppose I joined in order to jump in line with the majority to say I was a union member. It didn't mean much to me at that time." Finally, there was a leader who joined, despite his opposition to the union, in response to a suggestion from his foreman, whose interest was in uninterrupted production:

> Personally, I joined in one of the dues-inspection lines.[6]. . . I didn't think the union was very good. I felt that they were a bunch of radicals stirring up a lot of trouble. . . . To tell you the truth, one of the foremen convinced us to join because everybody else was joining. A couple of times I climbed over the fence to get into the mill. The foreman said that instead of holding men out of the plant, we might as well join and get our production going.

Later in the interview we asked the leaders, "Why do you think some refuse to join?" None of the union leaders pointed to defects in the union or to practices of its leaders in their explanations. The largest group of reasons related to the antiunion environment surrounding many and the antiunion propaganda to which the workers had been exposed. One leader explained:

> I think some of them are sincere in their principles in thinking that the union is no good. Others don't belong because they just don't think it's right, without analyzing it. Some think we are a bunch of reds and not fit to associate with. Some may be management-oriented through family ties. . . . I think they shy away from anything so radical, and they are conservative.

A major reason was that some could not afford, or did not want to pay, dues. As one leader put it:

> There are free-riders who don't want to pay $2.00. If membership were voluntarily available to members without dues, we would have

[5] At the time of this incident a worker discharged in one department could secure a job in another part of the mill under different supervision.

[6] The dues-inspection line is a device employed by this local to exert pressure upon nonunion workers to join the union. The local maintains pickets for three or four days, who demand that workers entering the mill show their union membership cards. Nonmembers must join in order to get into the mill. Many active members and leaders joined in this way, including a former president of the local.

100 per cent. If it was voluntary but with dues, we would have only 6 per cent. With dues inspection and pressure, we have 98.7 per cent.[7]

Others agreed that some men were sympathetic to management and hoped to get better jobs by keeping out of the union.[8] Some workers expected to stay in the mill only a short time; some had belonged to unions elsewhere without receiving benefits and were therefore disillusioned; a few men were "rugged individualists"; and certain workers had religious objections to unionism.

Several of the leaders held very unflattering opinions of the present and future value to the union of nonunionists. One who believed that the union had no choice but to compel them to join stated:

> Some don't join because they are too cheap; some are company stooges who think that they can get ahead faster by not joining the union. Those people aren't any damn good anyway, but we have to force them in the union because it makes us stronger with the company.

It is important to note that those who joined under pressure of the dues-inspection line or who signed cards without conviction when requested to do so have become as ardent unionists as those who joined because of prior conviction. The authors have been unable to find any relationship between the circumstances of joining, so far as those now in positions of leadership are concerned, and their subsequent behavior and activity as leaders. This suggests that the circumstances of joining a union become relatively unimportant where the union's method of operation, the status it achieves, or the pressure of events leads people to take an active part in its affairs.

III. BECOMING ACTIVE

To understand why members become active in an organization is of crucial importance in the study of all types of formal and informal organizations and groups. It offers some insight into the selective process which determines leadership and affects, to some extent, the kind of policies pursued by the organization. Of course, in supplying information, the leaders may reinterpret circumstances and motives for becoming active in the light of their subsequent experience.

The local union leaders were asked, "How did you happen to become active?" The interview data, supplemented by observation of the local and its leaders, provides the following reasons:[9] (1) resentment against treatment by managerial personnel; (2) dissatisfaction with working conditions or wages; (3) failure to receive desired or expected promotions; (4) lack of other available leaders; (5) prior union sympathy; (6) desire to obtain personal power, recognition, or financial gain; and (7) unsatisfactory marital or home experience.

Of those who said that company treatment had made them active, one explained that it was a denial, after he had participated in the 1937 strike, of promotions that he thought were due. Another leader stated that he was discharged for what he considered a very minor offense and that he thereupon decided to become active in the union, then being organized. Another stated that it was working conditions, and with another it was the frequency with which workers were short in their pay.

Treatment by the foreman was another of the reasons assigned: "I was always the kind of a guy who didn't want anyone to jump down my throat all the time. Before the union came in, they [the foremen] did that in the mill." Sometimes a belief that the foreman is discriminating against members of minority groups leads the latter to

[7] Actually, the membership in 1949–50 was about 95 per cent.

[8] However, other evidence shows that a large number of leaders believe that the company now gives preference to union members in selecting foremen.

[9] Repeated conversations with union leaders and active rank-and-file members which tended to validate the responses obtained in interviews formed the basis of the rationale for the list. This list with some changes might apply to other labor organizations and even to organizations outside the labor movement. The sixth and seventh points listed are based partly or entirely upon observation.

become active in the union: "I had a foreman who was discriminating, had prejudice against my religion. He refused to recognize my seniority, and I wanted to be part of the union to settle it; and I succeeded."

A group of seven became "unwilling" leaders. As one leader put it:

> When I came here in '45, we had a griever that drank a lot and was never around when you needed him. He was always off the job drunk somewhere. We couldn't get anything done, and conditions were piling up. The guys in the department asked me if I would take the job, and I told them "Yes." So they elected me.

In other cases the initiative was taken by the present leader, but only after he and others had become thoroughly dissatisfied with the performance of the previous officer. In some instances the present officer sought originally to persuade someone else to accept responsibility:

> I wasn't satisfied with the work the previous griever was doing, so I went around and tried to get someone else to run for the job. I didn't want it, but as I went around, everybody encouraged me to run, and I've been a griever since.

Those who stated that they were pushed into leadership probably were not unduly modest. In the early stages of organization, especially when no political machine has as yet taken form and few persons are well known throughout the plant, anyone who shows any capacity for leadership may find himself pushed into office. This may be true even after the local has achieved a recognized status, since the stratum of leadership or potential leadership available in the plant is very thin. This may be due partly to barriers of language or education, partly to the fact that a steel mill will probably attract proportionately fewer energetic and able persons than more desirable places of employment. Not all workers with leadership ability, obviously, are interested in union activity, whether because of lack of conviction, conflicting interests, or family responsibilities. Whatever the reason, the number of competent persons available for union office in this local is very limited, considering the size of the membership; consequently, a worker with the ability to lead who shows an interest in the union may rise quickly to a position of influence and may find that the union office seeks him rather than the reverse. The Steelworkers have a requirement that a candidate for local office must have attended half the meetings during the previous year, except when he is working or is engaged in other union business. This often results in only one or two persons being eligible to run for office in a department of some hundreds.

In addition to the somewhat larger groups who became active in the union because of the company's treatment of its employees or because of the inadequacy of the persons holding office, there were some who traced their activity to their beliefs in unionism acquired before entering the company's employ. The father of one of these leaders had been active in his union and also in the Socialist movement. Another, whose father had been active in the United Mine Workers, said, "I attended union meetings with my father before I was ever inside a church." Others referred to the interests of the working class, a sympathy for the underdog, or experience with union benefits in another plant as explanations.

The union leaders were asked, "What keeps you active—what do you get out of it?" More than half listed the desire to win improvements for their fellow-workers as a reason. "I get satisfaction in seeing that people get what they should," was a typical response. One of the Mexicans said, "It gives me a chance to do something for my people. As a griever, I can make sure that we continue to fight discrimination."

Seven of the leaders spoke of the feeling of power that their office gave them or of the pleasure of recognition. Often this feeling of power was associated with the opportunity to treat supervisors as they had once been treated by them. As one expressed it:

> I get a chance to rub it into the supervision when they make a false step. I feel that it's up

to the active people to keep the company on the ball. It gives me a feeling of satisfaction that they can't get away with what they did before the union came in.

Another referred to the sense of power he enjoyed in the internal politics of the union, and two others spoke of their recognition by the company or of their prestige with their fellow-workers.

None admitted that the desire to get pay for union services helped make him active, though one stated frankly that his supplementary income from the union helped keep him active. Some leaders, less charitable in describing the motives of others, pointed out to us persons who, they said, were primarily interested in getting on the union pay roll. Particularly was this likely to be true in the case of factional enemies. Likewise, we did not discover one person who entered the company's employ with the intent to become a union leader, though we suspect that this happens in some cases. When a union achieves recognition and status, it attracts persons who seek the prestige and power of office. There may be such among the leaders of this local union who may by now really believe in a more idealistic motivation of their earlier views and activities. Similarly, we found no evidence or expressed belief that any of the leaders became active because some other organization to which they belonged—for example, a left-wing political group—sought through their activity to increase its influence in the union. We do know that certain of the leaders, now or in the past, have been identified with one or another such group, and we suspect that a desire to extend its influence or to influence union policy in the direction it desired may have been a factor in some cases. Such persons, obviously, would be very unlikely to admit this to others, especially to outsiders.

IV. ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF THE UNION

The authors sought to discover the leaders' conception of the accomplishments of the local union. In all cases we found a high degree of identification on the part of the leaders with the local and a belief that it had very substantial achievements to its credit. The main achievements of the local, as they saw them, are improvement in wages and working conditions, including the winning of job security through a seniority system and a voice in the determination of conditions of employment; increased respect for and better treatment of workers; and progress toward elimination of discrimination against minority groups.

Over half the leaders mentioned wages. A number listed improved working conditions, either in general or in specific terms, such as safety, showers, toilet facilities, or lockers. Several stressed the increased respect won for workers or their loss of fear, and others listed the grievance machinery, the seniority system, and the greater equality of treatment now given workers.

Typical of those who emphasized the human aspects of union accomplishments was the leader who said: "The union knocked the fear out of the workers. They're no more afraid. They used to be like slaves, used to do everything the company wanted. You had to, or you got thrown out." Others stressed the respect that now had to be shown workers, one of them asserting that in the pre-union days "the worker wasn't even considered as a human being."

One who had been active in the affairs of the local since its formation summarized its achievements in this way:

One of the biggest and most fundamental things is that it has given the workingman a voice in the conditions of employment. Before the union came in, a man could get fired for little or nothing, as telling the boss that he was wrong on something. The atmosphere was if you don't do everything the boss said, out you go. Also, wages have been increased on various jobs, and now we have seniority in promotions. Before the union came in, the company had no established seniority system; it moved men as it saw fit. The same was true in layoffs. The bosses gave some consideration to seniority, but there was no established policy. Now seniority governs for promotion, with a thirty-day tryout.

Another leader gave this picture of the local's gains:

> Before the union, a man would be laid off by favoritism or how much the men paid off in vegetables or in getting foremen drunk on payday. Working conditions changed 100 per cent. Men had to work in water or lose their jobs; now the union would shut the mill down before allowing that to happen. . . . Now the company has to negotiate with the union before changing [incentive] rates. Formerly, if the mill didn't work nineteen turns in a row, the men's bonus would be cut in half. Now they can't cut the men's bonus unless the union agrees. You don't have to go out and kill yourself any more. The men don't compete with each other like they used to.

To secure elaboration of the accomplishments of the local and further understanding of why leaders remain active, persons interviewed were asked, "Do you feel that the union has done anything for you personally?" All the leaders answered in the affirmative. Some made such comments as "They have done for me what they have done for everybody else" or "It's helped every man. Regardless of whether he thinks so or not, he's been helped."

Members of minority groups, notably Negroes, Mexicans, and Jews, proved very alert to instances of discrimination, whether these represented company policy or the act of some prejudiced minor supervisor. Their reaction to the union was conditioned largely by the effect of unionism upon their group. Negro and Mexican leaders were attracted to the union largely because it promised greater security for them, because it forced supervisors to treat them with more respect, and because they resented prejudiced treatment of members of their group. Said one: "It [the union] moved me up on the job I've got now. I got the job through the union. Before I became a ———, a Negro had to work here twenty years before he'd even be considered for the job." Another, speaking of the improved working conditions won for all, regardless of race, creed, or color, added: "I have been able to be respected by supervision. They have had to come up to me and respect me, which is a wonderful thing, since I'm a Mexican. In the old days, they would say, 'Hey you!' Now they ask you civilly."

Only one of the leaders mentioned any disadvantages offsetting the gains he had enjoyed because of the union:

> Personally, the union did me a lot of harm. It took all my time—five years of solid work and five more years of relaxed effort, all of this while my family was growing up. All the same, the union has given me the personal satisfaction of building an organization very necessary to our form of government—of, by, and for the people. The union enabled me to get my just due in regard to jobs I asked for. The union has created a condition where I could stand up and have my say, without fear that I was endangering my job as in the past.

V. IMPORTANCE OF THE UNION

The leaders' opinion of the probable consequence of the disappearance of the union was investigated. The leaders' close identification with the union discussed in Section IV was affirmed, with a complete acceptance of the union as a way of life significantly illustrated. The authors asked, "Would it make any difference to you if local —— disappeared? Why?" All the leaders replied that it would make a great difference. Over half stated that they would be discharged immediately, and others implied that they would leave voluntarily. A considerable number asserted that conditions of employment would deteriorate rapidly to the pre-union level.

The local leader believes that his own personal security depends on the continued existence of the union. All who felt that they would be discharged at once if the union disappeared believed that their union activity would be the cause. As one put it, "I would be the first to be kicked out. I have been behind the 8-ball since 1940. Too much activity." Another, who compared the disappearance of the union with the world coming to an end in the mill, stated: "They're trying every way they can to get rid of me now—even trying to make me a foreman, no less." Still another was afraid that he

would be blacklisted; if the local disappeared, he said,

> I would get fired tomorrow. To be truthful, I don't think I could get a job in any other steel mill. I know they keep a record of all the grievers and the trouble they cause. . . . They wanted to fire me in ———, but the men threatened to shut the mill down if I was fired, and they didn't.

Thus the officer protects his own job by building the power of the union and seeking to extend its control. Similarly, the union leader may refuse offers of promotion to foreman, since that would take him out of the bargaining unit, deny him union protection, and permit the company to discharge him for past union activity. The wife of one union leader, who was present during the interview, said of her husband, who had refused a promotion to be foreman:

> He fights for the union too much and never could be a company man. The only reason they want to make him a foreman is so they could fire him a couple of weeks later. And I wouldn't stand for his being a foreman, anyhow. The union is his life—not the company.

Those who declared that conditions would quickly return to the pre-union standards listed wage cuts, speedups, arbitrary discharges, loss of security, favoritism instead of seniority, discrimination, and dictatorial rule by foremen among the evils that they foresaw. One compared the disappearance of the union to the imposition of slavery. Another said that it would be "like losing the war, losing the country." A typical response was that "union men would be discharged, working conditions would drop, guys would be pushed—more production, less wages. Bosses would rule with an iron hand like before, even more than before." One said, "I'd be lost. I wouldn't know where to turn to." Said another, "With me, the organization [the union] is what would be a religion to other fellows."

Asked whether they thought the disappearance of the union would make any difference to others, all the leaders again answered in the affirmative, the majority stating explicitly or implicitly that the local's disappearance would matter to everybody and an additional large group stating that the majority would be concerned.

One leader felt that any threat to the union would create an upsurge of membership activity: "I think that if the men in the mill were led to believe that the union would disappear tomorrow, they would be up here in a body tonight, to try to keep it going." Another thought that, while it would matter to everyone if the union disappeared, the older union members would be affected first: "To the old-timers, it would be a terrible thing. To the younger people in the mill, they wouldn't realize it at first, but in a short time they would also be behind the 8-ball."

Other comments were: "We would go back to the conditions in the old days, and nobody would like that except the stooges"; "As little interested in the activity of the union as most members are, they still want a union"; "About 90 per cent of the rank-and-file feel the same way I do. I've talked to them and they know what would happen if the corporation destroyed the union. In fact, life wouldn't be worth living in the mill."

A Mexican said, "My people wouldn't have any good jobs like before," and another leader declared that

> the colored and the Mexican boys would be out in a short time if they didn't have a union. Why, right now there are eight hundred applications for jobs on file in the company office. And all from white boys with high-school education. The only reason they aren't getting jobs is because the union won't let the company fire the colored and Mexicans. They wouldn't last a minute here without the union.

Such viewpoints further reveal that the union has become a way of life, serving the needs of its members apart from, and in addition to, the reasons that initially brought it into existence. Convictions such as those reported by the leaders under scrutiny make it appear certain that the union is here to stay.

CONCLUDING NOTE

In this article we have sought to discover the concept of unionism held by a group of leaders of a local union. To understand unionism in our modern urban, industrial society it is necessary to know why leaders join a union, why they become active, and what role the organization plays in their lives. The authors hope that their study, now under way, of the rank-and-file active and inactive members of this same local will yield significant points of comparison and of contrast with the leaders' concept of the union. The authors then plan to apply similar techniques of investigation to several other local unions, chosen because of variations in size or bargaining relationship, to see what similarities or differences will emerge. They hope, moreover, that the questions they raise will encourage other students to engage in like investigations so that a reliable and systematic body of knowledge about local labor organizations may be accumulated.

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THE USE OF LOCAL FACILITIES IN A METROPOLIS

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ABSTRACT

In a sampling interview study of about four hundred families in northwest St. Louis, between one-third and one-half of their reports of the uses of facilities, such as shopping, going to school, attending church, employment, going to movies, could be classified as "local." Selected types of uses of facilities were ranked from the most local to the least local. In general, a greater degree of local use was found to be associated with automobile nonownership, children and the aged, females, little formal education, and high residential density.

The rise of metropolitan centers has undoubtedly been accompanied by significant changes in social pattern. Few urban studies have directly investigated the place of neighborhood or local community life within the larger metropolis. It is not yet known, for example, to what extent individual metropolitan residents carry out their various out-of-the-home activities locally, as in a rural village or in a small community, or, conversely, to what extent they carry out these activities on the metropolitan scale.

Previous research has demonstrated a decline in the primary-group type of urban neighborhood.[1] Such concepts as "communality" and "personal neighborhood," for example, have been suggested as more accurately descriptive of current urban life.[2] The implication is that an individualistic type of social bond, such as that of the voluntary association, has extensively displaced traditional neighborhood ties. The dearth of neighborhood or local-community sentiments and association patterns has been included as an integral feature of the "urban society" when conceived as an ideal type.[3] In certain of these previous studies it has been inferred that, paralleling the decline of the urban neighborhood as a social entity, urban residents were becoming less locally self-sufficient in their use of facilities,[4] coming rather to depend upon facilities located throughout the city.

This article reports a study made in 1947 of facility use by residents of a district in northwest St. Louis.[5] Questions were asked to discover the relative extent of the residents' use of local facilities in contrast to their use of nonlocal facilities; what proportion of their facility use could be classified as local; what proportion as nonlocal or metropolitan; with what factors local- or

[1] Roderick D. McKenzie, *The Neighborhood: A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1923); M. Wesley Roper, "The City and the Primary Group" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1935); Bessie A. McClenahan, *The Changing Urban Neighborhood* (Los Angeles: University of Southern California, 1929).

[2] McClenahan, *op. cit.*, and "The Communality: The Urban Substitute for the Traditional Community," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXX (March–April, 1946), 264–74. Frank L. Sweetser, Jr., "A New Emphasis for Neighborhood Research," *American Sociological Review*, VII (August, 1942), 525–33.

[3] Cf. Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 1–24.

[4] "Use of facilities" and "facility use" are used synonymously as generic terms meaning the functional dependence by residents on such organized, specifically located meeting places or service centers as stores, places of employment, schools, churches, doctors' offices, and movie theaters. Whereas the "primary-group type of neighborhood" involves informal social relations of "neighboring," the "use of facilities" is conceived of as being more formal and as involving specific, organized "facilities."

[5] More completely reported as the writer's "Urban Neighborhood Facilities: A Study of a Residential District in Northwest St. Louis" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology-Anthropology, Washington University, 1948), esp. chap. iii.

nonlocal-facility use was associated; which facility uses were the most local; which the least local; what types of residents tended to be locally oriented in their use of facilities; which nonlocally.

To answer these questions required an examination of day-to-day, away-from-the-home activities of the urban dweller. Has he lost touch with local activities? Or does there still remain a vestige of the local community, in the sense of a service center at least, within the larger metropolitan area? It was the writer's hypothesis (using the term in a general or guiding sense) that metropolitan residents make relatively little use of local facilities.[6]

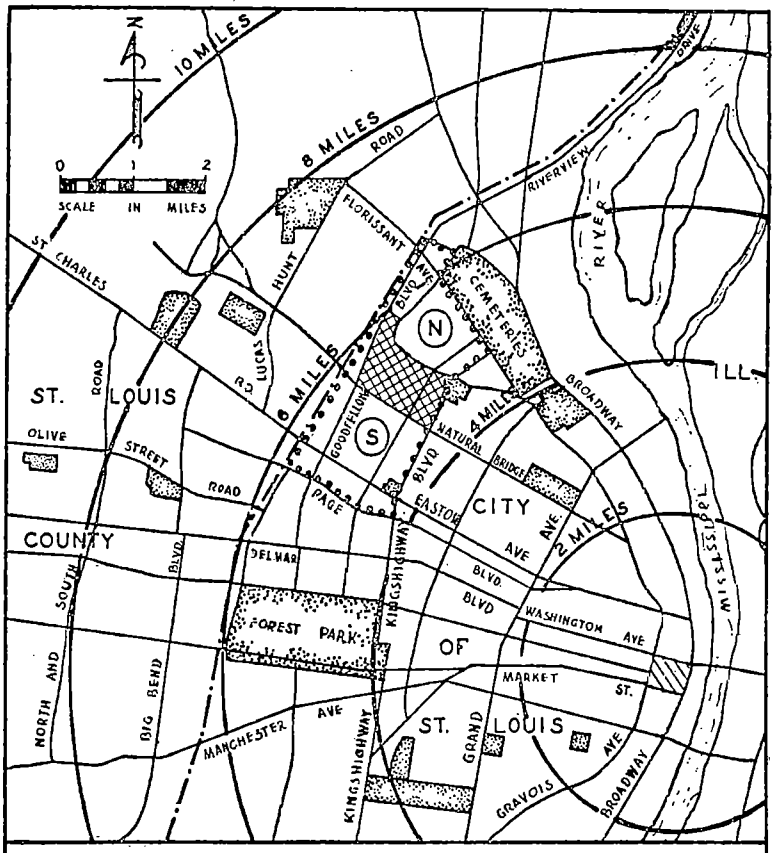
That the approach in this research is ecological is admitted; and, if this study were to be considered in isolation, it might be appraised as peripheral to sociology. But the study of as complex a phenomenon as metropolitan social life presents an unusual challenge to the researcher to utilize an assortment of complementary research techniques. The present study, then, is most logical if its findings are treated as but one segment of a more comprehensive framework of urban analysis.[7]

A five-square-mile residential district in northwest St. Louis was selected for the study. (See accompanying map.) The district is located between 4.5 and 6.5 miles from downtown St. Louis and is just within the political limits of the central city. The characteristics of the district and its residents are generally intermediate between those of the more central portions of the city and of the suburbs beyond; it could probably be termed middle class, shading toward lower middle class. That the population of the area is generally representative of St. Louis is shown in Table 1.

In a number of ways this district is more homogeneous than is St. Louis as a whole. For example, the range of 1940 average-block rentals for the district is from $15.00 to $83.00; for the city as a whole (not known for the county) it was from $1.00 to $293.00. In one important respect, intentionally a part of the research design, the district differs from the larger St. Louis community: it contains practically no Negroes—although Negroes constituted 11 per cent of the total population of St. Louis City and County in 1940—and was selected because such complications as segregation were thereby avoided. The leading foreign-born nationality represented in the district is Russian, presumably Jewish, on the whole, while the nationality in the city is German. The southern portion of the district is generally the older and the more densely developed (35 persons per gross acre) and is better served by commercial facilities. The largest single outlying shopping center in metropolitan St. Louis—Wellston, with nearly four hundred retail stores—lies at the southwest corner of this southern segment, and other commercial centers and clusters are also readily accessible. The northern portion of the district, with its single-family-home type of development, is somewhat suburban in character, with a

[6] Literally to test this hypothesis was difficult, for the hypothesis assumed that one could determine with some finality just where the line was to be drawn between "local" and "nonlocal" facilities and what in a metropolitan setting would constitute "relatively little use" of local facilities. Lacking previous definitions, an attempt to force a strict test of the hypothesis would have involved a certain arbitrariness, unwarranted at this stage of the research, in selection of appropriate criteria. Consequently the findings are offered in such form as to be relevant to the hypothesis, without definitely upholding or rejecting it. The findings as they are reported are, then, largely descriptive, with certain tentative classifications suggested upon which further research could draw.

[7] An exploratory attempt to use this general approach in studying social organizational and social psychological aspects is being undertaken in the sociology department of the University of Rochester. Under way is an attempt to translate the idea of a "local-community" to "metropolitan" continuum into workable terms. Pilot research in Rochester has included such aspects as neighborliness and sense of local identification as well as use of facilities. The goals of such an undertaking include the possibility of stating where, along this continuum, various activities and/or attitudes of urban residents seem to belong.



A RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT IN NORTHWEST ST. LOUIS IN ITS METROPOLITAN SETTING

LEGEND

- 4 MILES — MILES FROM SIXTH AND LOCUST STREETS
- (S) SOUTHERN AREA
- (N) NORTHERN AREA

GENERAL LEGEND

- DISTRICT BOUNDARIES
- MAJOR STREETS
- CITY LIMITS
- PARKS, CEMETERIES, GOLF COURSES
- INDUSTRIAL DISTRICT
- CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT

D.L. FOLEY:-URBAN NEIGHBORHOOD FACILITIES

lower density (20 persons per gross acre). Many of its residents are a considerable distance from any shopping center.

Schools, churches, movie theaters, and other facilities are generally available. There is probably more than typical opportunity for employment, particularly in the industrial area within the district. Not available in the district, although accessible in varying degrees, are public high schools; large parks (of which St. Louis has several); and facilities, other than movie theaters, providing professional entertainment such as major-league baseball or the outdoor municipal opera.

To obtain a representative sample of the estimated 20,000 families living in the district, an areal sampling technique was used and an optimum sample size of about 400 families was set. A panel of addresses was selected by drawing every *n*th dwelling unit from the most recent Polk city directory, using only street addresses falling within the district. After 12 addresses were dropped as nonresidential and 36 addresses were substituted (from certain predesignated extras) for a similar number of nonresponses, the final sample numbered 401 families. At least one member of each family was interviewed on the use made by the various family members of selected facilities. Each address was revisited, if necessary, as many as five or six times, in an effort to locate some family member. Straight refusals to answer were given in 10 families; illness, summer vacationing, and odd working hours accounted for the remaining cases where substitution was necessary.

TABLE 1

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS FOR THE RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT STUDIED AND FOR ST. LOUIS CITY AND COUNTY

Characteristics (from the 1940 Census unless Otherwise Stated)	District Studied	City of St. Louis and St. Louis County*
Percentage of population under 14 years of age	19.8	18.7
Percentage of population 65 years of age and over	6.6	7.3
Percentage of population foreign-born	11.6	6.7
Percentage of population 25 years and over with 6 years or less schooling	18.8	21.4
Percentage of employed population 14 years old and over classified as "operatives and kindred workers" or as "laborers"	29.0	28.1
Average monthly dwelling-unit rental	$27.53	$29.24
Percentage of dwelling units owner-occupied	37.4	34.4
Ratio of dwelling units to residential structures	1.5	1.7
Ratio of population per passenger automobile†	5.6	5.2
Total population	71,899	1,090,278

* These two units represent roughly the Missouri portion of the St. Louis metropolitan district as defined in 1940. The Illinois segment of the district (with about 268,000 population) was not included, because certain needed statistics were not available.

† Estimated as of 1946 by the writer.

Each respondent was asked to tell where every family member (over five years of age) went for the following: (1) employment, (2) food, (3) clothing, (4) furniture or household equipment, (5) school, (6) church, (7) medical care, (8) outdoor recreation, (9) miscellaneous indoor activities. Each member's use of a specific facility was treated as a "report." (For example, the use of two different food stores by a housewife was treated as two reports; the use of a church by all four members of a family was treated as four reports.) On this basis, there was an average of sixteen reports per family —6,216 reports in all. Each report included background information about the family member involved, location of home, type and location of the facility, type of trans-

portation used, and the distance from home to facility. The interviewing was carried out from June to August, 1947, and reflects summertime uses of the facilities.

The major variable was the airline distance from home to facility, and this served as the primary index of local use.[8] The frequency distribution of this major variable provided a primary answer in itself. In addition, the distribution of facility's uses as falling within, adjacent to, or away from the district was examined. Also analyzed were the relations between the major variable—distance—and the following: (1) type of facility use, (2) type of transportation, and (3) certain other variables pertaining to family or personal background.

TABLE 2

Location of Facility Use	Percentage Distribution of Reports Analyzed
Within or adjacent to district	53
Within the district	*41*
Adjacent to the district*	*12*
Away from district	47
In central business district†	*14*
Other "away" location	*33*
Total of all facility uses	100

* Included as "adjacent" were facilities that were within about a quarter-mile of the district. For the commercial facilities, the bulk of those classed as adjacent were located in four outlying shopping centers—Wellston, Pine Lawn, Jennings, and Easton and Kingshighway (including a Sears, Roebuck store)—on the periphery of the district.

† The 84-block area bounded by Franklin Avenue, Third Street, Market Street, and Twelfth Boulevard.

[8] This use of distance as an index excluded trip time and cost and did not measure either frequency or intensity of facility use. Methodological research considered beyond the scope of this particular study was called for. In the writer's pilot study of 50 families he used travel time as an index and ascertained the frequency of each facility's use. The final decision simply to use distance was based on these considerations: Distance provides a clear-cut, reliable measure along a single continuum; it reduces the time and complexity of interviewing and analysis operations; and for the purposes of this study (for the question of transportation economics was not being raised) it provides a generally valid measure of local versus nonlocal facility use.

One could undoubtedly interpret the findings in a number of ways. One could point to very considerable evidence that the residents made relatively great use of facilities located well outside the district and often several miles from the users' homes, thus indirectly supporting the writer's hypothesis. Or, one could find strong supporting evidence that the use of facilities located near home and within the immediate district was surprisingly extensive considering the fact that the district is in a metropolis. A third interpretation—and one that tends to take both of the former ones into account—is that large-city living involves an intricate balance between the relative use of local and nonlocal facilities.

TABLE 3

Facilities	Per Cent
Within ½ mile from home	30
To which walked from home	36
Within the district	41
Within 1 mile from home	47
Within or adjacent to the district	53

The writer was impressed by the different "levels" of facility use that were observed and the wide distribution of facility uses among the levels.

The study revealed that 47 per cent of the reported facility uses were within 1 mile of the user's home, 20 per cent were between 1 and 3 miles from home, and 33 per cent were at least 3 miles away. About 30 per cent were within 0.5 mile; 10 per cent were at least 6 miles away. The median distance from home was 1.2 miles, while the arithmetic mean was estimated as about 2.4 miles. (See Table 2.) It is thus apparent that a little over half of all the reports involved the use of facilities located in or near the residential district.

The transportation, as facility-use reports showed, was: walking from home, 36 per cent; public transit from home, 31 per cent; and automobile from home, 30 per cent.[9]

[9] Of the families sampled, 48 per cent had no automobile; 37 per cent had an automobile, but,

(Three per cent were classed in a miscellaneous category including "from other than home," such as shopping from place of work.)

Thus between one-third and one-half of the reported facility uses could be classified as "local." Table 3 gives alternative pertinent measures and corresponding percentages, 100 per cent in each case equaling the total of all the facility-use reports. There could be two possible interpretations here of "nonlocal": (1) Local and nonlocal might be dichotomous, nonlocal including all those facilities not classed as local. In such a case, obviously, between two-thirds

because it was used as transportation to and from work, it was not available during the day; 15 per cent had an automobile available for family use during the day, although not necessarily driven then.

TABLE 4

SELECTED FACILITY USES RANKED ACCORDING TO LOCALIZATION

Facility Uses*	Availability of Facility†	No. of Reports Analyzed	Mileage from User's Home to Facility	
			Median	Standard Error
Food shopping, at small stores	A	351	0.23	.06
Attendance at Orthodox Jewish synagogues	L	67	0.23	.04
Elementary-school attendance	L	148	0.35	.05
Children's use of playgrounds	L	58	0.49	.06
Catholic church attendance	L	395	0.50	.03
Food shopping, at large stores	A	222	0.55	.09
Movie attendance, at small theaters	A	1,081‡	0.57	.05
Protestant church attendance	A	342	0.66	.09
Clothing, household-equipment, or furniture shopping, at small stores§	A	241	0.82	.18
Bowling	A	60	1.39	.23
Attendance at Reformed Jewish temples	N-L	27	1.55	.21
Playing organized ball	A	24	2.01	.70
High-school attendance	A	51	2.02	.26
Visiting doctors' offices	A	556	2.17	.09
Part-time employment	A	21	2.40	.75
Municipal-opera attendance	N-L	93	2.56	.12
Going to ball games (mostly major league)	N-L	164	2.70	.08
Meetings of fraternal or military organizations	MN-L	51	2.74	.49
College or trade-school attendance	N-L	24	2.86	.66
Meetings of business or professional organizations	MN-L	16	3.53	.64
Full-time employment	MN-L	427	3.87	.14
Outdoor swimming	N-L	86	3.93	.31
Meetings of labor organizations	MN-L	40	3.96	.35
Movie attendance, at large theaters	N-L	204‡	4.42	.10
Playing golf	N-L	25	5.12	.79
Clothing, household-equipment, or furniture shopping, at large stores§	MN-L	633	5.39	.07
Going on picnics and outings	N-L	241	6.81	.28
Hunting and fishing	N-L	44	‖	.....
Total	.....	5,999#	1.21	.04

* Since interviewing was done in the summer, facility uses and amounts of participation are valid for summer.

† A, available both locally and nonlocally; L, available (either physically or for administrative or practical reasons) only locally; MN-L, available mainly only nonlocally; N-L, available only nonlocally.

‡ In most cases involves reports on two different theaters per person; hence the large number of reports.

§ Reports were secured only on purchases of clothing of $5.00 or more and of furniture or household equipment of $10.00 or more.

‖ Indeterminate from data, but over 7 miles.

\# Grand total of 6,216 reports less 217 for which distance was indeterminate.

and one-half of the reports of facility uses were nonlocal. (2) Local and nonlocal might be conceived of as extreme positions on the continuum with a middle or intermediate classification as well. Nonlocal would include only facilities 3 miles or more (3 miles representing a little over halfway downtown), in which case one-third of the facility-use reports would be included.

It is to be expected that children in attending school will go a shorter distance than will adults in shopping for items that are mainly carried in downtown department stores. How various types of facility uses were arrayed according to their average distance from the user's home is shown in Table 4. Whether the particular distance involved choice as between local and nonlocal facilities or whether the distance reflected merely a particular situation as to local or nonlocal availability is indicated in the second column. (A in the column indicates more choice on the part of the user as between a local and a nonlocal facility than does L, MN-L, or N-L [see table footnotes].)

An over-all summary of the distribution of facility-use groupings as within or away from the residential district studied is provided in Table 5. The groupings are arranged so as to rank the percentage located away from the district. Rather different types of facilities, such as elementary and secondary schools and colleges, small local stores, and large downtown department stores, are in some instances here grouped intentionally in order to summarize major functions.

TABLE 5

LOCATION OF FACILITY-USE REPORTS IN RELATION TO STUDY DISTRICT

Major Groupings of Facility Uses*	No. of Reports Analyzed	Percentage Distribution by Location			
		Within District	Adjacent to District†	Away from District	Total
Food shopping	573	69.3	26.5	4.2	100.0
Church attendance	831	77.1	5.2	17.7	100.0
School attendance	223	68.2	9.0	22.8	100.0
Movie attendance	1,285‡	58.4	15.6	26.0	100.0
Miscellaneous indoor activities (association meetings, sports, etc.)	380	35.5	9.7	54.8	100.0
Visiting doctors' offices	563	29.7	8.5	61.8	100.0
Clothing, household-equipment, or furniture shopping§	874	5.1	19.7	75.2	100.0
Employment	434	17.5	5.3	77.2	100.0
Miscellaneous outdoor activities (sports, outings, etc.)	795	10.1	0.4	89.5	100.0
Total	5,958	41.0	11.7	47.3	100.0

* Since interviewing was done in the summer, facility uses and amounts of participation are valid for summer.

† Included as "adjacent" were facilities that were within about a quarter-mile of the district. For the commercial facilities, the bulk of those classed as adjacent were located in four outlying shopping centers—Wellston, Pine Lawn, Jennings, and Easton and Kingshighway (including a Sears, Roebuck store)—on the periphery of the district.

‡ In most cases involves reports on two different theaters per person; hence the large number of reports.

§ Reports were secured only on purchases of clothing of $5.00 or more and of furniture or household equipment of $10.00 or more.

From the data presented in Table 5 it is evident that the four general types of facilities that are used preponderantly within or adjacent to the residential district studied are food stores, churches, schools, and movie theaters. A more detailed breakdown of these major groupings shows certain exceptions. For example, while the attendance at Orthodox Jewish synagogues is 100 per cent within the district, that at Reformed Jewish services is completely away from the dis-

trict, because there is no local Reformed temple. While movie attendance is heavily concentrated within the area, there is also considerable attendance at the large theaters in or near the central business district. Elementary-school attendance is 98 per cent within or adjacent to the district, and high-school attendance is 49 per cent; attendance at college or trade school is only 8 per cent.

The summertime participation in outdoor activities is completely nonlocal except for the children's use of playground facilities. Practically 100 per cent out of the district are major-league ball games, the municipal opera, the zoo or large parks, outdoor swimming, golf, hunting and fishing, and picnics and outings. Attendance at union meetings and at business and professional meetings is about 90 per cent out of the district. Employment is preponderently nonlocal, although there are firms that hire large numbers of employees within or adjacent to the district.

Further general findings are as follows:

1. The distance from home to facility varies directly with the mode of transportation employed, as is shown in Table 6.

TABLE 6

User's Transportation	Median Mileage, Home to Facility
Walking from home	0.35
Automobile from home	2.70
Public transit from home	3.50

TABLE 7

Family Ownership of Automobile	Median Mileage, Home to Facility
Ownership	1.68
Nonownership	0.82

The shorter median distance for automobile use was interpreted as being due partly to the many short trips which one would take with an automobile but which one might not care or be able to take by public transit and partly to the extensive use of good public transportation for the five- or six-mile trip downtown.

2. Family nonownership of automobiles is associated with a proportionately greater use of local facilities (Table 7). This held true in spite of the fact that the automobile trips per se were of shorter median distance

TABLE 8

User's Age in Years	Median Mileage, Home to Facility
5–12	0.70
13–17	0.99
18–24	2.29
25–34	2.28
35–49	1.51
50–64	1.18
65 and over	0.68

TABLE 9

Education of Users 18 Years of Age and Over	Median Mileage, Home to Facility
3 Years' high school or more	2.05
2 Years' high school or less	1.23

than were trips by public conveyance.

3. Young persons, especially those under twelve years of age, and persons over sixty-five make relatively the most extensive use of local facilities. Young adults, aged eighteen to thirty-four, make the least (see Table 8).

4. Table 9 shows that the less the user's formal education, the more use he makes of local facilities. In this statement of relationship, however, age and other factors were not held constant.

5. Females use local facilities more than males do (Table 10). In contrast to that of the adult male, the adult-female average is kept closer to home by nonemployment, by the need to do extensive shopping, and by considerable participation in local leisure activities.

6. On the surface there appears to be a direct relation between lower economic status and greater use of local facilities, but when automobile-ownership is held con-

stant, the economic status factor loses most of its significant association with the major variable.

7. Residential density appears to be of greater significance than homeownership in its association with local-facility use. Thus, within the district the older and more densely built-up section, with greater relative tenancy, shows somewhat more extensive use of local facilities than does the sparser, single-family section where homeownership rates are high.

CONCLUSIONS

For the student of urban social organization this study should demonstrate the variety of "levels" at which facilities in a metropolis are used.

TABLE 10

User's Sex	Median Mileage, Home to Facility
Male	1.77
Female	1.15

A number of facilities are extensively used at the local level. Food and certain other types of shopping, children's attendance at elementary schools and use of play facilities, attendance at certain churches, and patronage of certain small movie theaters take place to a great degree within a neighborhood or local-community sphere. It would be unrealistic to neglect this important local phase of urban social life either as a basis for understanding the present organization or for future planning. Inasmuch as this important condition of city life exists, it appears that the thoroughgoing, ideal-type urban pattern falls short of applicability *in toto*. Our large cities, for all their urbanity, seem to contain an impressive degree of local community life within their metropolitan limits.

But urban life involves more than this local level; many lines of functional interdependency extend out from any designated residential district. In spite of the fact that the area studied was approximately a half-hour or more from St. Louis' central business district, the dependence by residents on that business district was striking—especially for employment, for shopping, and for miscellaneous services. With adequate transportation urban residents will and do go far out of their local districts to make use of many types of facilities. It is apparent that most residents accept the longer trip as a counterpart of the specialization that is so intrinsically a part of metropolitan growth. Thus, trips to the large department stores downtown, to the large theaters, and to doctors' offices in established medical-office buildings, are widely and casually reported.

The study—although not specifically carried out with this in mind—suggests striking differences in uses of facilities, even within the same family, and indicates the divisive influences and interests not atypical, it would seem, of the urban family. This phase of the picture deserves further study. One possible classification of facility-use patterns or complexes at a family level might distinguish (1) employment and related facility uses, (2) keeping house and related facility uses, (3) children's use of facilities, and (4) various adult leisure uses of facilities.

The relations between urban-facility-use patterns and users' attitudes were only briefly explored in the present study. Further research is needed so that the association between the level of facility use and the degree to which a resident may or may not be characterized as holding metropolitan (or urban) attitudes can be stated with some degree of certainty. To date there is little research literature on any special operational definition of "metropolitan" (or "urban") attitudes. Is there one continuum along which attitudes may be measured as more, or less, urban? Or are there many continua involved? This, in turn, raises the whole question of the rural-urban dichotomy: Are there degrees of what we call "urban," and are there shades that can be termed "metropolitan"?

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RESISTANCE TO INNOVATION: THE CASE OF ATOMIC POWER

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY

ABSTRACT

The development of peacetime uses of nuclear energy will not be automatic, nor is it likely to produce short-run revolutionary consequences. Like other major technological innovations, atomic power may meet with strong resistances, the strength and character of which will reflect to a considerable degree the patterns of cultural organization in various regions modified by the local demographic, ecological, and psychological conditions. The understanding of an invention is not to be equated with its use.

Recent studies of the consequences of the development of nuclear energy almost without exception have omitted consideration of those factors which will act as resistances to its use. This discussion is limited to those resistances to nuclear energy as a source of power which are a part of the going social organization into which atomic power would be introduced.

There is no history of experience with "peaceful" atomic inventions except for radioactive isotopes. But atomic power is an instance of technological innovation, and we are fortunate in having considerable recorded experience with resistances to a wide variety of innovations which have threatened to disturb the established equilibrium of individuals, groups, and societies. If the assumption is correct that atomic power does not differ as to resistance from other technological innovations—an assumption which is supported by an examination of the historical development of earlier power sources[1]—then certain underlying principles derived from a study of other instances will be applicable in the specific case of atomic power.

[1] Felix Gross ("Social Consequences of Atomic Discovery," *American Sociological Review*, XV, No. 1 [February, 1950], 43–50) suggests the need, in studying social change, to distinguish between the invention of machines and tools and the discovery of new sources of energy. But historical evidence casts doubt on the blanket assumption that the discovery of new energy sources is "much more basic." To date, energy for commercial purposes has been utilizable only through the agency of machines. Direct utilization of nuclear energy for power is not now envisaged.

Theoretically a growing community will expand outward in circular fashion from the core or nucleus of growth in such a way that the distance from center to periphery is everywhere equal. This conceptual scheme is based upon two premises: that there will be no topographical barriers to such a flow of people and structures and that communal purposes will make close-packed residence outward from a core desirable while a transport allocation equally available to all makes it possible. Specific cases will, of course, deviate from the generalized concept, and the degree of deviation cannot be foretold except in terms of probability based upon multiple cases.

Other things being equal, the diffusion of an invention will take similar form, spreading outward from the point or points of origin in an ever widening series of concentric circles. But the all-embracing category "other things" is seldom if ever composed of equals. In consequence, the diffusion of a specific cultural innovation will depend upon a combination of inclining and resisting factors, among them the available channels of communication, the interest areas within a culture, the utility of an invention for a specific people or for specific groups or individuals within a society, and the degree of fit of a single item in the whole culture system.

The use of an invention is a function of the two variables of demand and resistance. The latter will include the passive resistance implied by lack of demand. Since there is no evidence that inherited mental capacity is lacking for any sizable group of people or,

indeed, that it varies proportionally among groups, mental capacity may be considered a constant. As such, it will not determine an invention or its use or lack of use. Even the existence of superior mental capacity would in no way guarantee the utilization of any specific innovation by a group. In this country failure to make use of the superior nickel-cadmium battery for automobiles or to adopt more readily such political inventions as the city-manager or county-manager plans are cases in point.

The use of an invention may be expressed at any moment as a function of the combined factors of demand minus resistance. These factors are in considerable part cultural, but they include such closely related social and psychological factors as fear, inertia, and habit.[2] They necessarily embrace the whole complex structure of beliefs and institutional practices of a people. The patterns of economic and political organization are important structures within which other cultural and psychological factors operate to promote or hinder specific cases of technological innovation. Vested interests and the availability of capital, labor, technical skills, and a group of consumers, all in sufficient quantity, are important conditions of the use of a particular innovation such as atomic power. Similarly, as Stern suggests, "The acceptance or rejection of technological innovations depends to a large measure on whether they are introduced at a time when an economy is static, contracting, or expanding; whether they appear in a setting of social stratification, of anarchic competition and class struggle, or in a planned industrial order."[3]

Circumstances which promote or resist innovation are rooted in the cultural arrangements and behavior of the group. They are in no sense discrete entities but form an interdependent whole depending ultimately upon individual response to a complex social organization which is compulsive in varying degrees upon its members.

Like any other invention or discovery, nuclear energy must be developed within a society composed of people who have a going social organization in which traditional ways of meeting situations have become customary and thus institutionalized. The dynamic equilibrium which characterizes the relationships of persons and groups is inevitably threatened by whatever is new. As Stern says:

> It is little wonder that an innovation, whatever its nature may be, provokes feelings of impropriety, and repelling defense attitudes of ridicule and disparagement, or is deliberately ignored and thus not permitted to enter experience. No matter how meagre the adjustment that has been attained, it is often viewed as superior to the seemingly tempestuous uncertainties involved in reorientation.[4]

The discomfort of change, however, may be outweighed by possible absolute or relative gains in status, wealth, power, security, or other positive values, even when such gains are more fancied than real. Moreover, change is less forcefully resisted in a society where solidarity and community of interest are not well defined and where social change is itself customary and general. This is especially probable when a specific invention is in line with the focus of interest of a culture. Nevertheless, conscious in-

[2] Bernhard J. Stern, "Resistances to the Adoption of Technological Innovations," in National Resources Committee, *Technological Trends and National Policy* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1937), p. 59.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 39. See also S. Lilley, *Men, Machines and History* (London: Cobbett Press, 1948), esp. chap. xi.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 61. Among inventions which have faced strong opposition are carriages and carts, stagecoaches, railroads, steamboats, automobiles, airplanes, writing, printing, the typewriter, the telephone, the telegraph, talking pictures, the steam engine, coal as a fuel, gas lighting, electricity, the sewing machine, textile machinery, agricultural implements, and various building forms and materials. These are cited and described more fully in William F. Ogburn, *Social Change* (New York: Viking Press, 1922); Hornell Hart, *The Technique of Social Progress* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931); S. C. Gilfillan, *The Sociology of Invention* (Chicago: Follett Publishing Co., 1935); and Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1934).

centives to change must be strong if they are to overcome the collective tendency of men to prefer established adjustments, however unrewarding. No doubt this is one reason for the various appeals which have been made recently, some from well-qualified scientists, for a moratorium on all atomic inventions.

The glib assumption has been current that peacetime uses of nuclear energy will develop automatically and that the mere availability of atomic power at relatively low cost will soon bring about the industrial flowering of all the backward regions of the earth. The economic and social inequalities which now exist among nations would be ended or at least sharply diminished.[5] But predictions of this sort—or that atomic power will soon result in major relocation of industrial plants and population or that within a few decades it will end the slavery of men to machines and make leisure the central problem of the coming era—ignore both the uniformities found in the historical resistances to technological change and the specific general and local resistances which appear to apply to the development of atomic power. Some of these resistances may now be observed.[6]

There is always a time factor; and, to the extent that our interest is in a short-run situation, this cannot be ignored. Ogburn has estimated that the span of years in recent times from proved working model to maturity has averaged thirty-five to fifty years for important technological inventions.[7] In the case of atomic power it is possible that international tensions will result in government intervention and subsidy in some countries to such an extent that the time lag is shortened. Military fears of a shortage of power may promote the construction of atomic-power plants. On the other hand, such tensions may center efforts on the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs rather than of atomic power. In the United States, where perhaps the strongest combination of trained personnel and necessary money for subsidy is found, there is after several years still no functioning commercial plant for deriving electric energy from uranium ores or a substitute. And authoritative estimates of the period required to establish any sizable commercial development seldom are less than twenty to thirty years.[8] Time, in the short run, is an obstacle of first magnitude even in areas where demand markedly outweighs resistance.

The relation of cultural and temporal factors is indirect. There are, however, many consequences of specific cultural organization which bear directly on technological development and diffusion. Basic among these are the existing channels of communication.

Technological barriers to the diffusion of information are virtually nonexistent. There is no part of the world which cannot receive detailed and understandable explanations of every aspect of nuclear energy development so far as the agencies of communication go. Rather, the chief barriers are political, that is, parts of the cultural organization. We cannot be certain to what extent atomic development is hindered by the restricting, which is believed necessary, of information relative to work in process or completed or by such political barriers to communication as exist between the United States and the U.S.S.R., nations whose social structures reflect distinctive cultural development. But

[5] Professor Blackett, for example, suggests that India, a country characterized by low levels of living and overpopulation, stands to gain more in the long run from the development of atomic power than do the more fully industrialized economies like the United States or Great Britain or even the Soviet Union (see P. M. S. Blackett, *Fear, War and the Bomb* [New York: Whittlesey House (McGraw-Hill Book Co.), 1949], pp. 99–100).

[6] Within the limits of this paper attention cannot be given to the factors favorable to the development of atomic power, but their presence is recognized. These are, however, the factors which have received stress, and in fact overemphasis, in most discussions of the future of nuclear development.

[7] William F. Ogburn, *The Social Effects of Aviation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1946), p. 60.

[8] See M. H. L. Pryce, "Atomic Power: What Are the Prospects?" *Discovery*, IX, No. 3 (March, 1948), 78–82.

the existence of such factors obviously constitutes a restriction upon the development of a mature nuclear-energy program in a minimum time, though not necessarily upon ultimate development.

Easier to assay are the cultural resistances which are economic in character.[9] Economic organization is only one of the interdependent parts of the whole cultural configuration. For purposes of analysis, however, it is useful to emphasize separately such impelling or resisting factors as type of economic organization; availability of capital, of technical skills, and of trained personnel; need for power or for additional power; and even the existence of natural resources, since these are important only in the context of their use. Nuclear energy, which would seem to mean an increase in available energy resources for any region, may actually have no pragmatic importance for many countries so long as other national differences in human and natural resources continue. Atomic power may be as meaningless in the context of the cultures of agricultural peoples around the globe as the blast furnace is to primitive peoples or even to civilized people who lack access to coal and iron.

In other words, the fact that atomic power would be derived from a small quantity of ores which can be transported to any part of the world at negligible cost is not in itself a determinant of whether such power development will occur. Elsewhere I have pointed to the fundamental differences in the ethos of national cultures.[10] Such distinctions make it possible to categorize roughly cultures in which the social organization disposes people at a given time to emphasize competitive, aggressive action and habit of thought and those within which nonaggressive traits tend to be dominant. This distinction between what may be loosely characterized as aggressive and submissive culture types is generally overlooked when it is predicted that any generally available low cost atomic power will stimulate the growth of areas which are relatively undeveloped economically.

Mexico and most of the countries of Central and South America are examples of such submissive cultures.[11] A number of them, for example, Brazil, have rich undeveloped natural resources.[12] When we ask why such resources remain largely undeveloped, we find partial answers in the general lack of cheap fuel, capital, and technical personnel, the poor transport facilities, and the diversion of wealth to a small elite. But these are surface manifestations of cultures which are characterized by political instability, unbalanced and unintegrated economies, a widespread disinterest in formal education, and so on. Poverty, illiteracy, and in general a set of customs and values which are not favorable to industrialization are wide-

[9] Stern states with reference to resistance to technological innovations (*op. cit.*, p. 59): "The most potent of the cultural factors are clearly economic."

[10] Walter Isard and Vincent Whitney, "Atomic Power and Economic Development," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, V, No. 3 (March, 1949), 73–79.

[11] The characterization is intended only to suggest the over-all orientation of a nation or region relative to cultures which are customarily called "civilized." Elements of aggression and submission will both be found in any culture. This is clearly portrayed in such a thoroughgoing study as Nathan L. Whetten's *Rural Mexico* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948). Mexico's history in recent decades cannot be studied, Whetten indicates (p. viii), without constant attention to the Mexican Revolution, "...spelled with a capital *R* and... regarded as a *process* which...is still going on." Yet, such emphasis over four decades has not gone far toward modifying the essential character of Mexico as a poor, agricultural economy whose economic and social "backwardness" are interdependent.

[12] Relative to the United States, with which it is comparable in area, Brazil is sharply underendowed with energy resources (see Abbott P. Usher, "The Resource Requirements of an Industrial Economy," *Journal of Economic History*, Supplement VII [1947], pp. 35–46; and U.S. Department of State, *Energy Resources of the World* [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949]). Such industrialized nations as Great Britain, Germany, the United States, and now the Soviet Union are favorably placed as to resources. An outstanding example of an area rich in resources whose energy potential is largely undeveloped is the Belgian Congo.

spread. In the face of such realities, it is a serious miscalculation to suppose that the mere knowledge of the means to utilize a new source of power will *cause* the economic and social development of such countries.

Distinct evidence to the contrary, which has been largely overlooked, is found in the existence around the world of extensive and accessible but undeveloped hydropower sources. Hydropower is cheap power. It is probably cheaper at the better sites than atomic power would be, though we have as yet no reliable cost data. If power is the key to an economic renascence, as some proponents of the development of atomic power have presumed,[13] why do these resources remain unutilized? The reasons are cultural and demographic, and they are woven into a tight web of resistance which seems likely to continue undiminished in the future exactly as it has in the face of such a major innovation as the railroad. It is apparent that, over large areas of the earth, cultural premises centuries old and stubbornly rooted must be destroyed or greatly modified if atomic power is to be greeted with something other than a combination of inertia and hostility.

Blackett has singled out India as a country which stands to gain relatively more than the already-industrialized nations from any development of atomic power.[14] Although India's energy endowment is moderately good, its per capita energy production is low. Clearly, this is not because India is taxing its present energy resources. The causes must be sought rather in the social and political history of the country. There are resistances of a most complex character, centered in India's unique cultural heritage and in the related awesome population potential, which operate to prevent any large addition of product and which serve, wherever modest additions do occur, to utilize these primarily for the support of additional numbers of people at subsistence living standards.[15]

India, with some 425,000,000 people,[16] constitutes one of the great population clusters of the world and is a striking example of the Malthusian dilemma. Plans which envisage any general raising of its levels of living seem futile except as they include some effective means for control of the size of the population.[17] Relatively simple innovations for establishing some degree of control over both deaths and births exist. Yet, even those which are designed to save life have been introduced only unevenly and with difficulty in India; and those which have succeeded have been whatever could be imposed with little or no disturbance to existing cultural arrangements.[18] Control of births is still more difficult, not because simple techniques are lacking, but because means of limiting fertility require the participation of the individual in an act which is not in harmony with established patterns of living. A people who are abjectly poverty-stricken and bound to poverty by the mere fact of living in a nation which is still characterized by economic and political instability, religious strife, illiteracy, rural isolation, and a series of caste barriers which impress upon the individual the nonutility of change have not unnaturally raised a great wall of indifference against the technological innovations of birth and death control. In such a country the development of atomic power will inevitably suffer the major handicaps of poverty in capital and technical skills and lack of markets for con-

[13] See Blackett, *op. cit.*; cf. Gross, *op. cit.*, pp. 47–49. For an example of an extreme statement see Boris Pregle, "Peacetime Uses of Atomic Energy," *Social Research*, XIV, No. 1 (March, 1947), 27–44.

[14] *Op. cit.*, pp. 99–100.

[15] Kingsley Davis, "Demographic Fact and Policy in India," in *Demographic Studies of Selected Areas of Rapid Growth* (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1944), pp. 35–57.

[16] Including Pakistan and Burma (see *Demographic Yearbook 1948* [Lake Success: United Nations, 1949], Table 1, "Population, Area, and Density for Each Area of the World").

[17] This is recognized, if not emphasized, even by such a proponent of the establishing of India's surplus millions in other lands as the distinguished scholar Mukerjee (R. Mukerjee, *Races, Lands, and Food* [New York: Dryden Press, 1946], p. 94).

[18] Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–47.

sumers' goods and, relatedly, for power. But even more, and in spite of the fact that the development of atomic power would not require the personal activity of any great number of individuals, its development would face the resistance implicit in a Malthusian population pattern and in its failure to fit into an established value system which bears small relationship to that of the Western world.

Such considerations serve to emphasize the strength of the resistances centered in custom. The desire to maintain customary ways without evaluation or the lack of impetus to change will be strong, if not overwhelming, wherever change tends to be slow and the customary way to become established as a strong positive value, to which any threat seems a threat to the values of the group; wherever a population is in precarious balance between numbers and resources so that additional product is diverted to supporting more people at subsistence levels; wherever there is isolation and illiteracy, which limit experience and contacts with variant ideas; and wherever marked social stratification pits group interest against group interest and wastes resources and effort in internal conflict. Even simple types of labor-saving machinery have been resisted down to the present in China not merely because of economic costs but because the employer has an accepted ethical obligation to provide jobs for as many relatives as possible, even distant ones.[19] Countries so conservative are unlikely to display enthusiasm for the development of atomic power.

In a country like the United States, present social organization reflects a quite different cultural history. Change is relatively rapid and usual, technological innovations have played an important part in the rising standard of living and are generally welcomed, and a constant flow of competing ideas and values lessens the fear of the novel and the unfamiliar. While economic resistance will not be the only hinderance to the development of atomic power in this and other industrialized nations, it will perhaps be the most important single category.

If an adequate supply of resources is assumed, the fundamental economic question becomes that of the cost of atomic power relative to that from competing sources. Unless noneconomic military considerations are made the deciding ones—and this is a possibility which lies beyond the purely economic analysis below—the basic question of relative costs must be the ultimate determinant of the use of nuclear energy as a large-scale power source.

Existing statements on the costs of generating electricity from nuclear energy are to date largely speculative. Present evidence suggests, however, that in most areas of the United States atomic power may well cost more than power based on coal or other existing sources.[20] To the extent that coal, oil, natural gas, and hydropower sources can meet current or projected demands for power, there will be little or no economic incentive for the development of nuclear energy as a competitor. There is, of course, a counterbalance in the commitment of some governments to a heavy program of subsidization of atomic research and of plant construction and operation without regard for economic rationality. In spite of this, the existence of an adequate substitute for the new invention must be counted as a retardation.

It must not be overlooked, further, that power costs are only one of the costs of manufacturing. For the total of American manufacturing industries, *Census of Manufactures* figures indicate that the cost of all fuel and purchased energy ranged over a forty-year period ending in 1939 from 1.87 per cent of total value of product in 1899 to 3.23 per cent in 1921.[21] Thus, even if we hypothesize an unexpectedly sharp

[19] Hart, *op. cit.*, p. 620.

[20] See Walter Isard and Vincent Whitney, "Atomic Power and the Location of Industry," *Harvard Business Review*, XXVIII, No. 2 (March, 1950), 45–54, esp. pp. 45–46, "The Invalidity of Cost Estimates." Cf. also Walter Isard and John B. Lansing, "Comparisons of Power Cost for Atomic and Conventional Steam Stations," *Review of Economics and Statistics*, XXXI, No. 3 (August, 1949), 217–28.

drop of 50 per cent in power costs, following the introduction of atomic fuel, total savings would amount to hardly more than 1 per cent of the total value of product for the aggregate of American manufacturing industries. The human effort freed for other productive activity or for leisure would be negligible. There is also no evidence of any such large-scale substitution of power for labor, as some avid enthusiasts have predicted. Any decrease in power costs relative to labor costs, and any further developments in power technology, will undoubtedly result in a more intensive use of machinery relative to manpower, as in the past. But such change is gradual, not revolutionary, and is slowed by the large investment in power-using machinery which must ordinarily be made.

From the standpoint of the individual consumer, any sizable reduction in the costs of generating electricity is of even less significance. The charge to the consumer is based in large part upon transmission-distribution costs, which would be largely unaffected. Any increased efficiency in the field of electric-power technology may be expected to do what it has done in the past—to bring a gradual decline in rates for service at the same time that greater total consumption is encouraged.[22]

Other resisting influences are imbedded in the rapidly maturing economic organization. As the United States approaches a stabilized population, as giant industries and monopoly control replace the small entrepreneur,[23] as output of product is increasingly restricted to yield higher profits, as governmental tax policies diminish available risk capital, the flexibility of the economy and of its business leadership decreases. Earlier innovation becomes institutionalized as habitual practice; and, as this occurs, the willingness of entrepreneurs to assume risks declines. The introduction of a technological innovation, especially of one which must meet the competition of well-intrenched alternative devices, thus faces mounting difficulties as the institutionalization of the present economic system becomes more pronounced.[24]

Atomic-power development will not suffer major handicaps in the industrialized nations from lack of capital or of trained personnel or of research facilities—handicaps which will be insuperable in many other parts of the world in any immediate future. But in the United States such development will tend to be hindered by the enormous investment in plant and equipment already made in power production based on other sources; the general adequacy of existing power sources, especially relative to the rather highly fixed locational pattern of industry and of population;[25] and the consequent lesser demand for additional power sources. In addition, account must be taken of the related fear that overproduction of power will depress income under conditions of decreased employment and that it may prove difficult if not impossible, except for local areas, to produce atomic power commercially at a cost which

[21] *Sixteenth Census of the United States, Manufactures, 1939,* Vol. I (Washington, 1940). See also National Resources Planning Board, *Industrial Location and National Resources* (Washington, 1942), pp. 158–60.

[22] Cost details will be found in John Bauer and Nathaniel Gold, *The Electric Power Industry* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1939), pp. 22–23.

[23] The position of small business in this country today is shown clearly in Kurt Mayer, "Small Business as a Social Institution," *Social Research,* XIV, No. 3 (September, 1947), 332–49.

[24] See Lilley, *op. cit.,* chaps. vii and xi. As a general conclusion Lilley states that "the form of society has a very great effect on the rate of inventions and that a form of society which in its young days encourages technical progress can, as a result of the very inventions it engenders, eventually come to retard further progress until a new social structure replaces it" (p. 189). Figure 52 (*ibid.,* p. 193) shows graphically the relative invention rate since 1700. For major inventions the curve rises until the 1890's, to decline by the 1930's to a level reached a hundred and fifty years earlier. The war then furnished the stimulus for a sharp acceleration of the curve. Lilley comments: "War removed, at least temporarily, the social restrictions, and immediately the rate of invention shot up to its former level" (*ibid.,* p. 205).

[25] The effects of possible commercial development of atomic power on industrial location are considered in some detail in Isard and Whitney, "Atomic Power and the Location of Industry," *op. cit.*

is competitive with that for conventionally based power. Subsidization of research and experimental construction in the wealthier nations and fear of loss of control of power production and sale on the part of certain utilities may serve in some degree as counteracting agents.

Such economic resistances are in themselves formidable but not necessarily determinative of the ultimate use or nonuse of atomic power. In general, lack of capital and technical skills may be more readily overcome than a condition of social and political instability or a deeply rooted taboo. If atomic power is not soon superseded by power based on solar energy, as some physicists believe,[26] it is reasonable to expect its ultimate development as a supplement to and partial replacement of existing power sources.

But it would be inaccurate to expect that such development will not be hindered, and in some areas blocked entirely, by the resistances briefly outlined here. It is wishful thinking to equate a *knowledge* of the process of the production of power based on nuclear energy with *actual production and use* on a world-wide basis or even in a specific region. Fundamentally, atomic power is a technological innovation which is presumably subject to the general principles of resistance to innovation even if, in given areas, favorable factors prove more powerful in the long run.

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[26] See the statement by Professor Farrington Daniels, *New York Times,* September 16, 1948, p. 27, col. 3. So long as international politics remain unsettled, the fact that solar energy does not have destructive possibilities may continue to focus attention on the development of atomic and hydrogen bombs and only incidentally on peaceful applications of nuclear energy.

SOCIOLOGICAL ASPECTS OF PARANOIA

HUBERT BONNER

ABSTRACT

Paranoic disorder can be traced back to or associated with several clearly defined sociological and social-psychological factors. A family pattern of suppression, cruelty, domination, and criticism is found in a very large number of paranoic cases. Critical life-situations, such as numerous failures, divorce, death in the family, are closely related to the disorder. Marital discord, particularly, is highly associated with this psychosis. Paranoid schizophrenia, with which paranoic disorder is compared, exhibits these characteristics to a significantly smaller extent.

In a recent study of mental patients with strong delusional trends, the writer has found several recurring associations of a sociological nature. The chief purpose of the investigation was to determine the important etiological, associative, and other factors in paranoia and paranoid condition. The patients belong in two categories of psychosis, namely, paranoia and paranoid condition and paranoid schizophrenia. In order to determine whether the factors under consideration are confined largely to this psychosis, a similar study was made of paranoid schizophrenia for an item-by-item comparison. The results presented are based on 250 cases, 125 in each diagnostic category.

We are not engaged in the psychoanalytic study of the paranoic patient. We rely mostly on the tangible evidence recorded in the hospital case histories or data secured from other reliable sources. Outside the psychodynamic interpretation engaged in by the hospital psychiatrists or clinical psychologists, there are few if any assertions in the case histories regarding the early infantile relations of the paranoic patients. We are restricted in our investigation to what the patient, his parents and siblings, his teachers and friends, his doctor and spouse, have reported to qualified officials. The most important of the reported facts fall into three categories, viz., the family pattern, critical life-situations, and marital discord.

The ambivalent relationship between child and parents is a fairly common experience. Control of the child and frustration of his deepest wishes is an unavoidable consequence of the process of socialization, no matter how wide be the limits of permissive behavior in the family. If in adult paranoia there remains so much hatred, that may itself indicate a frustrated love. The paranoic hates his parents because they so often hated him, because they failed to provide him with that affective security without which probably no person can develop a mature and stable personality. Our case material clearly and unmistakably shows that affectively distorted parents tend to distort the affective and attitudinal life of the child who, later becoming himself a parent, transmits the warping to his children. There are surprisingly few cases in our group of 125 paranoics who come from happy homes. Happy and stable parents seem to make happy and stable children.

According to Symonds, there are three forms of parental rejection: (1) neglect; (2) harshness, severity, and cruelty; and (3) strictness, overambition, and dissatisfaction with the child as he is.[1] We can usefully employ this division in describing types of family patterns. Adding to the above forms of rejection a form of acceptance, we may divide family patterns for the purpose of this study into the following four: (1) neglectful; (2) suppressive and cruel; (3) dominating and critical; and (4) "normal" or permissive (see Table 1).

[1] P. M. Symonds, *The Psychology of Parent-Child Relationship* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1939), p. 158.

Although there is some overlapping, the patients in our paranoic group fall largely into groups 2 and 3. The schizophrenics, paranoid type, have a more varied family background, with the largest number falling into groups 1, 3, and 4.

Our case histories describe the "paranoic family" clearly. The first is a patient with paranoid condition, male, fifty-one, married, insurance broker. His father used alcohol to excess. His mother, who died at the age of fifty-nine of heart disease, "had a rugged life with the drinking of the husband." According to the patient's sister, the "father frequently threatened the mother's life and almost killed the patient when he tried to protect the mother."

TABLE 1

FAMILY TYPE CORRELATED WITH PARANOIC DISORDER AND WITH PARANOID SCHIZOPHRENIA

Family Type	Paranoic Disorder ($N=125$) (Per Cent)	Paranoid Schizophrenia ($N=125$) (Per Cent)
1. Neglectful	5.6	33.6
2. Suppressive and cruel	52.8	6.4
3. Dominating and critical	18.4	31.2
4. Normal or permissive	7.2	16.0
No information	16.0	12.8
Total	100.0	100.0

The second is a married man of forty-nine, with true paranoia, who is a wrestling coach. His father, a native of Greece, drank considerably. "As a little boy," says the patient, "I remember my father beat me unduly, and I often wanted to run away. Once I did run away, but I came back. . . . He and I used to have lots of fights. Sometimes I would stay out overnight and sleep in a Greek saloon."

The case of a patient with paranoid condition, male, thirty, single, physician, illustrates the extremely dominating and critical family pattern. His maternal grandparents were both domineering, very "nervous," and high-strung, as were also his uncles and aunts. His father was successively a policeman, sheriff, and penitentiary superintendent. He always knew "what was best" for his boy. The mother was very "nervous"; she criticized and dominated the patient excessively. She decided that he must go to medical school, and so he went even though inwardly he rebelled against it. After he began to practice, his mother kept books for him. She was watchful and critical during this practice, advising him against buying an X-ray machine, criticizing him for his low fees, and making him generally unhappy. When he nevertheless bought an X-ray machine, his father criticized him harshly for not buying a smaller one. Both parents disapproved of his romantic interest in a girl and broke up the relationship. The psychiatrist stated of the patient's illness: "The onset probably took place when the patient returned from medical school to his home town to take up the practice of medicine." The prospect of doing work for which he did not care and in the face of his parents' overprotection and criticism, of which he had too much all his life, demoralized him, and he broke under the strain."

One could describe numerous cases, but the tale is largely the same: strictness, harshness, domination, and cruelty are the recurrent characteristics. As one's knowledge of paranoic psychosis widens and deepens, one often wonders which is the paranoic—the hospital patient or the offending parent?

The dominating and critical family differs from the suppressive and cruel only in degree and in appearing to be morally right by virtue of setting up high, and frequently unattainable, standards of perfection and achievement. It produces the "well-brought-up" child whose spirit is broken and who timidly conforms to the dictates of the home and the mores of the community because he is helpless and has no self-confidence. It is a mode of living that almost inevitably destroys the child's self-esteem and sets up a feeling of inferiority in approaching persons and situations. A child so reared tends to fear and hate others, to suspect them of

evil intent, and occasionally to try to destroy them.

The first case of schizophrenia of the paranoid type is that of a housewife of forty-seven who feels inferior and insecure. Her father, age seventy, is an emotionally balanced man who is indifferent to his family. Her mother and one sister are hypochondriacs. They both get a great deal of attention, while the patient is neglected—a condition which she resents bitterly and as a result of which she has felt insecure with people and distrustful of them. As a result, apparently, of her own parental neglect she has been exceedingly overprotective of her two children, denying them normal social contacts with other children.

The next case illustrates a more "normal" family life with a considerable tendency toward permissiveness and indulgence. She is thirty-eight, single, and a clerk. Her early home life was fairly stable and happy. Her father, a part owner of a chair factory, died before the patient was born. For this reason the whole family pampered and spoiled her and constantly expressed pity for her "because she had no father-love." She capitalized on this situation and always demanded the center of the stage, which she usually received. For reasons of the same parental overindulgence she tried, and usually succeeded, dominating those around her and engaged in frequent quarrels with her mother and verbal abuse of her. Despite her favored position in the family, she nevertheless had a long-standing notion that she was being mistreated.

In view of the variability of the family setting of the schizophrenic, it is risky to generalize. This much, nevertheless, seems clear: probably no other parental attitudes are so likely to make for the chronic insecurity found in the paranoid schizophrenic as are rejection and neglect. The insecurity may take various forms—humiliation, a feeling of worthlessness, isolation—but the consequences are invariably the same: an aggressive, jealous, self-centered, withdrawn, or disagreeable child. The psychodynamics of the feeling of neglect or rejection is penetratingly described by D. M. Levy as "affect hunger": a child who is repulsed or neglected becomes starved for affection.[2] In this condition of affective poverty the child will resort to any technique that will give him love or attention.

The permissive atmosphere in which many schizophrenics are reared is marked more particularly by parental overindulgence. This is especially true of those with pronounced regressive and compensatory trends. An overprotected child, a child whose infancy is prolonged by parental oversolicitousness or neurotic self-love, either remains or regresses to a chronic "mamma's boy."[3] When he reaches adolescence, however, he discovers that infantilism is despised, and he is thus induced to surrender his earlier attachment and dependence. The effort to surrender may meet with resistance in the forms of temper tantrums, rebelliousness, autoeroticism, or in the uncontrolled delusory and hallucinatory compensations of a frank psychosis.

Obviously, it is impossible to tell in all cases with certainty that a family is negligent or indulgent. Psychological phenomena take place on a continuum; they cannot be chopped into precisely measurable segments. We can at best judge in terms of more or less. Thus it is probable that at the middle or lower ends of the continua we are dealing in our culture with more or less "normal," i.e., culturally accepted, familial behavior. This fact does not invalidate our conclusions. It calls attention, rather, to the fact that in mental disorder, as in all behavioral phenomena, there is no simple explanation. It calls attention, moreover, to the fact that the effect of institutions upon the individual depends not exclusively upon

[2] D. M. Levy, "Primary Affect Hunger," *American Journal of Psychiatry*, XCIV (1937), 643–52. It is our belief that this affect hunger goes far toward explaining the apathy and impairment of affect which are so noticeable in the personality of the paranoid schizophrenic patient.

[3] For a good discussion of maternal overprotection and some of its consequences see D. M. Levy, "Maternal Overprotection," *Psychiatry*, I (1938), 561–91; II (1939), 99–128, 563–97.

the institutions but also upon the individual's response to them, or his manner of incorporating them into his system of meanings. Behavior cannot be accounted for wholly in terms of the objective situation as described by the sociologist or anthropologist. We must also describe the situation as the subject perceives it; i.e., in terms of what it means to him. Thus rejection, overprotection, or cruelty in familial relations will not mean precisely the same thing to every individual. The harsh and suppressive authoritarian family in Germany or Japan have a different meaning to Germans and Japanese from that of the same families to Americans.[4]

There is general agreement that the human personality is characterized by integrity, that is, a relative constancy in its processes and activities. When this psychological equilibrium is threatened by painful experiences, conflicts, or frustrations, the self resorts to a variety of protective devices to maintain or regain balance. Though usually forms of self-deception, in the light of psychic economy they may be helpful if used in moderation, in helping him to weather frustrating crises like failure, divorce, or a death in the family. These are events which involve not only his happiness but frequently even more his self-esteem.

The paranoic, as revealed by the biographic and clinical investigation, is a person of boundless ambition who drives himself toward the achievement of goals that are often beyond his ability. Ambition is a vital element in his egocentricity. His inordinate drive to achieve is frequently initiated by his parents' intense wish for his success. To this wish must be added the parents' hypercritical attitude toward failures, which often creates in the growing child a feeling of worthlessness, a loss of confidence, and a consequent tendency to recoil from association with others. Once seclusiveness, failure, and a general distrust of others become established in the paranoic, barring exceptionally favorable future circumstances, he will react to later situations in terms of the established pattern. Just as nothing succeeds like success, so every failure tends to produce more failure. The paranoic individual will, accordingly, explain his failures by his well-established method of rationalization, placing, as in the past, false interpretations upon them. His adjustment to failure is the product of a long chain of similar adjustment extending throughout the larger part of his life.

The paranoid schizophrenic, too, will rationalize his defeats—as will the normal person occasionally, for that matter—but his need for it is seldom as urgent as that of the paranoic patient. Here there is not the same intensity of drive and affect. The schizophrenic patient seeks adjustment primarily through some form of regression, such as excessive dependence on others, or self-reproach for his "sins." Failure has a different meaning for him.

In the group of paranoic patients 56.08 per cent experienced one or more critical situations, particularly failure; and 42.4 per cent of the schizophrenic group. Failure occurs with significant frequency in the former, whereas the number of failures is lower in the latter.

The effects of three critical situations, death in the family, professional failure, and marital discord, are seen in the case of a male paranoic, forty, divorced, remarried, a psychiatrist. He believed that there was a Nazi plot about people at Fort M., whom he resented; that the "board men" (those approved by the Psychiatric Board) were exerting pressure to prevent him from being given his rightful position on the staff of the Veterans Hospital. When he was seven years old, he witnessed the death of his ten-year-old brother, accidentally shot by a neighbor boy. This tragedy affected him profoundly. For a long time he wanted to take revenge. Years later the boy was smothered to death

[4] It may be true that even in Germany, for example, the authoritarian family develops paranoic personalities, as Brickner has pointed out (see R. M. Brickner, *Is Germany Incurable?* [New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1943]).

in an oil tank, and, when the patient heard of it, he was gravely upset for a long time. He flunked out of medical school because he had to work for his living while studying. This failure was a source of deep mortification and discouragement. He finally attained his medical degree, but thereafter failed in the attempt to gain first one, then another, position as clinical director of army hospitals. After his failure in medical school he had married a girl who had a difficult time with her family and was apparently maladjusted. Following his marriage he toured Europe alone. When he returned, his wife decided that their marriage was a mistake and obtained a divorce on the grounds of mental cruelty. After he had got his medical degree he became an intern but was disgusted because some of his superiors "had not been honest with him." He quit, went to another city, and married a second time. He has been conscious of not being an accredited psychiatrist, but he is afraid to take the Board examinations because he fears failure.

The difference in reaction to failure and similar disturbances in the two psychoses is psychologically very important, for it in part accounts for the maintenance of personality in the paranoic and its deterioration in the paranoid schizophrenic. The paranoic's rationalization almost never leads to regressive behavior. While he tries desperately hard to make a plausible or acceptable explanation of his failure, he will usually at the same time continue his struggle against it. His resentment, hostility, or hatred, while socially undesirable, is a powerful weapon against the situation. Psychotic reactions seldom make strong inroads upon personality when the individual does not surrender to isolation or withdraw into apathy. When the schizophrenic struggles or perseveres, he not infrequently recovers spontaneously. This is especially true in schizophrenic episodes.[5] If the paranoic, because of his refusal to surrender to failure, maintains his personality largely intact, he runs the risk, however, because of his violent emotions, of so impairing his habitual patterns of behavior as to make him not more, but less, competent and thus subject to continued defeat.

The difference in response to failure between the paranoic and the paranoid schizophrenic may be stated in another way. The paranoic's effort to achieve internal harmony is by way of attack. He is inclined to damage the environment which he holds responsible for his defeat. Accordingly, he is more likely to engage in fighting, disobedience, contentiousness, defiance of authority, and the like. The consequences of this mode of reaction are, to borrow Menninger's phrase, "broken situations."[6]

The paranoid schizophrenic, on the other hand, instead of attacking the situation, will seek internal harmony by retreat. He will probably withdraw into fantasy, expressing his sense of loss or defeat through seclusiveness, fear, lack of ambition, irresponsibility. This mode of reaction results in what Menninger terms "broken personalities."[7]

The paranoic individual not only grew up in an environment of bickering, suspicion, and emotional turmoil, but he unmistakably carries these traits into his own marital relations. Burgess and Cottrell, Terman, and others[8] find inadequate marital adjustment appearing with almost monotonous regularity in paranoics. Divorce, the considering of divorce, and separation are common among them. Discord seems to be the norm (see Table 2). The quantitative data do not tell the whole story, nor well. A striking fact is that only five cases in the married group among the paranoics describe their marriage as "fair," "happy," or marred by "no

[5] See Robert W. White, *The Abnormal Personality* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948), pp. 534–35.

[6] Karl Menninger, *The Human Mind* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1930), p. 25.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[8] E. W. Burgess and L. S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1939); L. M. Terman, *Psychological Factors in Marital Happiness* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1938).

trouble." This is only 9.47 per cent of the total of those who are married. Forty-eight married patients, or 90.53 per cent, describe their marriages as "uncongenial," "unhappy," "terrible," or "Hell on earth." Assuming, as we may, that the divorced were also unhappy, dissatisfied, or unadjusted in their marital relationships—in the majority of cases there is a clear statement to that effect in their records, or they made it plain in interviews—there is a total of 85, or 98 per cent of the married and divorced group together, characterized by marital discord.

TABLE 2

MARITAL STATUS CORRELATED WITH PARANOIC DISORDER AND WITH PARANOID SCHIZOPHRENIA

Marital Status	Paranoic Disorder ($N=125$) (Per Cent)	Paranoid Schizophrenia ($N=125$) (Per Cent)
Single	20.8	50.4
Married	42.4	29.6
Separated or divorced	29.6	16.8
Widowed	7.2	3.2
Total	100.0	100.0

There is much discord in the paranoid schizophrenic's life, too, but this fact is comparatively not significant. More important is the fact that the paranoid schizophrenic usually does not marry at all.[9] Sixty-three, or 50.4 per cent, are single. This is striking in view of the chronological ages of these patients: twenty years to seventy years, or an average of forty and a half years. Of the 37 who are married, only 8, or 21.62 per cent, describe their marriages as "satisfactory," "congenial," or "happy." Adding the 21 divorced or separated as also unhappy, there is a total of 50, or 86.2 per cent of the married and divorced group together, whose lives have been disturbed by marital discord.

The marital difficulties of the paranoic patient do not have a simple explanation. One thing, however, seems to be fairly clear. His marital turmoil is a product, not so much of sexual dissatisfaction or sexual incompatibility, as of his uncontrollable temper, his uncompromising and rigid makeup, his egocentricity and self-aggrandizement, and his brooding and quarrelsome disposition. The affect is there, but it is misdirected.

The paranoic's marital difficulties are a direct product of his condition to some extent, in all cases. At the same time our clinical evidence indicates that, had certain potential paranoics never married, they might have escaped an ultimate breakdown. This is corroborated by the fact that in many cases a frank psychosis appeared only after many years of frustrating and distressing domestic entanglements. Marital maladjustment may be either a cause or an effect of paranoic psychosis. It cannot, in any event, be disregarded in investigations into the etiology of this disorder.

Sexual dissatisfaction is not usually a direct cause of marital incompatibility and maladjustment. Seventy-two in the paranoic group for which we have data found the sexual aspects of their early married life satisfactory. Forty-eight of these are men. Thirteen, of whom nine are women, found their sexual life unsatisfactory from the beginning. Of the four men who found sexual relations with their wives unsatisfactory, one is an overt homosexual and his wife knows it. Of the nine women who did not enjoy marital coitus, six are homosexually inclined. One could not bear to be seen by her husband undressing, and she left him after two weeks. She had no objection to being seen completely undressed by her eighteen-year-old niece.

According to our data, sexual dissatisfaction is primarily a result rather than a cause of marital discord. This conclusion is supported by research by others which

[9] He lacks the emotional capacity to enter into the intimate personal relationships and affections essential for successful courtship. If he does marry, his emotional impairment accounts for his failure to make the marriage successful. The paranoic's failure, on the other hand, is more likely to be due to his quarrelsome and combative disposition.

shows that, once dissatisfaction with the spouse becomes firmly established, it quickly pervades other areas of marital life, particularly the sexual.[10] Adequate sexual adjustment depends upon a variety of very subtle social-psychological factors, particularly sympathy and identification. These traits, however, are usually poorly developed in the paranoic individual. Because he was rejected or mistreated by his own parents the paranoic individual had little or no opportunity to acquire skill in role-taking. Having received little or no sympathy from his parents, he had almost no opportunity to *identify* himself with them. Affective integration in marital relations is wrought by the process of identification, which is poorly developed in the paranoic individual. With his emotional instability an impoverished sense of identification leaves him without the essential resources for satisfying his affective cravings. Relief from sexual tension, which he can get from either men or women, now becomes the only reason for entering into close relationships. The sexual aim, in other words, has only a physiological and not a psychological motive.

Because the paranoic individual's sexual relations are unsatisfactory, he comes to doubt his own virility and sexual potency. In view of his exceeding egocentricity, his doubts are intolerable to him. He thus resorts once more to his familiar habit of projection. The fault, he is sure, is not in himself but in his wife. She is unfaithful, she is "running around" with other men. Thus the full circle is completed.

The paranoic's parents, we have seen, were very frequently maritally unstable. They display all the characteristics of the patient's own attitude and behavior and make up a paranoic family. In such a circle one cannot reasonably expect the growing child to acquire sympathetic attitudes toward others. The paranoic individual acts toward his spouse just as his parents acted toward each other. He seldom has a better model to follow. This conclusion, based on data in the life-histories of and on personal interviews with paranoic patients, is confirmed by other studies of marital adjustment.[11]

If in this article primary stress has been placed upon the social-situational variables in the development of paranoic disorder, with the greatest emphasis upon the family, it is because the autonomic-affective strivings of the child are conditioned by members of his family, particularly his parents. Every conditioned experience determines the child's adjustment to subsequent experiences. If the parents are gentle and considerate, if they give the child a maximum of the kind of affection that satisfies his needs, the probability that they will develop a well-adjusted child is very great. If they are suppressive, unfair, hostile, and cruel, they will with equal probability set up in the child resentment and hate, distrust and a sense of being persecuted, and develop in him a rigid mechanism of rationalization. Opportunities for mastering the world around him in the interest of his own growth into maturity are reduced or eliminated, and the person eventually finds himself despising the world and being despised by it.

A person may have a fairly satisfactory family history—satisfactory, that is to say, according to the standards prevailing in a group, though not necessarily satisfactory according to scientific standards—and yet develop paranoic disturbances. It is therefore necessary to look for other variables. Critical situations, we have seen, are another source of paranoic development. Traumatic experiences, failures, crises of various kinds, are also productive of paranoic psychosis. These experiences, together

[10] Burgess and Cottrell, *op. cit.*; Terman, *op. cit* Cf. Willard Waller, *The Family: A Dynamic Interpretation* (New York: Dryden Press, 1938), esp. pp. 314–36.

[11] See H. J. Locke, "Predicting Marital Adjustment by Comparing a Divorced and a Happily Married Group," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 187–91; L. M. Terman and P. Buttenwieser, "Personality Factors in Marital Compatibility," *Journal of Social Psychology*, VI (1935), 143–71, 627–89.

with his distorted family life, cause the paranoic's self-image to be damaged early in his career, and consequently instead of reacting to his frustrations and failures through constructive channels, such as, say, a realistic appraisal of his talents, and directing them along lines assuring success, or abandoning them altogether, he utilizes techniques which forestall their achievement. He may become dependent and passive or strike out in resentment or anger. This technique usually begets more frustration, and the patient is overwhelmed with feelings of distress, fear, worthlessness, and deprivation. But here once more the vicious circle is at work. The state of helplessness is unbearable, and so the individual "takes it out" on others.

The paranoid schizophrenic has neither the same history of familial oppression, chronic failure, nor marital misfortune. Not having the same intense drive to succeed, his failures do not end in the catastrophic demoralizing effect of those of the paranoic individual. Here, however, lies the greatest threat to the schizophrenic's stability. Unlike the paranoic person who reacts violently to his frustrations and failures, the schizophrenic individual is satisfied with retreat to the inner world of fantasy. His failures thus make a greater inroad upon his personality, for, once the struggle is given up, there is little motive to adjust himself on a plane of higher reality.

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SOCIOMETRIC STARS AS ISOLATES

F. STUART CHAPIN

ABSTRACT

Conventional sociometric diagrams represent "stars" or leaders as the persons most often chosen as the center of a circle of admiring friends. When the data of such heuristic diagrams consist of (1) number of incoming choices; (2) number of outgoing choices; and (3) social status scores or some other rating, and are plotted in a three-dimensional model, instead of drawn on a two-dimensional flat surface, the "stars" no longer appear as in the center but as on the periphery of the total group structures. Thus, in social space (not mere direction of choices), "stars" conform to Cooley's concept of the isolation of the leader.

The "star" or leader in the informal type of social relations which a sociometric diagram describes is a person most chosen by other members of the community or the group. Such a person is usually represented at the center of an admiring group of persons who claim him as their most intimate friend.[1] But the star does not usually reciprocate many of these friendship choices, and his unreciprocated outgoing choices are also few. In fact, a study of nine friendship constellations with a star at each center as found, for example, by Lundberg and Steele in a New England town, shows 80 incoming choices to only 28 outgoing choices (of which only 11 were reciprocals) (see Table 1). Thus the incoming choices per leader were about 9 (8.89), and the outgoing were only 3.1, or the outgoing choices were about one-third of the incoming choices. The high number of incoming choices which a star or leader receives sets him off from his fellows in the common herd. He shows few outgoing choices, perhaps because of indifference or because to reciprocate all incoming choices is too fatiguing or to have many reciprocal choices would be to show favoritism and hence to alienate friends.

It is apparent from the foregoing analysis, which is both quantitative and qualitative, that the star or leader appears on a trivariate model as a person set apart from the others. He is in respect to the axes of this model an isolate but of a different type from the true isolates H-6, B-2, and ME-9 of Figure 1.

About forty years ago Charles Horton Cooley provided the classical statement of a relevant principle in the following passages:

> Some tendency to isolation and spiritual impoverishment is likely to go with any sort of distinction or privilege. Wealth, culture, reputation, bring special gratifications. These foster special tastes, and these in turn give rise to special ways of living and thinking which imperceptibly separate one from common sympathy, and put him in a special class. . . .
>
> Only a very sane mind can carry distinction and fellowship without spilling either. . . .
>
> Moreover, conspicuous and successful persons are more likely than the communality to be institutionalized, to have sacrificed human nature to specialty. . . . An upper class is institutionalized in its very essence, since it is control of institutions that makes it an upper class, and men can hardly keep this control except as they put their hearts into it. . . .[2]

Despite these principles, the convention among sociometrists has been to represent the star as a person *at the center of* a circle of surrounding friends. Figure 1, taken from the date of Chart I of the early Lundberg-Steele study, is a good example of this method of describing on a two-dimensional flat surface the sociometric structure of a star, his satellites, and the mass of admirers.

[1] George A. Lundberg and Mary Steele, "Social Attraction-Patterns in a Village," *Sociometry*, I, Nos. 3 and 4 (January–April, 1938), 385–86. This study is, in my opinion, the most scientific study of a natural social community that has been made by use of sociometric methods and hence was selected for analysis.

[2] Charles Horton Cooley, *Social Organization* (New York: Scribner's, 1911), pp. 138–40. See also n. 7 below.

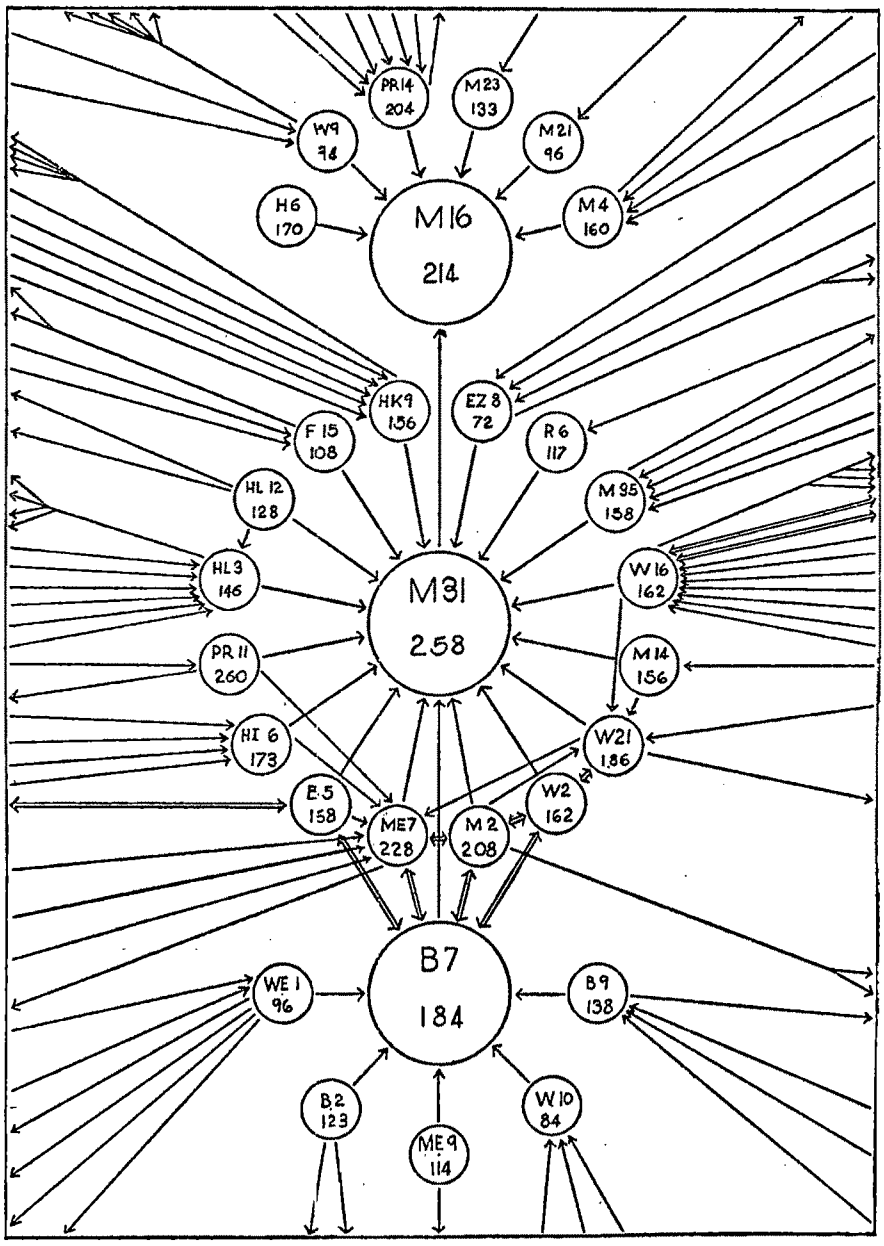

FIG. 1.—"Friendship" constellation in a village. Each person is represented by a circle. The letter and the first number in the circle is the code symbol of the person. The second number is that person's score of socioeconomic status on the Chapin scale. Each arrow represents a choice made or received according to the direction of the arrow. Mutual choices are represented by double-headed arrows.

Our present analysis of the star as a type of isolate is not consistent with the heuristic diagrams of sociometricians, and yet the quantitative data (Table 1) support our interpretation. Can it be that the conventional heuristic diagram on a two-dimensional surface is merely the result of imposing upon the data some natural preconceptions of leadership that are valid only in other contexts but which are actually incompatible with representation on a flat surface?

Long ago mapmakers discovered that a map presented on a flat surface misrepresented the curved surface of the terrestrial globe. Physicists found a three-dimensional model useful for heuristic description and for theoretical analysis. Hence models in three dimensions of the structure of the atom were made. Do these explorations of physical relationships suggest also a different approach to data interpreted by sociometric design?

TABLE 1*

COMPARISON OF NINE STARS IN A NEW ENGLAND TOWN

Source (1)	Star's Symbol (2)	Number of Incoming Choices (3)	Number of Outgoing Choices (4)	Number of Reciprocals (5)
Chart I, p. 387..	M-31	16	3	0
	M-16	7	0	0
	B-7	9	5	0
Chart II, p. 392..	B-12	6	6	1
Chart III, p. 396	W-20	11	4	3
Chart IV, p. 399.	We-5	9	0	0
Chart V, p. 402..	H-7	9	3	2
Chart VI, p. 404.	HL-8	7	4	2
Chart VII, p. 407	HK-1	6	3	3
Total.....	9	80	28	11
Average number.....	.....	8.88	3.1	1.2

* All data in this table are taken from Lundberg and Steele's study. It may be noted that Lundberg's results of 3.1 outgoing choices are about the average found in other studies. Deutschberger found 3.08 in Pittsburgh and New York. In the second edition of Helen Jennings' *Leadership and Isolation* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1950), she reports the mean number of chosen as 4.08 on Test I and 4.31 on Test II, given eight months later. (Information supplied by the kindness of Dr. Jennings.)

After some experimentation with three-dimensional models to describe correlation surfaces[3] and social space,[4] designed to work out the simpler mechanical problems of three-dimensional space representation, a working model was invented. This model is shown in Figures 2 and 3. The basic data of Figure 1 are therefore represented in the three-dimensional space of Figures 2 and 3 with some unexpected results. *The net result is to suggest that stars or leaders, when represented by a trivariate distribution, are a kind of isolate and are not centers of clusters.* This discovery solves the contradiction that previously existed between (1) the flat surface chart (Fig. 1) in two-dimensional space, showing circle clusters, and (2) the facts of isolation shown in Table 1. The remainder of this paper is devoted to a description of how the data of Figure 1 may be represented in an empirical model using quantified description on three axes: X_1 is social status;[5] X_2 is incoming choices; and X_3 is outgoing choices. It should be noted that all outgoing choices are shown in parentheses.

The basic table is Table 2, wherein the data of Figure 1 are classified in cells on two dimensions, with the third dimension shown by figures in parentheses. Even in this flat-surface table the scatter of data in the cells shows that star M-31 of the major constellation is in an isolated position at the upper right-hand corner and that the lesser stars, M-16 and B-7, are also off-center from the common herd and marginal to the mass clusters of rows 1–5, in columns 1–3. It should be noted that all outgoing choices are shown in parentheses.

When the data of Table 2 are represented on the trivariate surface of a three-dimensional model by beads run on horizontal wires and placed with reference to the values of social status as X_1, and incoming choices as X_2, with outgoing choices repre-

[3] G. Udny Yule and M. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (London: C. Griffin & Co., Ltd., 1940), pp. 204–5, Figs. 11.1, 11.2, and 11.3.

[4] F. Stuart Chapin, *Contemporary American Institutions* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1935), p. 352.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 373–97, for standardization of this scale.

sented as X_3, the isolated position of the major star M-31 (previously depicted as the center of a cluster in Fig. 1) is even more clearly revealed. This star M-31 appears as the single bead at the upper right in both Figures 2 and 3. The surface $X_1 \cdot X_2$ is shown clearly in Figure 2 (surface *A*) as representing the scatter of Table 2. A more diagonal view is shown in Figure 3 (surfaces *B* and *C*). Although our model shows only the most complex cluster of the Lundberg-Steele study, Table 1 indicates that similar results would have been found for the lesser clusters. This one demonstration does not, of course, establish with certainty the principle derived from this single experiment; it does, however, suggest a new approach to sociometric analysis which may be useful and productive of new insights and hypotheses.

Some other applications of this analysis by three-dimensional model may be suggested. This type of descriptive analysis may be fruitful in the case of group structures and even of personality structures, assuming that three or more attributes can be quantified by various measurement devices. Some methodological aspects are also interesting. Figure 2 indicates clearly that there is a correlation between social status

TABLE 2

SOCIAL STATUS, INCOMING CHOICES, AND OUTGOING CHOICES DERIVED FROM DATA OF FIGURE 1

Social Status Scores (X_1)	Number of Incoming Choices (X_2)						Total
	0–2	3–5	6–8	9–11	12–14	15–17	
279 240–	PR-11(3)		*m-16(0)* **			M-31(3) **	3
239 200–	M-2(5) m-2(6)	*pr-14(2)*	ME-7(4) me-7(5)				5
199 160–	W-16(5) B-1 (0) B-8 (0) B-5 (5) *h-6* (1)* b-5 (5)	W-21(1) HI-6(2) *m-4(2)*	W-2(2) w-2(3)	b-7(5) **			12
159 120–	M-35(2) M-14(2) HL-12(4) *m-23(1)* b-2(3)*	HK-9(5) b-9 (2)	HI-3(5)				8
119 80–	R-6(1) F-15(3) *w-9(6)* *m-21(1)* we-1(5) me-1(2)*	w-10(1)					7
79 40–		E-28(3)					
Total...	20	8	6	1	0	1	36

*True isolates; ** Stars *m-16*, M-31, and b-7.

Entries in CAPITALS = members of major constellation, where $N = 19$. Entries in *italics* = members of lesser constellation, where $n = 7$. Entries in lower case = members of lesser constellation, where $N = 10$. Four persons are common to two clusters, M-2, ME-7, me-7, and W-2. Entries in parentheses represent outgoing choices.

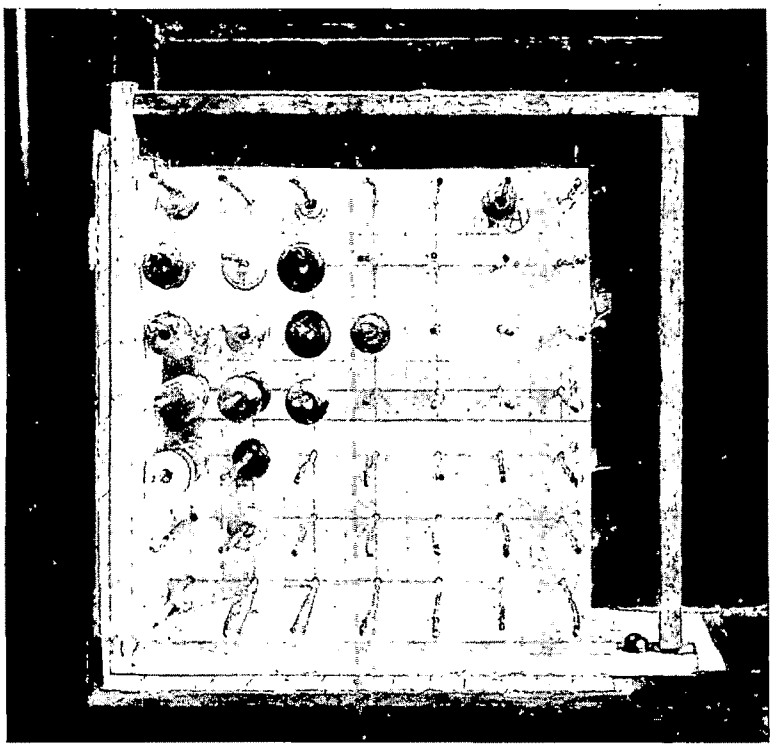

FIG. 2.—Represents Table 2. X_1 (vertical axis) is social status score; X_2 (horizontal axis, left to right) is incoming choices.

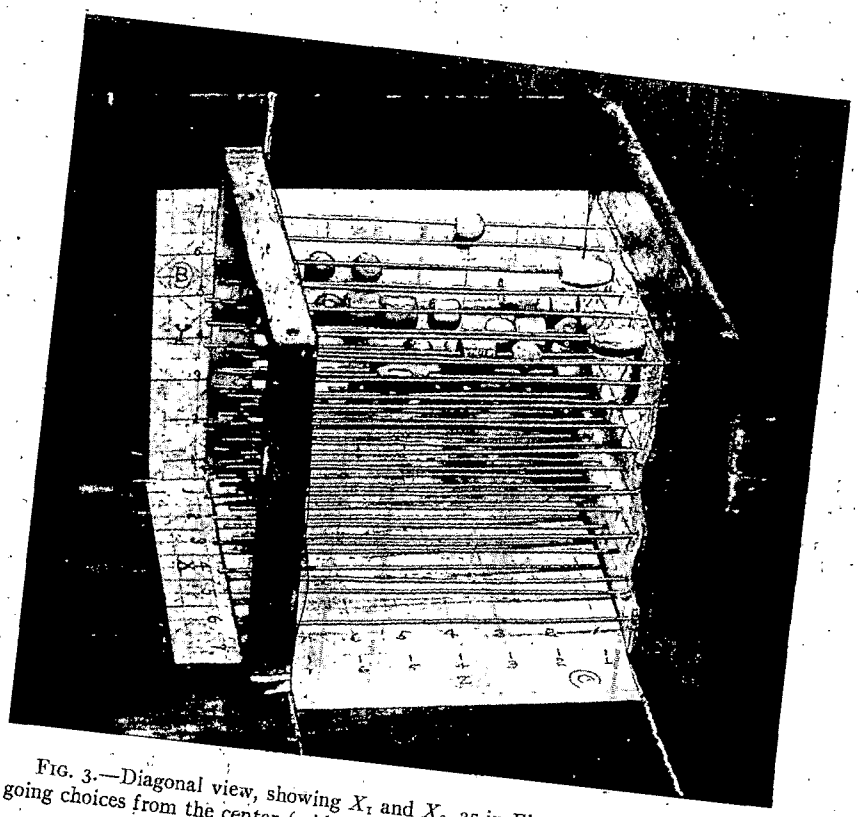

FIG. 3.—Diagonal view, showing X_1 and X_2, as in Fig. 2, but also X_3, as outgoing choices from the center (midpoint of photograph), right to left.

X_1 and the number of incoming choices X_2, a point that Lundberg and Steele also brought out. It does not, of course, measure the degree of correlation, but it indicates its existence and whether it is linear or curvilinear. Partial correlations may also be made by this model by the device of segregating the cases in any plane and then constructing a new model with some other variable X_4 as the third dimension, etc.

Our conclusions are subject to three qualifications. (1) Since the data used were obtained from pioneer research done as long ago as 1936 by George A. Lundberg and Mary Steele and published in *Sociometry* of January–April (1938), it was not possible in the present paper to go beyond the original data and introduce more recent interpretations. It would have been interesting, had the data been more recent, to attempt an interpretation of the results in terms of Helen Jennings' hypotheses concerning the concept of emotional repertoire,[6] (2) The social status scores reported by Lundberg and Steele were obtained by my social status scale and hence use an operationally defined concept of social status. (3) It should be remembered that sociometric diagrams are designed to show clearly the social *direction* of choices, whereas the three-dimensional model is designed to represent usually three variates in a conventional-mathematical space relationship.[7]

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[6] Helen H. Jennings, *Leadership and Isolation* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1943), pp. 58, 61, 69–74, 85–86, 89–90, 103, 209–10, 215, 219, 224.

[7] In this matter of choices in given directions, it should be noted that many choices toward a person, when not reciprocated, are one indication of social distance and hence of *isolation*. Social distance and isolation are facts of *social space*.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE UNITED STATES CENSUS AND CALCULATIONS OF AGE AT MARRIAGE

(Continued)

August 11, 1950

To the Editor:

The original manuscript which was condensed for the *Journal* contained much of Dr. Eckler's exposition, and the writer's dissertation on marriage age gives a full explanation of the United States Census data and methods.[1] The averages in the table were brought together for consideration only; it was also stated that some of the averages were noncomparable. On the other hand, the Census, as stated, has placed noncomparable items in the same table and has compared them in textual comment,[2] and numerous other writers have followed the Census lead with not one reference to noncomparability.[3] It is merely a happy circumstance for the Census that the comparable 1940 total female average, as we are now told, is 21.5 instead of 21.6.

Two widely used texts on population and the family cite different United States averages: Thompson (1942) uses the 1935 calculations, and Folsom (1943) still uses the 1930 results.[4] The 1935 release does contain a brief reference to a change in the method of calculation, but the last summary tables published in 1945 have no reference at all to any similar prior publication or acknowledgment of error.[5] While the Census has always indicated the kind of its data, it has never specifically "warned" or indicated "superseded" results.

Two statements of Dr. Eckler should be corrected. The writer neither consulted with the Census Bureau about gathering data nor expressed a definite preference in his "Comments" as to the best form of marriage question. The Census release of 1935 contains only the first half of my statement regarding the data necessary for a careful determination of age at first marriage. Dr. Eckler's reply suggests that he is unaware of the import of my remark.[6]

The use of Census data by individuals for sociological research is not so "extensive" as Dr. Eckler makes out but rather "somewhat disappointing," as another Census official has written.[7] The organization and administration of the Census Bureau are no doubt

[1] Thomas P. Monahan, *The Pattern of Age at Marriage in the United States* (publication in process).

[2] *Population: Special Reports*, Series P-45, No. 7 (Bureau of the Census, May, 1945); *Current Population Reports*, Series P-20, No. 10 (Bureau of the Census, February, 1948); *The American Family: A Factual Background* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 33.

[3] E. W. Burgess and H. J. Locke, *The Family* (New York: American Book Co., 1945), p. 677; H. T. Christensen, *Marriage Analysis* (New York: Ronald Press, 1950), p. 288; L. I. Dublin in H. Holland, *Why Are You Single* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Co., 1949), p. 69; J. T. and M. G. Landis, *The Marriage Handbook* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), pp. 37, 51; F. E. Merrill, *Courtship and Marriage* (New York: William Sloane Associates, Inc., 1949), p. 10; M. F. Nimkoff, *Marriage and the Family* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1947), p. 460; K. Young, *Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1949), pp. 320–21. See also *Business Week*, November 26, 1949, pp. 25–26; and *Editorial Research Reports* (widely used by newspapers), "Marriage and Divorce," I (Washington, D.C., 1949), 85.

[4] W. S. Thompson, *Population Problems* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1942), p. 108; J. K. Folsom, *The Family and Democratic Society* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1943), p. 485.

[5] *Population: Special Reports*, Series P-45, No. 7.

[6] R. R. Kuczynski, "The Analysis of Vital Statistics, Marriage Statistics," *Economica*, V (new ser.; May, 1938), 138–63.

[7] Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Opportunities for Social Research in the 1950 Census of Population," *American Sociological Review*, June, 1950, p. 417.

partly a reason for this. The compilation of more meaningful data (either published or unpublished) and its proper indexing could assist in many research problems.

Dr. Eckler has dissembled my remark on professional ethics, other instances of which could have been given. The question has no reference to the use of unpublished materials by private research workers[8] (if they can learn of them), but it has specific reference to public servants who prepare materials (especially new materials) and write research reports at expense to the government for their personal use, and who may even keep these data from public access until after they have been so used. The writer, for instance, has not yet obtained all the 1948 data used in the paper by the Census employee cited before,[9] nor was he able to get those that he now has until *after* they had been used by this employee. Protests to the Census officials were unavailing.

At this point it might be recalled that in former times the Census Bureau has not been immune from professional criticism. The American Economic Association in 1895 published a report written by professional statisticians called *The Federal Census. Critical Essays.*[10]

Only now admitting "errors," it is most unfortunate that the Census Bureau has not grasped the problem and is oblivious to the fallacies of its method, which is in no manner "sound from a theoretical point of view." As stated, reasons why the method of the Census is unsound are given at length in the writer's report referred to above. Dr. Eckler only raises some more doubts about it, although the details of the calculation are still not known outside the Census. The handling of marital status and ages unknown are not mentioned anywhere. Demographers recognize that an unknown number of divorced (or separated) men declare themselves as single in replies to Census queries, and some women may do the same; while illegitimate mothers, but not as many of the fathers, may declare themselves as married.[11] The accuracy of population data by marital status for the United States is not known. In recent years annulments have become more important, and in some states like California and New York they loom large; yet the Census classifies annulees as single.[12] Even though these matters were minor, the Census method is not a scientific procedure and cannot be said to measure the median age at first marriage.

Dr. Eckler's statement that "even considerable differences in the assumed maximum percentage who will ever marry do not greatly affect the results" is quite remarkable, since changes in the marriage rate and the proportions marrying are said by statisticians to have a definite bearing on the average age at marriage.[13] How the arbitrary assumption of the maximum percentage marrying influences the median age at marriage found by the Census method is shown by the following. The percentage of males who were reported single in 1910 was greater at every age up to 35 years than in 1940, indicating fewer were getting married in 1910; and yet, by age group 45–54, the percentage ever-married was practically the same at the two periods.[14] The high pro-

[8] This is provided for by law. See *United States Code, 1946*, Title 13, sec. 218.

[9] Bureau of the Census, handout, "Age as a Factor in Marriage," December 30, 1949, Table 5, cols. 2–4.

[10] American Economic Association, *The Federal Census: Critical Essays* (Publicaton No. 2, New Series [New York, 1899]).

[11] W. B. Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions* (New York: Century Co., 1906), p. 91; W. F. Willcox, *Studies in American Demography* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1940), pp. 187–88; National Office of Vital Statistics, *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, XXIII, No. 2 (July, 1945), 45, and No. 7 (October, 1947), p. 1.

[12] P. H. Jacobson, "Marital Dissolutions in New York State in Relation to Their Trend in the United States," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXVIII (January, 1950), 36, 41. See also *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, XXXI, No. 16 (November, 1949), 224, 226.

[13] J. Hajnal, "Aspects of Recent Changes in Marriage in England and Wales," *Population Studies*, I, No. 1 (1947–48), 77. See also Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–45, 156.

[14] Bureau of the Census, *Population, 1940, Char-*

portions of older "first marriages" (decrease of percentage single) shown by the population data from 1890 to 1920, whether due to inaccurate returns, differential mortality by marital status, and/or some other reason, is a condition not confirmed by direct information on first marriages by age. Marriage records for men show that only about 3.5 per cent marry for the first time after the age of 39 and that less than 2 per cent after the age of 44.[15] If we assume that the maximum percentage ever-marrying in 1910 compared to 1940 is better represented by the age group 35–44 (than 45–54), we find that the median age at marriage calculated by the Census method did not decline 0.86 years but only 0.52 years.[16]

The *reductio ad absurdum* is found when we consider what would result if there were no marriages at all in the year or so around the Census date: an average age at first marriage would be found by the Census method when in fact no marriages had occurred.

The Census results, therefore, cannot be used as evidence of a decreasing age at first marriage in the United States, an alleged "impressive" change in the structure of the American family.[17] A large body of evidence on actual ages at marriage which the writer has compiled for an important group of nine states and one metropolitan city, extending back fifty to one hundred years, indicates that the average age at first marriage *as ordinarily conceived*, the simple average, has not decreased but has increased slightly, contradicting what the Census results presumably show. Refined qualifications of these data[18] further reveal that it is very doubtful that the *true* average age at first marriage has changed to any significant degree in this country. Much more work needs to be done on the subject, however.

Finally, it is for the scientifically minded reader, and not the Census Bureau, to decide whether these matters and admitted errors can be dismissed as "minor."

The prevalent belief that there has been a trend to earlier marriage in this country since 1890 seems to be a bit of sociological folklore, which the Census has helped to propagate with its dubious calculations. Numerous sociological theories, such as those relating the increase of divorce and the use of birth control to increasingly earlier marriage in the United States, are therefore not in agreement with the facts of marriage age.

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acteristics by Age, "United States Summary," Vol. IV, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1943), pp. 16, 21.

[15] *Vital Statistics—Special Reports*, XVII, No. 9 (March, 1943), 98; Monahan, *op. cit.*

[16] Adjusted for marital status not given; ages not given, ignored.

[17] *The American Family: A Factual Background* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1949), p. 33.

[18] See Kuczynski, *op. cit.*; Monahan, *op. cit.*

NEWS AND NOTES

Alpha Kappa Delta.—New officers of the United Chapters of Alpha Kappa Delta (the National Honorary Sociological Society) for 1950–52 were elected at the business meeting in Denver on September 8. They are: president, T. Earl Sullenger, University of Omaha; first vice-president, Martin H. Neumeyer, University of Southern California; second vice-president, Katharine Jocher, University of North Carolina; secretary-treasurer, Eugene P. Link, State University of New York; editor, R. R. Martin, Hamline University, St. Paul, Minnesota. The executive committee consists of Kimball Young, Northwestern University, Evanston, Illinois, and M. F. Nimkoff, Florida State University.

American Association of University Women.—Fellowships for graduate study or research for 1951–52 are awarded in general to candidates who have completed two years of residence work for the Doctor's degree or who have already received the degree. The greatest importance is attached to the project on which the candidate wishes to work, its significance, and the evidence of the candidate's ability to pursue it. Applications and supporting materials must reach the office in Washington by December 15, 1950. For detailed information concerning these fellowships, instructions for applying, and the conditions of acceptance, address the Secretary, Committee on Fellowship Awards, American Association of University Women, 1634 Eye Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

National fellowships, open to American women for study in the United States or abroad, are: Alice Freeman Palmer Memorial Fellowship of $1,500, doctorate required; Dorothy Bridgman Atkinson Fellowship, $1,500; Elizabeth Avery Colton Fellowship, $1,500; Ellen C. Sabin Fellowship, $1,500; Kathryn McHale Fellowship, $1,500; Margaret M. Justin Fellowship, $1,500; Margaret Snell Fellowship, $1,500; Martha Catching Enochs Fellowship, $1,500; Mary Andersen Fellowship, $1,500; May Treat Morrison Fellowship, $1,500; New York State Fellowship, $1,500; Pennsylvania-Delaware Fellowship, $1,500; Sarah Berliner Fellowship, $1,500, for work in physics, chemistry, or biology, doctorate required; and Vassie James Hill Fellowship, $1,500.

Offered for the more advanced scholar are: Marion Talbot Fellowship, $2,200; Florence R. Sabin Fellowship, $2,000; Margaret Lee Wiley Fellowship, $2,000; Minnie Cumnock Blodgett Fellowship, $2,000; and New Jersey State Fellowship, $2,000.

The Latin-American Fellowship of $1,500 is open to nationals of the Latin-American republics for advanced study in the United States.

Fellowships open to members of associations which belong to the International Federation of University Women, for study in any country other than that of the recipient, except as noted, are: Helen Marr Kirby Fellowship, $1,500; Ida H. Hyde Fellowship, $1,000; Marion Reilly Fellowship, $1,000; Mary E. Wooley Fellowship, $1,500; Ohio State Fellowship, $1,500; Virginia C. Gildersleeve Fellowship, $1,500; Australian Fellowship of £ 500 (Australian), for study in Australia.

An Achievement Award of $2,500, contributed by the Northwest Central Region of the American Association of University Women, is to be given in recognition of distinguished achievement by a woman scholar. It is not competitive but awarded on advice of leading scholars.

American Sociological Society—District of Columbia Chapter.—The following officers were elected for the academic year 1950–51: Harry Alpert, Division of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget, Washington, D.C., president; Charles E. Hutchinson, department of sociology, University of Maryland, vice-president; Harry J. Walker, department of sociology, Howard University, secretary-treasurer.

Plans for the coming academic year include a joint dinner meeting with the District of Columbia Statistical Society in honor of Philip M. Hauser of the University of Chicago.

American University.—A new department of psychology and education is being established in the School of Social Sciences and Public Affairs in the fall term. The chairman is Ralph Bedell, formerly professor of educational psychology and measurements at the University of Nebraska.

University of Arkansas.—Miss Marian Pearsall, of the University of California, has been appointed assistant professor in the department of sociology succeeding William Wallace.

William H. Key, of Washington University, has been appointed instructor and will assist in the program of general education in social science.

Franz Adler has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Stephen Stephan was elected vice-president and program chairman at the spring meeting of the Southwestern Sociological Society in Houston.

James Tarver, of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor in the department of rural economics and sociology.

J. Laurence Charlton, of the department of rural economics and sociology, served on the Southwest Land Tenure Committee, which met at Petit Jean State Park, Arkansas, in July.

University of Bridgeport.—Robert Mayhew and A. E. Knepler, of the sociology department, have been appointed members of the Bridgeport Civil Rights Committee, which is sponsoring a civil rights audit in the local community. Dr. Knepler has also been appointed consultant in community relations to the Jewish Community Council of Bridgeport.

Joseph S. Roucek and Roland Warren have had their book *Guidebook to Sociology* published by the Littlefield-Adams Publishing Company.

Scholarships were awarded to the following students in the department: Thora Carr, Clement De Rocco, and Rozwell T. Harris. Miss Carr, a major in the department, was the sole American student representative at the International Red Cross Student Convention held recently at The Hague, Netherlands.

Arthur D. Wright has been added to the sociology staff as instructor.

The sociology department sponsored a survey on "Employment Opportunities for Sociology Majors in the Greater Bridgeport Area." The survey was staffed by the members of the senior class in methodology. Copies of the survey are available at twenty-five cents per copy. The department also co-operated with a number of local agencies in sponsoring and conducting an institute on "Problems of the Aged."

The department is introducing a four-course sequence in pre-professional social work during the current year. Robert R. Mayhew has been assigned to teach the courses.

As the first of a series of ethnic and nationality studies, the sociology department has been engaged in an extensive program of community services. It sponsored a Columbus Day Celebration and published concurrently a memorial pamphlet on *Italians in Bridgeport*

Dean John J. Cronin of the University of Connecticut and Dean Conant of Boston University addressed majors in the department at recent departmental meetings.

Catholic University of America.—A marriage counseling center open to students of the Catholic University of America without charge and for the general public on a fee basis has been established with the opening of the fall term. Dr. Alphonse H. Clemens, associate professor of sociology, has been named director of the center, which will be housed in the department of sociology. Dr. Clemens will have the assistance of Rev. Dr. Paul H. Furfey, head of the department of sociology, and Rev. Dr. John W. Stafford, head of the department of psychology and psychiatry, as well as an advisory board of other faculty members. It is planned to organize at a later date a program for the training of priests and laymen in marriage counseling, with degrees to be offered to those completing the course.

The marriage counseling center is in addition to the services now offered by the university's two other counseling centers: the general university center, headed by Dr. Harry Fagin, and the Veterans Administration center, for ex-service men and women students, headed by Charles L. Kreitl.

University of Chicago.—Herbert Blumer is on leave of absence for a year, during which time he will teach at the University of Hawaii. He left Chicago in mid-August. Ernest W. Burgess is the acting editor of this *Journal* in the absence of Dr. Blumer.

Columbia University.—Elizabeth G. Meier, formerly of the University of Wisconsin, has been appointed assistant professor of social work at the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University.

Cornell University.—The department of sociology and anthropology announces the availability of a few research and teaching assistantships for graduate students during the academic year 1951–52. These assistantships pay up to $1,000 for the nine-month academic year and include free tuition. Ample time is allowed for work toward one's graduate degree.

The department is currently conducting several large-scale research projects. One of these is concerned with the impact of Western science and technology upon nonindustrial areas of the Far East, India, and Latin America. Others deal with a community approach to the study of group conflict and an empirical investigation of cultural values.

Details concerning the program of assistantships can be obtained from Lauriston Sharp, chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Morrill Hall, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

University of Florida.—A conference upon "The Caribbean Area at Mid-Century" will be held in Gainesville, Florida, December 7–9, 1950, as a feature of the university's expanding program of inter-American studies. The conference will include papers and round-table discussions in the fields of history and political science, geography and economics, anthropology and sociology, language and literature, and agriculture. Outstanding diplomats and businessmen will address the general sessions. Leading scholars of the United States and various Caribbean republics have accepted invitations to participate.

Florida State University.—Myron F. Nimkoff has resigned from Bucknell University to become the head of the department of sociology. Nimkoff is taking over the work in marriage and the family. With the coming of Dr. Nimkoff, more emphasis will be put on research and graduate instruction.

Raymond F. Bellamy, who has been head of the department since it was established in 1918, will devote his time to teaching general sociology and the history of sociology.

Other members of the staff and their fields are: Melvin J. Williams, crime and criminology and in social theory; Francis R. Allen, regional sociology, population problems, and technological factors; T. Stanton Dietrich, rural sociology, urban sociology, and methodology; Albert N. Cousins, general

sociology; John O. Boynton, educational sociology and race relations.

The department's work now is limited to sociology alone. When it was established in 1918 as a one-man department, the one man also taught all the economics, all the political science, and some history. When the department was relieved of the history, statistics and anthropology were added. The latter was apparently the first course in general anthropology ever offered in the Southeast, exclusive of Maryland. As the years followed, political science and economics were made separate departments, and the process was completed in 1949, when anthropology was given independent status. Social work was made a separate department three years ago.

Dr. Williams has just had a book published on *Catholic Social Thought* and has another, *Community Organization*, in press.

Johns Hopkins University.—Dr. Richard H. Williams of the Operations Research Office, Johns Hopkins University, is participating in the Working Group on Human Behavior under Conditions of Military Service, established under the Research and Development Board and the Personnel Policy Board, Department of Defense. The Operations Research Office has been requested to render substantial assistance to the Army in its contribution to this study. Several of the ORO consultants will contribute technical papers. The task of the group is to survey existing knowledge in sociology, psychology, and psychiatry which can contribute to the most effective utilization of men in military service. The group will also analyze current service policies and practices in the light of this knowledge and recommend policy changes and additional research as needed.

Linfield College.—William C. Smith, head of the department of sociology, has retired. Edwin A. Taylor of Ohio University, Athens, Ohio, has succeeded him.

Theodore B. Johannis, Jr., assistant professor, is on leave of absence to do graduate work at the University of North Carolina. George C. Fetter, who has completed his work for the doctorate at Cornell University, has taken his place.

University of Michigan.—Lillian Cohen has been appointed instructor to teach courses in introductory sociology and introductory statistics.

Gerhard Lenski has been appointed instructor to each course in introductory sociology and social class.

Willow Run: A Story of Cultural Inadequacy in Wartime by Lowell Juilliard Carr, associate professor, University of Michigan, and James E. Stermer, instructor in sociology, Detroit Institute of Technology, will be published by Harper and Brothers in the fall. Revised editions of Professor Carr's *Delinquency Control* and *Situational Analysis* will also be published during the fall by Harper.

The Dryden Press has published *Social Psychology* by Professor Theodore M. Newcomb of the sociology department.

Michigan State College.—Charles P. Loomis, head of the department of sociology and anthropology, has been granted a sabbatical leave for the academic year 1950–51. He will devote a major part of his time at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Science, Turrialba, Costa Rica, where he will develop a teaching and research program in rural sociology. Professor Charles R. Hoffer will serve as acting head of the department.

The Michigan State College Press has recently published *Studies in Applied and Theoretical Social Science* by Dr. Charles P. Loomis. *Industrial Sociology* is the title of a new book by William H. Form and Delbert C. Miller, to be published in the fall by Harper and Brothers.

At its meeting in June, 1950, the State Board of Agriculture, governing body of Michigan State College, authorized the establishment of an area research center in the department of sociology and anthropology. The first undertaking will involve

the application of social science in evaluating and improving agricultural extension methods and organization in Central America and the evaluation of various programs involving the international exchange of scientists and technicians. The project will be financed by the Carnegie Corporation, the Social Science Research Council, the United States Department of Agriculture, Michigan State College, and the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences.

A new research project sponsored co-operatively by the Social Research Service and the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been started. It deals with a statistical analysis of the employment of Indians in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Dr. Raymond Scheele is leader of the project.

During the week of June 12, 1950, a workshop in rural sociology and anthropology for agricultural extension workers was held at the Chatham Experiment Station in the upper peninsula of Michigan for extension workers in that part of the state.

The department co-operated with other departments or divisions at the college in an annual school for rural leaders from July 10 to 21, 1950. Approximately ninety-five leaders from Michigan and eighteen other states were in attendance. Paul A. Miller, extension specialist in rural sociology, was chairman of the program and planning committee.

Dean G. Epley, of Kent State University; Donald Kogut, of Wayne University; and Arthur M. Vener, of Queens College, have been appointed as graduate assistants in the department of sociology and anthropology for the academic year 1950–51.

National Jewish Welfare.—Werner J. Cahnman is presently engaged in collecting and editing the European material on "Social Geography" for the forthcoming edition of the *New Century Cyclopedia of Names*. During the summer he was in Europe guiding an academic tour of the International Study Tour Alliance.

University of North Carolina.—The Institute for Research in Social Science has undertaken an evaluation of the Aid to Dependent Children program for the American Public Welfare Association. A national sample of approximately seven thousand families will be scheduled. The study is being directed by Gordon W. Blackwell, with the assistance of Raymond Gould.

The Institute for Research in Social Science has published *Sterilization in North Carolina: A Social and Psychological Study* by Moya Woodside, formerly research assistant in the Institute. Mrs. Woodside is a psychiatric social worker from England, who has had practical experience and carried on research in both England and the United States.

John P. Gillin, on leave for the fall quarter 1950, is fulfilling an appointment for UNESCO in several South American countries in the interest of better reciprocal understanding and possible co-ordination of the social sciences.

Daniel O. Price has returned from his visiting professorship for the second semester of 1950 at Harvard.

Northwestern University.—Melville J. Herskovits, professor of anthropology and chairman of the department, has been decorated by the Netherlands Government in recognition of the research he carried on among the Negroes of Surinam (Dutch Guiana). Professor Herskovits was awarded the medal of the Order of Orange Nassau, to which he was named with the rank of officer. The presentation was made by Dr. J. B. V. M. J. van de Mortel, Netherlands Consul-General at Chicago, in the office of Dr. J. Roscoe Miller, president of Northwestern.

In 1928 and 1929 Professor Herskovits and his wife led field trips into the interior of Surinam to study the lives of Negro people living in isolation. The data collected on these trips were published in two books, *Rebel Destiny* and *Suriname Folk-Lore*, which furnish authoritative information on living conditions, customs, and other physi-

cal and cultural characteristics of these people.

University of Pennsylvania.—Milton M. Gordon, who received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in June, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology beginning in September, 1950, and will be in charge of departmental work. Dr. Gordon has been teaching at the University of Pennsylvania. He will offer advanced undergraduate work in minority-group problems and social stratification.

James R. Noland, Jr., who has been pursuing graduate studies at New York University, continues as instructor in sociology.

Princeton University.—The Educational Testing Service is offering for 1951–52 its fourth series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men who are acceptable to the Graduate School of the university, the two fellowships each carry a stipend of $2,375 a year and are normally renewable. Fellows will be engaged in part-time research in the general area of psychological measurement at the offices of the Educational Testing Service and will, in addition, carry a normal program of studies in the Graduate School. Competence in mathematics and psychology is a prerequisite for obtaining these fellowships. Information and application blanks may be obtained from: Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, New Jersey.

Edward C. Devereux, Jr., on leave of absence since February, 1949, has accepted a position at Cornell University.

Dennis Wrong, instructor in sociology, has resigned to accept a similar position at the Newark Colleges of Rutgers University.

Harold Garfinkel has been appointed instructor in sociology.

George F. Mair, a Milbank Memorial Fund Fellow at the Office of Population Research, has been appointed instructor in sociology and economics.

Duncan MacRae, who received his Ph.D. degree from Harvard University in June, has been promoted from instructor to lecturer in sociology.

University of the Punjab.—Mohammad Afzal, deputy registrar, has announced that a department of psychology and a department of sociology have been established at this seventy-year-old university in Lahore, Pakistan. This event was hastened through the arrival of eighty new scientific and technical books, valued at $500, donated by Americans through the CARE-UNESCO Book Fund Program.

The University of the Punjab, located on a pleasant campus on Lahore's famous Mall, has been reorganized since the partition separating India from Pakistan. On the campus itself are taught law, commerce, oriental languages and subjects, physics, and chemistry. But in the Province of West Punjab and in Baluchistan and part of Kashmir, it is the examining body for ninety-one affiliated colleges whose teaching staffs must be approved by the university. The university maintains fifteen departments of liberal arts and six science departments and also sets the scholastic standards for four hundred and one high schools. In all, it embraces about forty-five thousand students—one thousand of whom are learning to teach.

Purdue University.—Gerald R. Leslie, who is completing his doctoral work at Ohio State, joined the Purdue staff in sociology this fall. He will teach courses in introductory sociology and in marriage and family relationships.

Robert O. Andrews, who completed his Master's work in sociology at Purdue in the summer, is a candidate for the Ph.D. in sociology and the family, the first doctoral candidate in this field at this institution.

Harold T. Christensen's *Marriage Analysis* was recently released by Ronald Press.

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Temple University.—Negley K. Teeters, in collaboration with John Otto Reinemann, director of the Philadelphia Municipal

Court Department of Probation, are authors of a new text, *The Challenge of Delinquency*, published this fall by Prentice-Hall, Inc. Dr. Teeters contributed a paper dealing with the status of reformatories in Section IV of the Twelfth International Penal and Penitentiary Congress, which met at The Hague, August 14–21.

Claude C. Bowman submitted a paper to be read at the World Congress of Sociologists, which met at Zurich, Switzerland, September 4–9, entitled "Conventional Thoughtways, Countertendencies and the Impairment of Science." Owing to illness, Dr. Bowman was obliged to cancel his reservations at the last minute and thus could not attend the meeting, which was sponsored by the International Sociological Association and UNESCO.

Jacob W. Gruber, instructor of anthropology in the department, is making an anthropometric study of a collection of skeletal remains of a seventeenth-century Huron Indian ossuary. This collection was acquired by Temple on loan from the Royal Museum of Archaeology at Toronto and the University of Toronto.

Donald Kent has accepted a position at the University of Connecticut at Storrs.

Jerry Falk, formerly of the University of South Dakota, has joined the department as instructor.

Dr. Rachel Davis DuBois, director of the Workshop of Cultural Democracy of New York City, will lecture this year in the department in the field of class and race.

Wayne University.—The following have terminated their connection with the department of sociology and anthropology: William J. Goode has resigned to accept the position of research associate with the Professions Seminar at Columbia University; James C. Brown, substitute instructor, continues work on his Ph.D. at the University of Minnesota and will be affiliated with the department of sociology, Indiana University; George Vuckan, instructor of junior-college courses, will return to the University of North Carolina to complete his doctorate; Bernice Kaplan will continue work toward the doctorate; Florence Stroll, special instructor of child welfare, returned to Wayne in an emergency and is continuing with the Children's Center of Michigan; Rev. Thomas Pryor, minister at Royal Oak and special instructor of general sociology, has been transferred to Kalamazoo, Michigan; Betty Setz, a special instructor of junior-college courses, has accepted a full-time teaching position at Denby High School.

The following constituted the visiting 1950 summer session staff: Inez Adams taught courses in the family and cultural anthropology; Vernon Fox taught courses in criminology and social psychology; Charles N. Lebeaux taught junior-college courses in sociology; Simon Marcson taught urban sociology and race relations; Irving Rosow taught introductory sociology; and Luke M. Smith taught methods of social research and sociological theory.

Additional or new personnel in the department beginning with the September–January semester includes the following: Norman D. Humphrey has returned from a research leave to Bogotá, Colombia, under the auspices of the United States Department of State; Stephen C. Cappannari has been appointed as instructor in social anthropology and introductory sociology; Manzer J. Griswold has been assigned as instructor of introductory sociology and social problem courses; Albert J. Mayer, Jr., will concentrate on demography, statistics, methods of research, and theory; Florian Znaniecki has been appointed visiting professor for the academic year 1950–51. Dr. Znaniecki will teach nationality problems in the United States and European and American sociological theory and will conduct a seminar in sociological theory.

Indiana University.—At the moment of going to press the *Journal* learned with deep regret that Professor Edwin H. Sutherland, one of our advisory editors, died on October 12.

BOOK REVIEWS

Prophets of Deceit: A Study of the Techniques of the American Agitator. By LEO LOWENTHAL and NORBERT GUTERMAN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. xvii+164. $2.50.

This book is an analysis of the spoken and written appeals made by American pro-Fascist and anti-Semitic agitators to their polyglot audiences. This brief but concentrated book is the first volume in the "Studies in Prejudice Series" edited by Max Horkheimer and Samuel H. Flowerman and sponsored by the American Jewish Committee.

Lowenthal and Guterman eschew the rather simple and mechanistic quantitative methods of "content analysis" developed by Harold Lasswell and his colleagues. Instead they use psychological interpretation in an effort "to probe beneath the manifest content of his [the agitator's] speeches and writings to disinter their latent content." In addition to uncovering the agitator's basic themes, the authors link his statements to the psychological associations evoked by them and to the impulses which his diatribes both presuppose and arouse. They detect twenty-one recurrent themes, ranging from some as manifest as the characterization of the enemy as a low animal—rodent, vermin, parasite, etc.—to others as indirect as the series of allusions by which the agitator builds up the image of himself as "The Great Little Man," a combination of endearing, folksy traits and the mystique of the chosen leader who responds to an inner call. The themes are grouped under four general headings—"Discontent," "The Enemy," "The Movement," and "The Leader"—which the authors suggest are useful categories for classifying the output of any "advocate of social change." Reflecting the agitator's negative emphasis, the majority of the themes and consequently the greater part of the book deal with "Discontent" and "The Enemy."

The basic difference between agitation and reformist or revolutionary movements is made apparent. The agitator appeals to emotions of absolute rejection of the status quo; he talks constantly of "*der Tag*," of "mass uprising against the Plutocrat-Communist-Jewish top-dog," etc., and thus he differs from the reformer, who desires change only in specific and delimited areas of society. However, the agitator presents no vision of a new social structure; it is particular individuals and groups whom he excoriates, not "the system" as such. The goals of his movement are only vaguely and apocalyptically defined. Therefore he cannot rightly be called a revolutionary. He is, in fact, full of reactionary clichés about "the good old days" and "the simple American Way which our ancestors loved"; yet, since he asserts the necessity of thoroughgoing change and debunks the key symbols of the status quo, he can hardly be viewed as a genuine conservative.

The agitator does not analyze the causes of discontent and then propose an appropriate remedy; "he does not present his followers with a prospect of joy or happiness, but rather encourages a verbal discharge of emotion"; and, "instead of the specific effect the reformer and revolutionary demand, the agitator seems to require only the willingness to relinquish inhibitions. . . . No resentment is too small for the agitator's attention. What he generalizes is not an intellectual perception; what he produces is not the intellectual awareness of the predicament, but an aggravation of the emotion itself."

Lowenthal and Guterman are especially acute in characterizing the tone of the communication between agitator and audience. They liken it to that of a seduction: each partner knows the meaning and ultimate purpose of the words and gestures which are exchanged but pretends not to know. In like manner, the agitator's speech "is a psychological Morse code tapped out by the agitator and picked up by the follower." This is the context for his "unseriousness"—his blatant and obviously conscious flouting of logic and evidence, his playful ambiguity and double-talk concerning the inevitable though concealed Jewishness of his critics, and his readiness to affirm something in the very act of denying it (e.g., "I am not anti-Jewish; I oppose only the criminal rabbis who mislead the Jews"). While formally repudiating fascism and anti-Semitism, he counts on his fol-

lowers' predisposition to read between the lines and grasp the real message of his overt statements: "Kill the Jew! He is weak and exposed, a ready victim."

Occasionally the authors' analysis outruns their data. They are too anxious to find exact parallels between the pronouncements of American agitators and the ideology of the Nazis and Fascists. Their indecisive treatment of the political relationship between the agitator and his audience is a case in point. Often they suggest that the agitator is a shrewd political operator consciously exploiting the frustrations of his audience in order to build up a personal following like that of the European dictators. Thus they stress the authoritarianism of the agitator-follower relationship and the echoes of the *führerprinzip* in his outpourings. Yet elsewhere the agitator appears to be relatively undifferentiated from his audience, a voice from the crowd —"like someone arising from its midst to express its innermost thoughts." It is doubtful that Hitler and Mussolini ever played up their folksiness, their "little-man" attributes, in the manner of Gerald L. K. Smith. Lowenthal and Guterman are not unaware of distinctions here, since they suggest early in the book that perhaps American agitation is only in an incipient phase, and they note that the Nazis demanded discipline and renunciation in the name of *der Führer*, whereas the American agitators hint that their followers will have the opportunity to release their inhibitions and act out forbidden impulses. Of course total conformity with the attitudes and outlook of the masses and a Machiavellian power-consciousness are not psychologically incompatible, but the dialectic of their combination is not sufficiently clarified in the book. The impression is left of too neat a parallelism between the Nazis and their American counterparts.

This volume and the "Studies in Prejudice Series" as a whole are the sociological fruits of the historical experience of the 1930's. Most of the authors are refugee German scholars who personally suffered under the Nazi regime. This endows their work with tremendous vitality and a sense of relevance. The series is certainly the fullest and most far-ranging contribution to our knowledge of prejudice which has ever been made. Its chief failings are those of omission, and these, too, derive from the origin of its leading ideas in the European history of the interwar decades; for example, the neglect in the volume under review to mention the techniques of the Communist agitator and the failure in the series as a whole to explore the manner in which overtly "liberal" ideologies may also serve the psychic needs of the authoritarian personality.

The extent to which the various authors of the series supplement one another's findings and insights, both in their contributions to the series and in earlier writings, is remarkable. Lowenthal and Guterman, for instance, clearly consider the agitator to be appealing to the authoritarian personality, and this latter is intensively studied in the major volume of the series, *The Authoritarian Personality*, by T. W. Adorno, Else Fenkel-Brunswig, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford. This in part makes up for the lack of empirical data on actual audience responses in their study. The "Studies in Prejudice Series" and the Institute of Social Research, to which many of its contributors belong, demonstrate that intellectual teamwork need not result solely in methodological virtuosity, with loss in meaning and historical richness of data, in the manner of such studies as *The American Soldier*. The exemplary value of the series to American social scientists is not the least of its virtues.

DENNIS H. WRONG

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Racial Pride and Prejudice. By ERIC JOHN DINGWALL. London: Watts & Co., 1946. Pp. x+246.

Eric Dingwall, a British free-lance anthropologist and writer, has in this volume presented to the general reader a wide range of information concerning racial prejudice, well sprinkled with comment and analysis. The earlier chapters present general matter on race, nation, color, and slavery. One chapter is devoted to anti-Semitism as the most striking modern case of strong "racial" prejudice against a people not marked by color. A series of twelve chapters, the bulk of the book, then treat of the color bar, each as it occurs in a country or region: the United States, Great Britain, the several colonial and protected parts of Africa (British, French, Portuguese, Belgian), the Union of South Africa, the West Indies, India, Brazil, Australia, New Zealand, and Soviet Russia. A final chapter goes into the psychology of racial and color prejudice.

I catalogue the many regions dealt with by Dingwall because most writers in this country

confine themselves so closely to the "minorities" in our midst that the reader learns little of the many interracial communities of the world and of the peculiar problems to be found in them. In fact, writing on racial problems has suffered greatly in this country from a kind of ethnocentrism, in that the only villain one considers is the white American Protestant whose grandfather and grandmother spoke English. I think it important that even a popular book, perhaps especially a popular book, on race matters should give some notion of the great variety of race relations in the world. That Dingwall does. Although each region is treated but briefly, there are enough references in the text and in the Index to allow one to follow any region if he wishes.

The psychological chapter brings together a good deal of recent work, along with Proteus' dictum that "black men are pearls in beauteous ladies' eyes." With this he introduces some pages on the thesis that racial prejudice is due to sexual jealousy. I find a certain tendency in Dingwall to emphasize economic, political, and demographic factors in accounting for racial prejudice in some of the colonies, while he leans more to psychological interpretation in the case of the United States. He does not, however, fall into the error of a simple explanation in any case.

The book is one which Americans, social scientists and laymen, might well read both for information and for the style in which it presents its matter.

EVERETT C. HUGHES
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The Effects of Mass Media. By JOSEPH T. KLAPPER. Foreword by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1949. Pp. iv+63. $2.50.

This survey of the current literature on the "effects" of the media of mass communication consists of four memorandums prepared for the Public Library Inquiry of the Social Science Research Council, providing an assessment of current research and a summary of the "reputable conjecture." Approximately 250 sources were consulted, 104 of which, recent empirical investigations, for the most part, are listed in the Bibliography. The author briefly discusses the research hearing on four major topics, listing generalizations and commenting upon the nature of the supporting evidence.

The author takes up the questions of the impact of the mass media upon public taste, the comparative effectiveness of the various media, the nature of "escapist" communication, and the comparative effectiveness of the various techniques of persuasion. Particular emphasis is placed upon the hypothesis of the "self-selection" of audiences, and repeated references are made to the relatively greater influences of personal, face-to-face communication, as established in other studies.

For the purposes of the survey, "effect" is defined as follows: "Whatever happens as a result of the media's existence or whatever happens to an individual as a result of reading, listening, or watching may be termed an effect of the media." While such a loose conception might be justified to enable the author to bring a broad range of investigations into his survey, it is hardly conducive to the development of systematic knowledge in the field. Much of the current research attempts to isolate regularities in the responses of those exposed to the various mass media. Needless to say, this is a hazardous undertaking; any proposition that some observed modification of behavior is the "effect" of some verbal expression that preceded it is at best uncertain.

The author alludes to the fact that in current research on the "effects" of the mass media the "salon culture" bias of the academicians is reflected. They are concerned over the "lowering of public taste" through presentations of "poor" quality. But such value-judgments may vitiate research. Many interests and forms of activity that some regard as beneath their dignity are relegated to the realm of "popular culture," in which a paternalistic interest is shown. Since no "rational" motivation can be discerned by the student, the hypothesis of an escapist function is assumed of the mass media.

The survey demonstrates the paucity of established pertinent knowledge. Many of the propositions are nothing more than commonsense observations couched in technical terms, and qualifications such as "probably" and "tendency to" appear frequently. Indeed, the author, who is often generous in his evaluations, indicates that "it is quite impossible, on the basis of existing empirical evidence, to provide a definitive answer to any one of the four questions."

Perhaps the difficulty does not so much lie in

the technical aspects of the various investigations but rather, as Lazarsfeld suggests in his prefatory remarks, in the manner in which problems are formulated. Psychologists have pointed out that an audience is not composed of passive puppets who respond mechanically to bombarding stimuli. They are actively participating in a complex and highly organized society, and what they perceive is functional in their already ongoing activity. The hypothesis of "self-selection" points to the importance of predispositions and the social context. Perhaps more effective research might be forthcoming if greater emphasis were placed upon the group settings in which the perceptions occur and the significance of what is perceived in the context of the ongoing activities of the audience.

In present-day social research, where all too frequently sporadic attempts are made to study various topics that happen to be of interest and where there is no generally accepted conceptual framework to provide a context for the findings, a periodic summary and evaluation of the vast research literature is indispensable. To this end the author has performed a valuable service.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI
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Community under Stress: An Internment Camp Culture. By ELIZABETH H. VAUGHAN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. xvi+160. $2.50.

This descriptive study of the "enemy aliens" incarcerated by the Japanese army in the Bacolod Internment Camp in the Philippines is a welcome addition to the rapidly expanding sociological literature on the behavior and experiences of civilian internees in time of war. Such accounts provide an unusual opportunity for sociologists to formulate and to some extent test hypotheses concerning typical forms of individual and collective behavior under duress and the processes whereby new social structures emerge in the collective adaptations to changed conditions. Of particular interest is the brief treatment of the formation of group opinion, generally limited to those areas of activity over which the internees themselves exercised some control, and the more extended treatment of the development of a system for the distribution of food.

While Vaughan compares her account with Leighton's study of the Japanese interned in American relocation centers, *The Governing of Men*, her descriptions are more reminiscent of the experiences of Japanese-Americans in the temporary, Army-controlled WCCA Assembly Centers, to which they were evacuated prior to their transfer to the civilian-controlled camps of the War Relocation Authority. Among the many striking similarities are the great concern over the unpredictable acts of those in control, an anxiety often caused by the inability of the internees to take over the perspective of the guards and administrators; the lack of privacy; avarice and attempts to curry the favor of administrators; attempted exploitation of internees by unscrupulous persons within and outside the camps; distrust of "official" news and the circulating of rumors; the improvising of artifacts; and worry over an uncertain future. There were, of course, marked differences. The internees at Bacolod had to provide their own food; there was greater threat of physical violence, although little actually occurred; and the Japanese administrators, with the exception of a few who took a paternal interest, showed little concern for the welfare of the internees, allowing them to make their own arrangements in work and recreation.

The author's discussion of the classes of internees who were able to make more satisfactory adaptations to the internment camp culture and her analytic treatment in the last chapter in general are not particularly enlightening. It is unfortunate that she employed an analytic scheme with such limited utility in an investigation of this kind.

The descriptive accounts are of regrettable brevity, but on the whole the volume is a valuable record of the experiences of an uprooted group, and the author certainly is to be commended for keeping the records that she did under such trying circumstances. Another feature of this volume which will interest sociologists is the inclusion of a fairly extensive bibliography of various accounts of internment experiences in both of the recent wars.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI
University of Chicago

To Dwell in Safety: The Story of Jewish Migration since 1800. By MARK WISCHNITZER. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1949. Pp. xxiv+368. $4.00.

A scholarly report on Jewish migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is given here by a participant-observer, a native of Russia who served as secretary-general of the Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden from 1921 to 1937 and later as research associate of the Joint Distribution Committee and the Institute of Overseas Studies in New York. The story covers the entire stretch of modern Jewish migration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. It could be called a chapter of "the Great Atlantic Migration," were it not for the fact that migration to Palestine is included with overseas migration to the United States, Canada, Argentina, South Africa, and similar destinations. It may be considered a weakness that the book covers widely disparate movements; but this is inevitable because, as the story is conceived, it unfolds the process by which a people in danger of almost complete extinction saves vital parts of itself by an organized effort of transmigration. It is as if the first rumblings of the earthquake which killed six million Jews in our time had been audible to finer ears more than a century before. Vienna seems to have been the nerve center of such sentiments, as the story of the Viennese Emigration Association of 1848 (p. 19) revealingly shows. The sociological observation that dispersal as well as concentration has been vital for the preservation of the Jewish people is borne out by Wischnitzer's report. Furthermore, he describes the movements by which more than four million Jews, equaling the number of Jews in the world in the early decades of the nineteenth century, were transferred to a place where they could dwell in safety. It is told from the point of view of the multitude of organized efforts to aid those who left Europe for overseas destinations, starting with Moses Montefiore's and Adolph Cremieux' intervention in favor of the Jews of the Near East and ending with the transport of the "Illegals" to Palestine prior to the establishment of the state of Israel. He includes Mordecai M. Noah's attempt to organize a Jewish settlement in North America and the activities of the United Service for New Americans. Valuable tabulations, listings, and notes are appended. That the book is deeply scholarly is a real achievement if one considers the highly controversial character of the topic. There are some small *if*'s and *but*'s; for instance, Hungarian anti-Semitism prior to the 1930's should not be belittled. However, it is more important to note that the story requires the filling-in of details at many points. This could not have been done in such a comprehensive work as Wischnitzer's; it must await monographic studies where the details could be told not so much from the point of view of organization as from the point of view of the individuals involved. The transformation effected in little more than a century would then stand out in even bolder relief.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

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Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663–1829. By ARTHUR EUGENE BESTOR, JR. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. Pp. xi+288. $3.50.

Backwoods Utopias is a study of the sectarian and Owenite societies which grew up in America before 1829. A second study, in preparation, will carry the story of utopian experiments through the period of the 1840's and 1850's when the ideas of Charles Fourier were dominant. If the second approaches the standards of the first, the two studies will remain authoritative in the field for a long time.

Bestor's work is based upon a thorough examination of the sources of utopian history in America. The book begins with a discussion of the relation of utopian ideas to American thinking. Two chapters deal with the sectarian utopian communities which grew up on American soil, particularly during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The rest of the book is devoted to the utopian ideas of Robert Owen, the attempt to found Owenite societies in the United States, and the impact of Owenite ideas upon American social thought. The author, in thinking of utopianism as one of four possible ways to bring about change in society—the other three being individualism, revolution, and gradualism—argues that it should be sharply distinguished from communism and that the term "communitarian" therefore is more appropriate in describing the utopian society than the term "communistic."

Backwoods Utopias must be judged as a work in history. It is therefore not fair to criticize it for failing to be all that the sociologist would like. However, the author may in fairness be criticized for using a title which suggests a sociological point of view which is in reality not there at all. There is not a single mention of the "backwoods" in the book! While there is some

discussion of the ways in which utopian ideas were congenial to American ways of thinking, no real attempt has been made to show how utopianism was a natural response to the frontier. All frontier societies were in some senses utopian. This grew up in sharp separation from older societies; they were based on an unbounded faith in the future of the new homeland; and they were consciously experimental. The ideas of Robert Owen only rationalized and gave greater impetus to strivings already present on the frontier.

One wishes that Bestor had devoted less time to an examination of the ideas of Owen and more to an examination of the kind of backwoods situations in which utopian experiments developed. Had he done so, the distinctions he made between different kinds of reform would probably have assumed less meaning. The American reform movement has grown out of a strong spirit of separatism—a feeling that hope lay not in making over the old society but in building the new. This sentiment found expression in the sectarian religious movement, in the War of Independence, in the demand for cheap money in the agrarian West, and in utopias. Bestor is correct when he says that utopianism suited the American temper—it was an expression of it. Students of American utopian developments will long be grateful for this contribution to the literature of the frontier.

S. D. CLARK

University of Toronto

On Being Human. By ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. Pp. 125. $1.95.

This book is a plea for "co-operation." The author tells us that man is born for co-operation, that our culture subverts our natural personalities and makes us competitive and combative, and that we must therefore change our society, substituting humanity for economic motivation. This is to be done by a kind of social engineering through education; the social engineers are to be the children themselves. A thorough training in human relations will equip them "with the reason and the means of bringing about the new dispensation of man" (p. 117).

From a sociological point of view perhaps the most interesting thing about this book is the striking way in which it shows up the inadequacy of our concept of "co-operation," for surely there is no concept in sociology more poorly conceived than this one. I once asked Dr. Park many years ago why his system of sociology had no separate concept of co-operation in it. He replied that all social life was co-operative, all social organization was a co-operative system, symbiotic and commensalistic behavior was co-operative, the division of labor was co-operative, accommodation was co-operative ("antagonistic co-operation," Sumner had labeled it, but co-operative nonetheless), assimilation, communication, conformity to mores, custom, etc., were all co-operative, as was also the highly complex system known as Rochedale Co-operation, etc. (Of course no teacher should be held responsible for what a student quotes him from memory as having said some twenty-three years ago.) An adequate concept of co-operation would have to include all behavior that contributed to common goals. It would include a large proportion of all sociological phenomena. For some, co-operation is the alternative to conflict; for others, to competition. The problem of conceptualization has become further complicated with the arrival of anthropologists and psychologists in the field of group and intergroup behavior. The tendency of the latter is to view such behavior subjectively, so that co-operation becomes a personality trait—helpfulness, or a co-operative attitude.

All these complexities are reflected in Montagu's plea for "co-operation." In section 1 ("Survival of the Fittest") of chapter i ("What Is the Nature of Life?") co-operation is conceived of as an alternative to the "struggle for existence" or biological competition for survival. The author makes a vigorous plea against Social Darwinism, a view of life which he considers to be "completely false" (p. 23). As it turns out, however, although he argues so cogently against its philosophical and scientific validity, he is not at all abandoning the hypothesis of the survival of the fittest; he is simply pointing out, as Kropotkin did, that "co-operative" behavior is important in group survival. The "co-operative" species are, in brief, the "fittest." The quality being tested for survival in biological competition is not "combativeness" but "co-operativeness." It is interesting to note that people diametrically opposed to Montagu, namely, the apologists for war, have long argued essentially this same point—that one of the virtues of war was that it made for "co-operation" within the fighting group.

In sections 2 ("The Social Appetite") and 3

("Aggregation versus Isolation") of chapter i, co-operation is conceived of in terms of social organization. The author assembles some interesting and convincing data from lower organisms to show that isolated or solitary organisms have less chance to survive than have those who live in social units, or at least in aggregates. Here he is arguing for a kind of "co-operation" or living-together toward which few of us require coaxing. We are all willing to work together for common goals when we can see that we all profit and that no one loses. And since, as the author points out, this kind of "co-operation" (i.e., living together) is biologically so fundamental for survival, the species which have survived display it to a high degree. The assembling of experimental data on the biological advantages of social life, or "co-operation" as here conceived, is one of the most valuable contributions of this book. (Teachers who feel that biological evidence is somehow or other more valid than sociological data may wish to refer students to pp. 38–47.) But "co-operation" in this sense is scarcely an issue. We are all for it. No one argues for an isolated or solitary existence, not even the most "combative" among us.

In sections 2 ("The First Step") and 3 ("No Man Is an Island") of chapter ii ("What Is the Nature of Human Nature?") co-operation is conceived as a personality trait and is identified with love and dependency. The mother-child relationship is conceived as basic in developing the ability to behave co-operatively. Now, "co-operation," as dependency, is the opposite of rugged individualism. We are urged to show co-operative attitudes, to see that babies get enough mothering so that they can love and take proper attitudes of dependency in social situations. We have moved away from the objective, organizational concept of chapter i to a subjective, psychological one.

Here the author is fighting not Social Darwinism but the postulates of the Locke-Newton-Galileo tradition—he does not call it that—which gave rise to the philosophy of individualism. (This development has been cogently analyzed by F. S. C. Northrop in *The Logic of the Sciences and the Humanities* [1947], pp. 351–55.) Incidentally, it would not do for congressmen to read the current attacks on the theory of individualism. The present book could well be on the subversive lists; it spells out the theory of the totalitarian and paternalistic state. For example: "The binding of the individual to his group represents, in fact, a loss of *individual* freedom and a gain in *personal* development through more or less complete identification with the social group. An identification in which the wholeness of the person is preserved only because it is a functioning part of a greater whole —society" (p. 76). Or: "What man wants is that positive freedom which follows the pattern of his life as an infant within the family—dependent security, the feeling that one is a part of a group, accepted, wanted, loved and loving" (p. 80)—in brief, paternalism. This is in the Aristotelian-Hegelian-Kantian-Marxist tradition, the kind of postulate basic to the theory of communism. I personally wonder how sound it is to identify the philosophy and principles of individualism with hostility, unco-operativeness, and an antisocial attitude generally. Is there any good reason to insist that individualism, however rugged, was characteristic only of the exploiter and the ruthless industrialist or financier? Even these rugged individualists were co-operative for their own ends; laws had to be passed to prevent their "co-operation." The early settlers in our West are usually characterized as individualists, yet they were co-operative; we are not told that they were especially hostile or antisocial. Are rural people, who are often characterized as individualistic, less co-operative than other people? Is there, in brief, any scientific ground for identifying individualism with nonco-operation or antisocial behavior? And, if there is not, we might add, is it good policy to attack it in a world where the opposite to individualism is often not the loving dependency Montagu exalts but the kind of co-operation known as regimentation?

In section 4 (" 'I' versus 'You' ") of chapter ii something new and quite different is introduced. Now the concept "co-operation" involves conformity, sacrifice, frustration (pp. 94–95). We have to give up some things for the common good. Conflict exists in the world, and we must meet it by giving up things we value. This is a thoroughly valid generalization, but the evidence in its favor has been arrived at by a kind of semantic legerdemain. The scientific evidence piled up in chapter i does not apply here, but it is made to appear so. Earlier in the book common goals, mutual benefits, were involved. Now it is conflicting goals, and profound ethical problems emerge for which the author's concept of co-operation is completely and wholly inadequate. Who is to co-operate with whom? For what ends? For whose ends? All of us favor co-operation when it means that other people work

for our ends. Are we equally in favor of it when it means our working for theirs?

Montagu conceives of co-operation as inherently good. "To love, to be good, co-operative," he says, identifying love and goodness with co-operativeness (p. 97). Again, he speaks of "whatever is opposed to love, goodness, and co-operativeness" (p. 97). Our courts are apparently perverse, they sometimes call co-operation "conspiracy." Sometimes we call fine co-operation, as between politicians and racketeers, for example, "fixes," and we send some people to prison for it. When athletic teams decide to co-operate rather than to compete, we have front-page scandals. Students who co-operate are sometimes called "cheaters."

The assumption basic to Montagu's position is that there is a fundamental harmony of interests in the universe and that conflicts of interests or values or goals do not exist in social life. If this were true, if all conflict were in our minds, then the co-operation for which he pleads would be possible. But so long as there are conflicting values, co-operation cannot be identified with goodness, nor can it be considered the panacea he pictures. If one individual or group is willing to sacrifice its values—to "co-operate"—then conflict can be overcome. But is this necessarily good? Should we aim at "co-operation" at this cost? How much co-operation should we engage in with racketeers, imperialistic Communists, lynchers, and others of similar nature? Should we ask Montagu to co-operate with the Social Darwinists? Co-operation in and of itself is no more inherently good than gravity. It is always oriented toward some end and has to be evaluated in terms of it.

Is it honest, finally, to say that "science points the way to survival and happiness for all mankind through love and co-operation"? Is it, indeed, "a basic discovery of modern science" that "man is born for co-operation, not for competition or conflict"? This is using the evidence legitimately invoked in favor of social life for something quite different—for "co-operation" in the sense not of mutual enhancement but of sacrifice. There is no scientific evidence in favor of co-operation of a group with other groups holding conflicting values.

In passing, I should like to suggest that the use of such terms as "mankind" be avoided in sociological discussions except when mankind is being contrasted with animal-kind or plant-kind. It gives a false illusion of harmony which confuses our thinking. The word has value for poetic and propaganda purposes but scarcely for sociological ones, except as indicated above.

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Grundzüge der Völkerbiologie ("Biology of Peoples"). By ILSE SCHWIDETZKY. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke, 1950. Pp. xi+512. DM. 19.60.

For far too long there has been an ideological cleavage between "social" behavior and "biological" behavior. The former has been so far divorced from the latter that the term "superorganic" (it might as well have been "supraorganic") was invoked to convey the idea that the social sciences were, as it were, parthenogenetic and self-perpetuating. Organic behavior was tacitly assumed to apply to individuals rather than to collective groups. This attitude, pretty firmly intrenched in social science thinking, has (and I write as a biologist) slammed the door on the possibility of organically predisposed or conditioned group behavioral reaction. The major exception to this indictment has been in the realm of psychology, in which, as part of a neurophysiological traditional background, some excellent psychosomatic formulations have developed, largely at the level of the individual. But sociology and cultural anthropology are just beginning to emerge from their self-woven cocoons: social man and organic man are *not* two distinct categories; they are potentially one, and neither, certainly, operates in splendid isolation.

Schwidetzky begins her argument with the recognition of three main approaches to the problem of racial biology: (1) the *rapprochement* between physical anthropology and social anthropology in the analysis of so-called "social types" (e.g., the "criminal type" or the "urban type"); (2) eugenics, or race hygiene, that embraces genetics and population statistics; and (3) the social sciences, which here include political economy and sociology per se. Strictly speaking, none of these three sociobiological disciplines is a recent development, yet it is argued that they must all be co-ordinated in a concerted effort to understand race biology.

The book is divided into three sections: migration biology, social biology, and reproductive biology. Under the first section the author presents little that is new; the familiar theme of

Lebensraum appears, and examples of the correlation between natural ecology and race distributions are given; the established principle of the peripheral distribution of primitive peoples is again stressed. (It is worthy of note that Schwidetzky recognizes the following: Khoisanide [Bushman-Hottentot], Lapps, Pygmies, and Veddides.) On the dynamic side it is shown that the migration impulse is influenced by climatic as well as such geographic factors as rain, wet, and cold.

There is an implicit argument that the factors that initiate or control migration are the same that permit and regulate the cultural response to the environment. Therefore, there must be some correlation between biotype and cultural pattern, linked, if by nothing else, by the ecological factors affecting both man and culture. The author recognizes three centers of ethnic unrest: the Nordic, or northwestern Europe; the Mongoloid, begun by Attila and by Genghis Khan; and the Semito-eastern of Asia Minor, culminating in the Islamic spread.

As far as social biology is concerned, Schwidetzky centers her theme around the statement that primitive peoples are "never victors in the battle for living room and status"; as examples she cites the role between caste and body morphology (stature) in India. In principle this is extended to the biosocial "types" who represent the failures and undesirables in the cultural framework, such as criminals, prostitutes, and possibly also the lowest stratum of the economically underprivileged. This implicit recognition of "inferior" groups or status levels is suggestive of a hierarchical stratification that might lead to a "superior-inferior" categorization with bias. Yet, as one follows the author's argument, one sees basic analogies between her system and the American lower-middle-upper stratification, with its subdivisions.

The section on reproductive biology contributes little new material. There are data on marriage choice and on preferential mating, on population growth, on infant mortality, on vital statistics, etc. These various factors are assumed (and rightly so) to have biosocial import, in that cultural adjustments are made to population size and makeup (age grades).

This is a welcome contribution to the problem of the rapport between social and organic constructs in the cultural pattern. While in many respects it but brings to focus much material already known and available, it serves the useful purpose of stressing an over-all, integrated approach.

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The Social Function of Art. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. Bombay: Hind Kitabs, Ltd., 1948. Pp. xviii+355. Rs. 25. New York: Macmillan, 1950. $2.75.

Mukerjee conceives of art as the "expression and communication of man's deepest instincts and emotions reconciled and integrated with his social experience and cultural heritage." He holds that since art, among all human activities, expresses the greatest range of experience, if not the greatest intensities within this range, no one can understand a society who does not understand its art. In one of his many happy phrases Mukerjee describes art as the "autobiography of a culture."

The synthesis of aesthetic theory offered here provides nothing new in theory nor does it suggest anything of great value in method. What it does accomplish of value is a synthesis of aesthetic theory in sociological terms. He has not said all that could be said in such an undertaking, but he has offered sociologists a useful review of ways of thinking about art which will help us to keep sociological consideration about art where it belongs, namely, on the specific character of aesthetic experience as distinguished from experience of other kinds. In place of rephrasing the usual clichés (art as escape, as amusement, as fantasy, etc.) in some sort of vague sociological context or in terms of some new technique, Mukerjee tries to create a series of propositions about the function of art in society.

His main thesis is that great art is used by men to achieve the highest possible degree of understanding of the roles they must play in their various societies. Art helps us to act successfully in society and is thus, with religion, the main integrating force in a society. To sustain this thesis, Mukerjee makes use of comparisons among the arts of the Orient and between the art of the East and the West. The main value of this for the American reader comes from following the analysis of the "moral" function of art. Our preoccupation with applying Freudian theory to art is very well offset by a theory which holds that art must be understood in terms of religion. The chapters on "Art as Moral Vision" (where Mukerjee discusses the integration of

personal emotions through the creation of social universals), "Art and Social Control," and "Art and Social Tradition" (with many interesting illustrations drawn from the art of Asia) are a good statement of a theory of art based in a sociological conception of social cohesion.

Because for Mukerjee art must be considered in terms of religion, he is not, on that account, insensitive to the Freudian interpretation of art. He deals with psychological approaches to art at some length; and, as we should expect, once we know Mukerjee's perspective, we find him very sympathetic toward Jung's conception of the archetypal character of myth. The chapter on art motifs in Asia and Europe which are described in terms of how the artistic creation of archetypes allows the unconscious to "drain off" its primitivism and infantilism is a very clear statement of this approach to art.

On the methodological side Mukerjee advocates what he calls the "comparative method." In his case this consists of selecting certain kinds of Asiatic art in terms of its religious and collective characteristics. There is no attempt to deal with art as a social institution competing for power with other institutions as we know it in the plural societies of our world. Mukerjee's main concern is with the role art plays in social integration, which means, essentially, religious and/or philosophical integration. Social integration as achieved through economic or political institutions is not discussed or, where mentioned, described in a negative fashion as almost a lack of integration. This is summed up in Mukerjee's remarks on architecture in the West: "Finally, architecture now depersonalises the individual by dissociating home work, home education, home crafts and home delights from the house and focusing his interests and activities toward factories, offices, restaurants and cinema houses where life cannot take root" (p. 324).

Statements like these indicate the dangers of the comparative method. It may be that social integration in the West will *not* be achieved through the collective structures of the East. It may even be reasonable to hold that great art *can* develop out of a plural society. The usual animadversions against our "acquisitive society" fail to take into consideration that at the same time that the Puritan ethic was being linked with capitalism it was also producing some of the greatest music and poetry the world possesses. And this music and poetry was religious, not secular. Bach, Handel, and Milton as Protestants, Haydn and Mozart as Catholics, were producing not only great art but (and what is very damaging to Mukerjee's collectivistic bias) a musical art in no way equaled by the art of Asia. It would be interesting indeed to know why a scholar with such a profound understanding of the role religion and philosophy play in the art of Asia has chosen to neglect the great musical dramas in our Christian Protestant tradition. Especially so when he claims to be making use of a comparative method.

But disappointments with Mukerjee's methodological shortcomings should not blind us to the splendid job he has done of integrating various elements of aesthetic theory into one statement. It will be useful to sociologists who are seeking to create a body of propositions about the function of art in society.

HUGH D. DUNCAN
Northwestern University

The Autobiography of Wilhelm Stekel: The Life Story of a Pioneer Psychoanalyst. Edited by EMIL A. GUTHEIL, M.D., with an Introduction by MRS. HILDA STEKEL. New York: Liveright Publishing Corp., 1950. Pp. ix+293. $4.00.

This autobiography of one of the earliest collaborators of Freud will probably be of little interest per se to most sociologists. But if the day comes when social analysis is attempted of the fertile soil on which the psychoanalytic movement was nourished in its earliest days, it may offer important raw material. Stekel's book sheds light on the personalities of the men who formed the first psychoanalytic society. It characterizes the life of the educated middle classes in Vienna, particularly of Jewish physicians during the last years of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century before the first World War. This way of life, and the values connected with it, deeply influenced the frame of reference of the psychoanalysts in the incipient stages of the discipline, often without their being aware of it. It becomes of general importance because some of the direct and indirect consequences of their attitudes still affect psychoanalytic thinking, which has, since then, exercised so deep an influence not only on the therapy of the functional diseases but on our thinking on social problems.

Stekel writes of himself that he was guided in his lifework by the values of the hard-working,

successful, and respectable middle class. He is, with some justification, convinced of his own importance, but enough so that he occasionally seems naïve in the enumeration of his therapeutic and social successes. He is fully aware of his great indebtedness to Freud, which he states at one point in the following words: "I was the apostle of Freud who was my Christ." The wording is only one of the many indications reflecting the religious fervor of some of the early adherents of psychoanalysis—an often uncritical fervor left untempered by their own analyses. According to Stekel, his treatment with Freud extended over not more than eight sessions and was then discontinued because Freud felt that no further analysis was necessary.

Stekel thinks that the main difference between himself and Freud was his own conviction that psychoanalysis should not extend over very prolonged periods of time. Moreover, he favored a more active participation of the analyst in the treatment process. This, according to him, was one of the reasons for his break with Freud and with the official psychoanalytic movement of which he was president at that time, some forty years ago. It is still, or one might better say has become again, a point of controversy, in the current discussion of short psychotherapy. Another reason is personal jealousies among the early followers of Freud.

More interesting, for this reviewer, than Stekel's relation to psychoanalysis or the particular reasons for his defection from "classical" psychoanalytic theory and practice were those factors already mentioned: the spirit of the time in which psychoanalysis was created which permeates the book, although Stekel wrote in exile in London some twenty years after the demise of the Hapsburg monarchy under which psychoanalysis came into being.

The liberation of the sexual instincts from unnecessary inhibitions, a major goal of psychoanalysis, is for this earlier group of psychoanalysts combined with great pressure for hard work and success. Stekel names one chapter of his biography "High Speed Living." There he says: "I cannot lie still and the *dolce far niente* of the Italian has no appeal to me. I must be 'up and doing.' " At another point Stekel feels that "I have not wasted . . . my life. I strove . . . I worked. . . . Of course I also had to renounce many things. My social pleasures were restricted. I seldom paid visits to others. I had no close friends."

Thus in his own life Stekel shows an insistence on hard work and a critical attitude toward those, his son, for example, who do not always find time to live up to all demands, which the experienced analyst would probably describe in a patient as a working compulsion. Moreover, he reveals his lack of ability to make close friends, a feeling of relative unrelatedness, except toward his wife, and a degree of narcissism which seem out of line with his psychoanalytic convictions.

Perhaps this infatuation with work, with psychological investigation, was necessary in the creators of psychoanalysis and the early pioneers, of whom Stekel undoubtedly was one. But it has left traces in present-day psychoanalysis which run counter to the liberating aspects of its philosophy. As time passes, it is hoped that the latter will gain greater ascendancy.

BRUNO BETTELHEIM
University of Chicago

State Planning and Economic Development in the South. By ALBERT LEPAWSKY. ("NPA Committee of the South Reports," No. 4.) Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1949. Pp. xvi+193. $3.00.

The southern region of the United States has long had the dubious distinction of being the nation's No. 1 problem area. The reason lay for many decades in the one-crop cotton economy of the South. It was identified with soil depletion, a high percentage of farm tenancy, a high ratio of Negro to white population, low family income, and extreme sensitivity to changing world-market conditions.

The South's chronic "problem" status began to attract the attention of southern and nonsouthern leaders, who soon became convinced that its future was a matter of major national policy. Funds for research and planning to some extent from southern sources, and in considerable degree from the federal government, the national foundations, and northern industrial and business concerns, were poured into the study of the region's resources and needs. For two decades the Tennessee Valley development has been the focus of vast research and planning projects. All together, the South is perhaps the most extensively studied and planned-for region of the nation.

In November, 1946, the National Planning Association's board of trustees called a meeting of more than fifty southern leaders in agricul-

ture, business, education, finance, government, industry, labor, the press, and radio to meet as the first NPA Committee of the South. As a result of this and subsequent meetings of the committee, a continuous program of study has been launched in co-operation with southern institutions and encouragement and assistance given to state and regional programs of action. As stated, the committee aims at "practical suggestions for constructive action in a growing Southern economy."

The book being reviewed is the fourth report in a series to be published by the NPA Committee. The author, who is professor of public administration at the University of Alabama, reports on an investigation of the functions of state planning and development agencies engaged in promoting southern economic growth and analyzes their experience, programs, and methods of operation. It is brought out that the planning in the South, as so generally elsewhere in the nation, emphasizes economic development and the promotion of new enterprises.

Following a chapter on the history and background of state development and planning, there comes one on the development of natural and economic resources, one on planning for public and social services, another on regional, interstate, and federal-state relations, and a final chapter on the administration of state planning and development.

The whole range of economic planning and development in the fifteen states comprising the southern region is covered in the study. There are frequent references to local, regional, and federal experience, but the continuing acceptance by the states of their official responsibility for economic development is kept to the fore throughout the report. So delimited, the report is a comprehensive record of how the states of the region are planning their future economic development through their boards, commissions, and other official agencies and how they are translating their programs into appropriate action.

The report is descriptive and analytical. Convinced that "it had no interest in simply adding additional volumes of statistics, charts, and vague observations to the long list of studies of the South," the committee limited statistical tables to eighteen, a wise decision, amply justified by the very readable prose, in which the reader may find all that he needs to know about the programs and functions of the principal planning and development agencies of the southern states.

WARNER E. GETTYS
University of Texas

Southern Legacy. By HODDING CARTER. Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1950. Pp. v+186. $3.00.

The author of this book is a southern liberal who has won a well-merited reputation as an independent and courageous publisher and journalist in a region where, to write honestly about Negro-white relations, requires genuine courage. Moreover, the author is well known for his literary productions including a novel, *Winds of Fear*, which deals in a realistic manner with race relations in a southern town. In the present work he analyzes the social and economic problems of the South in the light of southern traditions and the conditions out of which they developed. His purpose is to make intelligible to outsiders the present problems of the South and the South's reaction to national issues. Artist that he is, he makes southern traditions alive in the people he portrays and the anecdotes he relates. In fact, despite his effort to be realistic (Carter insists upon realism in judging the South), the persuasiveness of his presentation owes much to his charming literary style.

This book indicates a change in the author's thinking in regard to the southern racial situation. Once he was certain that thirty million people in the South were agreed upon segregation, but in this book, though he still feels that the black and white masses must remain segregated, he expresses the belief that Negroes may be selectively integrated into the life of the South. Unfortunately, however, Carter has the habit of writing about the Negro's place in the South when he is really writing about the Negro's place in Mississippi. He knows, of course, that the South is not a homogeneous region and that Negroes might be lynched for attempting to do in Mississippi what they do in North Carolina or even in Oklahoma. Moreover, Carter, who insists upon the reality of southern traditions, appears to have become their victim. This is revealed in his emotional attachment to anachronistic southern traditions and his failure to give due weight to the changes which are transforming human relations in the South. In reading the book, one is not quite sure that the author regards Negroes as other human beings

despite his outspoken denunciation of the injustices which they suffer. In one chapter he shows how the Italians, in spite of prejudice, have risen in the community and have been accepted as other Americans; but nowhere does he indicate that Negroes should do likewise.

Despite these criticisms the book is indicative of social change in the South and should be read by sociologists who are interested in race relations.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Negro Status and Race Relations in the United States, 1911–1946: The Thirty-five Year Report of the Phelps-Stokes Fund. By ANSON PHELPS STOKES, with contributions from CHANNING H. TOBIAS, THOMAS JESSE JONES, J. D. RHEINALLT JONES, and L. A. ROY and a Documentary Appendix. New York: Phelps-Stokes Fund, 1948. Pp. 219. $1.50.

This report will provide valuable data for sociologists who have a real understanding of Negro-white relations. But for those whose knowledge of race relations is purely formal this report will be nothing more than folklore concerning Negro-white relations in the United States.

Sociologists have entirely neglected to study the role of the various foundations in the informal or extra-legal system of social control which has governed race relations in this country. They have regarded the efforts of philanthropic organizations to educate Negroes or to improve their social condition as evidence of an interest in enabling Negroes to overcome their handicaps. As a matter of fact, every foundation and philanthropic organization engaged in the "uplift of the Negro" has had a definite philosophy of the proper place of the Negro in American life. Despite the fact that the Phelps-Stokes Fund has elected a Negro as its director in recent years, the Fund has acted upon a philosophy that implied at least that the Negro was not to be treated as are the other racial or ethnic elements in American society.

It is only necessary to point out two aspects of the data given in this report to indicate the philosophy of race relations of the Fund. In a report on the "history of Negro progress," books by or about Negroes are listed. Anyone who has a real understanding of Negro-white relations will note that with the exception of the works of Woodson and DuBois (who though once personae non gratae must be cited because they are now sacred figures among Negroes) only the works of Negroes with the *right* attitude or who have not been outspoken in favor of racial equality are listed. Therefore, no discrimination is shown as to the worth or significance of the books selected. Moreover, since the Fund has always implicitly set up a double standard in judging the accomplishments of Negroes and whites, obviously ridiculous claims are made concerning the scholarly achievements of Negroes who happen to be acceptable to the Fund. For example, a Negro teacher who has never written a single line in a scholarly publication is named as the most eminent world authority in a field in which he has hardly any knowledge.

Unless the sociologist is acquainted with the more subtle aspects of race relations in this country, he should restrict his use of the information contained in this report to objective data such as, for example, the number of dollars given to the various Negro organizations.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Howard University

Acculturation of the Chinese in the United States: A Philadelphia Study. By DAVID TE-CHAO CHENG. Foochow, China: Fukien Christian University Press, 1948. Pp. x+280. $2.50.

This monograph, copies of which may be obtained through the department of sociology, University of Pennsylvania, reports in rather confused and emotional style the findings of a two- or three-year "participant-observer" study of Philadelphia's Chinatown. Although the author's attention is on problems of acculturation, the major value of the monograph is that it provides a variety of data on the Chinese of Philadelphia which other students may use for comparative purposes. Philadelphia's Chinatown seems to have been distinctive in that it differed from the Pacific Coast Chinatowns by being small and relatively homogeneous and from many of the midwestern and eastern Chinatowns in that it was not a dumping ground for the outcasts and a refuge for the fleeing hatchetmen of the San Francisco and Seattle colonies.

RICHARD T. LAPIERE

Stanford University

Wealth of the American People. By JAMES A. BARNES. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. Pp. x+910. $5.75.

This is a rich and full account of American economic life from Columbus to the Marshall Plan based upon extensive research carried on over many years and including a careful investigation of the sources in several regions and many states of the Union. Not only is the book well grounded in extended and meticulous work in documents but it is also written with care and clarity.

As the author correctly points out, most of the earlier and widely used manuals on the economic history of the United States have concentrated primarily on the history of industry, more particularly mechanical industry. In short, they have been histories of the development of our productive processes. Barnes sanely contends that the problem of the consumption of wealth is as deserving of the attention of the economic historian as the production of goods. Moreover, the book stresses the economic life of the mass of the people as well as the activities of great industrial leaders and giant corporations. The more important social influences and effects of our economic life are described throughout the book. The author logically maintains that economic history cannot safely be divorced from social history. Finally, enough attention is given to the political framework and background of our economic development to make clear the interrelation between politics and economics in our national experience.

Barnes justifies his selection of the somewhat unusual title for an economic history of the United States in the following words:

> To the writer the one great distinguishing thing of Americans is their wealth—wealth not so much in money as goods; in leisure; in educational and cultural opportunities; in ability to try the new products of science and therefore to encourage them; in privileges usually reserved for the few; and even in rights to dream and hope far beyond the horizons of other millions of the earth. The wealth of the American people is, in spite of many evils and many shortcomings, a wondrous wealth that must take the lead in bringing to the peoples of the rest of the world goods that knowledge has made them want. The chocolate, the radios, the baseball equipment, the moving pictures, the jeeps, the cigarettes, and the countless other outpourings of the pounding factories that the fighting forces in the recent war scattered afar sowed more poverty than did the blazing guns. The simple cup of rice, the thatched hut that served the past will not serve the future. The laws of economics, however inflexible, will be bent to that fact.

The author divides his treatment of our economic development into seven periods: the Colonial era; the age of the Revolutionary War and of national origins down to the War of 1812; the formation of the national economy from 1816 to the Reconstruction period; the rise of modern industry between the Civil War and the turn of the century; 1900 to the depression, during which our economic life was dominated by finance capitalism; the economic and social policies and results of the New Deal; and the economy of the war period and its aftermath. About one-third of the book is devoted to our economic life since 1900, which is a sensible distribution of space and attention. The general economic philosophy of the author appears to be that of restrained but tolerant liberalism as compared with the forthrightly critical and progressive position of such a book as Thomas C. Cochran and William Miller's *The Age of Enterprise.* The New Deal is interpreted in friendly fashion.

If the book has any notable shortcoming, it is only at the very end where Barnes fails to make it clear how this country has gradually slipped into the economic pattern of *Nineteen Eighty-four* society, as portrayed by George Orwell. He does not tell us the fundamental fact that war—cold and hot, phony and real—has gradually been adopted as the method of depriving the masses of the benefits of our ever more efficient technology. Politicians, using war scares and emergencies appeals, have now taken over our economy as completely as finance capitalism did from 1900 to 1929. This is probably the most momentous and ominous revolution in the whole history of American economic life. Nothing else has done so much to deprive American citizens of that potential wealth and welfare which Barnes correctly asserts should be our proudest and most secure heritage at the mid-century. If the net outcome of providing the material basis for potentially infinite wealth and riches is to be their exploitation and destruction as an incident of political strategy, our economic life has certainly come to a sad pass.

All in all, this volume is the most interesting and informing textbook on American economic history now available for college and university use. Its perusal will enrich the knowledge and broaden the perspective of professors and stu-

dents alike. The physical aspects of the work, in typography and format, are as superior as its content.

HARRY ELMER BARNES

Cooperstown, New York

Luxus und Luxussteuer. By F. MARBACH. Bern: A. Francke Verlag, 1948. Pp. 84. Fr. 6.

In order to take a stand on the problems and conclusions of this book, it is necessary to know the occasion of its writing. The work of a well-known Swiss national economist, it originated in the request of the Swiss Ministry of Finance for an opinion on the question of the construction of the federal luxury tax.

Marbach begins directly with the task of analyzing the phenomenon of luxury. He does so in a comprehensive manner, so that the fiscal-economic problem of luxury, that is, the taxing of it, appears within the larger framework of luxury as a social phenomenon. It is with this larger dimension that he is occupied, interpreting the existing conceptions of luxury in the light of his immediate practical goal of a luxury tax for Switzerland. Hence he goes over a list of consumer goods which are currently subject to the Swiss sales and luxury taxes and thereupon engages in the task of setting forth a sociology of consumption.

What is decisive for defining a phenomenon as a luxury, a standard of living as luxurious, or, Marbach's special concern, a commodity as a luxury, is not the thing in itself but its relation to the consumer's standard of living at a given time. The actual conception of the standard of living has become the determining concept of the so-called "independent" American and German theory of consumption. While the actual standard of living may be expressed in statistics of commodities, income, or expenditure, the conception of the standard of living primarily expresses qualitative considerations: a given income has a significance for the standard of living of an industrial worker which is totally different from that which it has for a schoolteacher. The main characteristic of the conception of a standard of living is that, relatively fixed, it exerts a compulsive force on those who belong in the given category of consumers. Luxury is to be defined in terms of this conception; luxuries are those commodities which are not quite a part of the standard of living of the consumer group and which, as such, are subject to some criticism from it. From the standpoint of the theory of consumption, one of the most interesting problems is thus the penetration of commodities whose quality is new, within the standard of living of a consumers' group by way of luxury.

At any time there will be in any population many such classes of consumers, who will regard different commodities as luxuries. But, on the other hand, there are commodities which lie at times outside and at other times on the margin of the standard of living of even the best situated and most receptive. These are covered by the term "absolute luxury."

Since the number of commodities which everyone will agree are luxuries is at all times small, the taxing of only these as luxuries will be no great addition to the public treasury. A luxury passes quickly from the category of luxury to that of necessity. Here arises the almost unsoluble problem of a variable tax structure relative to various classes of the population. It is not surprising, therefore, that the relatively insignificant corrections which Marbach made in the catalogue of luxuries in consequence of his studies consist of such absolute luxuries. There is a progressive conversion of consumption goods (radios, cosmetics, etc.) to the status of universal commodities of the whole population.

The special contribution of Marbach's study consists in the fact that he has set up a common basis for the ranking of commodities as luxuries for the whole population of a country, in this case, Switzerland. This has only been made possible by the assumptions of a certain level of standard of living of all groups, based on the continuous development of consumption. In Germany, for example, for taxation purposes luxuries are superficially defined as those commodities which are beyond the requirements of a simple life. The actual content of luxury is thus left wholly open. Discussion is confined entirely to the fiscal aspects, that is, how the greatest possible gain is to be wrung from taxation.

Marbach's great contribution lies, in the estimation of this reviewer, in the fact that it brings to bear upon the narrower financial aims which inspired it the fundamental social problem of luxury as a phenomenon, even if its specific goal keeps the theory from going any further than it does. Any advance is important in this field where theory has penetrated so little.

ERIKA BECKER

Frankfurt-am-Main

Rural Social Systems: A Textbook in Rural Sociology and Anthropology. By CHARLES P. LOOMIS and J. ALLAN BEEGLE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. Pp. xxvii+873. $6.75.

The subtitle of this book suggests a combination that is both logical and somewhat overdue. American rural sociology is much in need of having its scope broadened and its theoretical significance deepened by an integration of its findings with the findings of anthropology drawn from the study of other peoples of the world who are largely rural and agricultural. In this, Loomis and Beegle have done a superb job. In fact, this reviewer believes the book to be the most significant contribution to rural sociology since Sorokin and Zimmerman's *Principles of Rural Urban Sociology* was published in 1929.

The book is a treatise on the structure of rural society, and as such it is concerned with social groups which are styled "social systems." A social system is defined as "a cooperative social structure consisting of two or more individuals who interact with each other at a higher rate than with nonmembers when the system is in operation." It may also be regarded as an abstract set of relationship patterns that persists through time. The authors take Sorokin's "meaningful interaction" as the significant unit of the social system and see the system as composed of social interactions and the cultural factors which structure these interactions." The chief structural elements of the social system are taken to be role, status, authority, and rights; the chief value elements are ends, norms, and territoriality.

Upon this conceptional framework the authors build a volume of twenty-two well-organized chapters grouped into six sections. The first three parts deal with the family and informal groups, locality groups, and social strata. The last three deal with religious, educational, political, and occupational groups and service agencies. Most rural sociologists will welcome the hundred-page treatment of the family and the excellent ninety-page discussion of rural social stratification and its measurement. Both topics have received too little attention in most previous texts. In spite of the somewhat unusual frame of reference, most of the conventional topics are treated. Conspicuously absent are the chapters on population so commonly included in texts of this sort. The authors manage to include most of the pertinent population data under other headings, but the word "population" does not appear in the twenty-two-page Index. This would seem to herald a shift of emphasis in rural sociology that may turn out to be decidedly beneficial.

As a conceptual tool for the analysis of variation in social systems, the authors reject the familiar rural-urban and similar dichotomies as impractical for scientific work. Instead they substitute a ten-point continuum symbolized approximately at the rural end by the authoritarian farm family and at the urban end by the government bureau. To designate the series, they prefer the terms "familistic Gemeinschaft" and "contractual Gesellschaft" and distinguish several component variables which undoubtedly run throughout any series of "social systems" spread along the continuum. It is a highly commendable attempt to free sociology from the "more rural—more urban" debate, but much work will need to be done before the device arrives as a reliable instrument of measurement.

A highly significant contribution of the book is the rejection of the rural neighborhood as the first significant grouping beyond the family and the establishment of the clique, or local friendship group, in its place. The rural neighborhood has never been defined with sufficient precision to make it useful much beyond the level of exploratory research. By contrast, not only can the clique be defined more precisely but often it can be shown to exist within the area of neighboring. Loomis and Beegle do not deny the existence of the neighborhood (in fact, they devote considerable space to it), but they regard it as an area in which neighboring occurs and concede that at times it may be synonymous with the clique. It seems apparent that they believe that the neighborhood is declining in importance but that the clique is not.

Whether or not the neighborhood and clique have ever been substantially the same, it seems clear that today selective neighboring has made the clique the pre-eminent group immediately beyond the family. Sociometric studies by the senior author of this book, and by others, have been foreshadowing this conclusion for some time. It is well to have it systematically stated, however, and it may be that the publication of this book will mark the beginning of a new emphasis in the study of the interrelationships of rural families.

This is not an elementary book; with its glossary and its more than two thousand citations to the literature it represents a comprehensive

treatise that is not adapted to the elementary student except perhaps as a reference work. As a text it should be found highly useful at the senior and graduate levels.

C. E. LIVELY

University of Missouri

Agricultural Progress in the Cotton Belt since 1920. By JOHN LEONARD FULMER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. xiv+236. $3.50.

The great changes in the Cotton Belt in the last quarter-century justify the publication of a book which clearly reveals and carefully documents them. Cotton is still king in the Cotton Belt, but the imperiousness with which it dictates every phase of southern farming and life is greatly diminished. Cotton and cottonseed as sources of gross farm income "declined from 45 per cent of the total, 1924–29, to 25 per cent, 1941–45," and as a source of "cash farm receipts" it declined from 56 to 30 per cent. Other farm enterprises more than took up the slack; tobacco, truck crops, peanuts, pecans, hogs, and chickens—all more than doubled—and all livestock production (except sheep) increased markedly. Tenancy and the number of farms declined, yields increased, and migration from farm to town and city and urbanization have been great. Whether these mean progress few will question. The summarizing facts and the author's analysis and interpretation of the detailed materials presented in the preceding chapters are stated in the final chapter, which many readers, especially those not well acquainted with the South, may want to read first.

The book, though not long, is complete in its treatment of the physical production, economics, and population of the Cotton Belt. The first four chapters cover trends in production, subregional differences, changes in farm organization (size and types of production), and mechanization. Details of the facts of farm management are documented in these four chapters.

Most persons think of the mechanical cotton-picker as being the one new dynamic fact in the Cotton Belt. Chapter v presents facts which show that it is not new and also presents pro and con information on the economy of the new pickers, a subject on which there has been considerable romantic writing. Chapters vi, vii, and viii present the record on urbanization, population migration, and income shifts.

Thousands of Americans have assumed the validity of the shibboleth that "the South is economic problem Number One." There is nothing so exciting in the "progress" presented in this book, for it reveals that the Cotton Belt is not one problem but many and that it is steadily and systematically working at the solution of them all; that, while it may not be the florid "New South" of Henry Grady, it is new in the sense that change is widespread and consistent.

All readers will be especially interested in the implied predictions contained in the concluding chapter. Among them are: cotton acreage will continue to decline, and other types of farm production, especially livestock and pasture, will continue to increase; mechanization will continue but may not be so revolutionary in its effects as some other technical advances, especially pasture improvements and livestock production; urbanization will continue but probably more on the basis of commercial than industrial activities, as the concomitant farm population will continue to decline; in the long run cotton will continue to dominate, but with an increasing number of noncotton-producing farms and a decreasing number of cotton farms the Cotton Belt will not be—indeed, is not now—a one-cash-crop area; and, finally, the application of all phases of science, especially as institutions and agencies develop ways of bringing them to the mass of farm people, and the inevitable continual shift in population will greatly accelerate changes already in progress.

CARL C. TAYLOR

Division of Farm Population and Rural Life
U.S. Department of Agriculture

From the Wagner Act to Taft-Hartley: A Study of National Policy and Labor Relations. By HARRY A. MILLIS and EMILY CLARK BROWN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. x+723. $8.50.

This magistral work brings both an analytical and a historical perspective to bear upon the formation of national labor policy. Apart from the first chapter, which traces the connections between employer-employee relations, the growth of organized labor, and public policy from Colonial times down to the passage of the National Labor Relations Act in July, 1935, its scope is restricted to the thirteen and a half

years from the latter date to the end of 1948. Parts I and III are analyses of substantive policy and administration under each law; Part II is a study in political dynamics explaining the statutory transition in national policy from encouragement to regulation of union affairs and collective bargaining. The authors do not define "policy." The word seems to refer in part to the structure, powers, and procedures of governmental enforcement agencies and also to the behavioral norms that the Act, the National Labor Relations Board, and the courts have formulated for the guidance of the parties to industrial relations. Thus the word has a broader meaning than the specific rights and duties of litigants that the courts will uphold in judicial proceedings. The book is also more a study of public policy than of labor relations. Although at several points explicit attention is given to the impact of administrative action under the law upon unions, management, and the extent and patterns of collective bargaining, the empirical evidence is drawn to a far greater degree from governmental processes than from industrial relations proper.

Sociologists interested in the development of a single, unambiguous conceptual framework for the study of what it is nowadays fashionable to call the "decision-making process" will look in vain through these pages. In writing Part I, which is probably our most authentic account of administrative experience under the Wagner Act, Professor Emily Brown has at least three aspects of the policy-making process in mind. She distinguishes the administrative organization and procedure under the Wagner Act, including effects of Board structure and personnel upon the handling of cases; the nature and methods of disposition of the agency's case load and the effect of Board operation upon union and management policies; and, at greatest length, the substantive meaning that the Board gradually attached to the provisions of the law dealing with the rights and obligations of the parties to collective bargaining. Since the educational brunt of the law and its administration involved a transformation primarily of employer attitudes and understandings, it should be made clear that her position is frankly sympathetic with the purposes of the law and, on the whole, with the manner of its administration. Nevertheless, the reader who understands that the purpose of the Wagner Act was primarily to protect and promote collective bargaining will have no difficulty in recognizing her analysis of the Board's administration of the law (owing to personnel changes, there were really three Boards during the twelve years) as objective and her appraisal of its defects and accomplishments in achieving the statutory purpose as thoroughly informed, competent, and reliable.

If, after finishing Part I, the nonspecialist reader is somewhat at a loss to understand why the Wagner Act received such a thoroughgoing revision in the Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947, most of his questions will find adequate answers in the three chapters comprising Part II. These are really detailed, if not systematically controlled, case-study accounts of the legislative process. Several factors are identified as contributing to the symbolic shift of public attitude and policy between the two laws. Perhaps most striking was the deliberate campaign of some employers and business organizations, aided and abetted by a generally co-operative press, from the date of its passage, to portray the Wagner Act as unfair, one-sided, and biased in its administration and to agitate for its revision. Scarcely less important were the bemused reactions and divided sentiments of the unions toward the Board, and their generally stiff and ineffective legislative strategy. The government itself contributed to the change by its lack of an economic policy adequate to cope effectively with price-wage-profit relationships in the reconversion period. Considerable blame was visited upon the Wagner Act for permitting the policies chosen by the unions for dealing with this situation. Other contributing factors were the concerted attack on collective bargaining and union practices in many state legislatures, the apparent defiance of the government and public opinion by powerful unions during both the war and the postwar periods, incessant hostile pressure upon the Board from congressmen and appropriations subcommittees throughout its existence, and, finally, the temper and procedures of the Republican majority in the Eightieth Congress. Political scientists, lawyers, and economists will all find useful materials here bearing upon the political context of policy and administration.

In Part III Professor Brown completes the analysis of the changes and anticipated effects of the Taft-Hartley law that Dr. Millis had projected before his death in 1948. Written within two years of the passage of the Act, this section of the book contains much more formal description and tentative evaluation, and relatively

less authoritative analysis of experience, than the earlier parts. Space does not permit elaboration here of the consequences predicted by the authors of the Taft-Hartley amendments. These are classified into four types, varying from those less to more harmful in their effects. While the authors' judgments seem eminently sound, it must be admitted that their views are strongly affected by preferences for the policy of relatively unrestricted collective bargaining prior to 1947 rather than by the observed effects of the new statute. With the exception of the immediate industrial unrest precipitated by the blanket proscription of the closed shop, the evidence available in less than two years is insufficient for reliable verification of two major hypotheses implicit in Taft-Hartley. These are, first, that government can effectively interpose deterrents to major industrial crises by authorizing a series of unpalatable and unpredictable governmental procedures applicable to situations that the President may designate as national emergencies. Second, employers and unions will be induced to rely upon economic rather than political tests of strength as a result of legal limitations imposed upon the scope and content of collective bargaining—issues that the parties hitherto were largely free to decide or not to decide on the merits of particular situations. Naïve and unrealistic as these propositions may seem, the unanticipated consequences of governmental enactments under changing circumstances may produce stranger shifts of position than were dreamed of by the ideological advocates and opponents of the Taft-Hartley law. These comments are by no means intended to suggest that the authors take a wholly preconceived, ideological position or that their critical views on specific features of the present law are unfounded. Their knowledge and experience of the effects of governmental intervention in labor relations are such that their analysis of what is valid and continuing and what is irrelevant and mistaken in national labor policy will be valuable and important to practitioners, students, and future makers of policy alike.

AVERY LEISERSON

University of Chicago

London Travel Survey, 1949. By LONDON TRANSPORT EXECUTIVE, in collaboration with RESEARCH SERVICES, LTD. London: London Transport Executive, 1950. Pp. 47. 7*s.* 6*d.*

In this admirably compact report are presented data on the daily journeys of Greater London residents. A methodological note indicates that the findings are based on a sample of three thousand households representative of 8,841,000 persons living within fifteen miles of Charing Cross or in near-by St. Albans, Reigate, and Dartford. The first of its kind in England, this experimental study furnishes data for a detailed analysis which is scheduled to appear in the near future.

Both regular and casual travel are covered, "regular travel" being defined as including even one journey per week provided it was made regularly and for a specific purpose. Information was assembled on extent to which Londoners use public transportation, purposes for which journeys were made, and the social background of the travelers—including size of household, income, sex, age, and status of the household member.

Cross-tabulations are presented in nineteen tables, too rich in content for a brief summary. Their scope includes information on differences in travel patterns for various days of the week, starting and finishing work hours, expenditures for travel, etc. It is shown, for example, that, in contrast with American practice, 14 per cent of the workers travel on bicycles and 17 per cent on foot. Of the former, economy (83 per cent) and health (46 per cent), as well as convenience, are given as reasons for use of cycles. Only 4 per cent travel to work by auto. The average door-to-door journey to work takes forty-two minutes by public transport; the time increases with income. In Greater London the average weekly expenditure for all households for all regular journeys is only four shillings!

This survey is a significant addition to the very few studies of its kind in England or elsewhere. *The Journey to Work* by Dr. Kate Liepmann (1944) and *Dispersal* by the National Council of Social Service (1944) are its only major European forerunners, although some British census data are available on the subject, and French and German statistics have occasionally included data on *migration alternante, migration oscillatoire,* and *Pendelwanderung.* American research projects in this area might well adopt the London survey techniques, if any progress is to be expected in coping with the problems incidental to acceleration in separation of place of residence from place of daily activity. So far, only scattered data, from origin-destination studies of auto traffic, for example, and a very

limited number of studies (one forthcoming by J. Douglas Carrol, Jr., and one by the writer, on Chicago) even approach the scope of the London survey. Some others are reported in progress. So long as the decennial census continues to note only where people sleep, knowledge on this subject will have to be limited to this type of survey.

Students of urban affairs and human ecology as well as urban planners and transportation specialists will impatiently await the projected publication of the full results of the survey. In the meantime, the pressure to solve planning, taxation, transportation, and related problems might well profit by the organization of background studies on this model. In spite of their significant ramifications and utility, the field for analyses of both daytime population and daily flow of goods and population is still open and relatively unexplored.

GERALD BREESE

Princeton University

The Crime Problem. By WALTER C. RECKLESS. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. Pp. xii+537. $4.25.

This is a textbook designed for use both in universities and colleges and in in-service training courses in probation or parole offices or prisons. The volume consists of Parts I and II, which contain some excellent chapters under the general headings, "Facts about Ordinary Crime" and "Crime as a Business"; Part III, entitled "Affiliated Problems," in which chapters on prostitution, alcoholism, gambling, etc., are, in most instances, tied to the central problem of crime by a very slender thread; and Part IV, entitled "Control, Treatment, and Prevention," in which crime control is dealt with as a problem of law enforcement, and prevention is dealt with in both moral and behavioristic terms. The division of the materials in Part IV introduces some of the basic questions raised by this volume.

As he says himself, the author has sought to reduce the "gulf between town and gown" or to bridge "the chasm between the practical workers in the field and the students and professors in the universities and colleges." Since the "town" view traditionally has emphasized punishment and law and order, and the "gown" view has emphasized understanding and explanation, the effort to bring together these two points of view is a welcome one. Surely the conflict between the legal and the behavioristic points of view represents one of the dilemmas of criminology. But there seems to be little reason to believe that Reckless has resolved it.

In this volume, as in earlier writings, Reckless has kept his discussion of what he calls the "very dubious causative factors of crime" at a minimum and has substituted the concept of categoric risks. Thus, in a sense, he seeks to solve the dilemma by abandoning part of it. But "cause," even if rejected, tends to creep back into the discussion.

The case materials which are presented as appendixes to certain chapters, for example, list physical, mental, family, and neighborhood characteristics as part of the basic data. Since these factors are not presented as categoric risks and since they are not dealt with as elements in a behavior sequence (a rather interesting concept which the author develops), it must be assumed that they are presented to aid in the understanding of the behavior. Similarly, the rationalization which ties a chapter such as the one on alcoholism to the crime problem has to be stated in terms of the relationship between the use of alcohol and criminal behavior, since even excessive drinking, in itself, is not a criminal act. Even the choice of certain categoric risks over others woud seem to suggest certain beliefs about causation.

But the chief difficulty with the notion of categoric risk is that it offers no control over the problem, and assistance in gaining control is what "town" wants from "gown." One's conception of the nature of the problem must logically be significantly related to one's notion of what should be done about it. In this volume it is difficult to see any very close relationship between categoric risks and crime control as the latter concept is developed.

This point is more evident when a specific categoric risk such as color is examined. Negroes have a higher crime rate than white men, and, if the problem of control were formulated on the basis of the risk theory, it ought logically to provide for the elimination of skin color. But the evidence at hand indicates that the relationship between crime and color is accidental and that the relevant question is: Would Negroes be more delinquent than white men if their place in the social structure were not that of a depressed group whose upward and spatial mobility has been interfered with by the dominant group? If the answer to this question is negative, a new for-

mulation of the problem of control is required.

The failure to bring "town and gown" together, however, is most evident in the section of the textbook dealing with control, treatment, and prevention. First, crime control, as differentiated from prevention and treatment, is presented as control through legal agencies. It is, therefore, comparable to fire or disease control in Reckless' scheme, although the parallel is not good, since disease control comes through the understanding of the cause of disease, whereas crime control as here defined is suppression without understanding. Second, Reckless suggests that the prevention of crime requires the development of respect for law and order, a consistent ethical position, and the implanting of strong moral fiber. This section is almost straight moral preachment with very little analysis of the origin of the conditions which need to be remedied or the means through which the desired ends can be attained. Finally, the behavioristic point of view appears in the discussion of clinics, counseling, schools, and community organization. In order to "reduce the gulf" between town and gown these points of view must be welded into a consistent whole. Parenthetically, it is unfortunate that criminologists who are forced to appraise the effectiveness of the "gown" group of institutions do not have better sources of information.

Reckless makes many accurate observations about crime and the social order and many others which are certain to provoke debate. For example, he suggests that those who discuss area variations in crime overlook the fact of differential reporting. This group may reply that what Reckless overlooks is the fact that, if one starts with legal definitions, he is stuck with them. Within that system a boy is a delinquent if he is so defined by the court, and he is not a delinquent if the court has not so defined him regardless of how reprehensible his behavior may be from the point of view of the citizenry. Perhaps Reckless would suggest that studies of this type should be made on a nonlegal axis; but, when this is done, the unanswered question is: Who is to define what delinquent behavior is and on the basis of what standards are the definitions to be justified? Surely no two communities and probably no two persons would agree on the limits of acceptable behavior.

This is only one of the many problems and issues raised by Reckless in *The Crime Problem*. And, if he does not have all the answers, he can be comforted by the fact that he is not alone. It seems probable that workers in the practical field who are seeking information both on crime and on affiliated social problems may find that this volume meets their needs rather well.

HENRY D. MCKAY

Illinois Institute for Juvenile Research

The College Nisei. By ROBERT W. O'BRIEN. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1949. Pp. viii+165. $3.50.

The purpose of this book is to put on record and to report to a wider public the work of the National Japanese American Student Relocation Council, of which the author was director during 1942–43, its first and most critical year.

The book is apparently intended chiefly for the lay citizen, 59 of the 124 pages of context presenting background and problem-setting materials which by now are fairly well known. There are only a few errors in the whole work, which is based chiefly on documents of the Council, now in the Hoover Library, and of personal files of the author. It is not clear as to why the Thomas and Nishimoto study, reported in *The Spoilage*, Grodzins' *Americans Betrayed*, and Lind's *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy* are neither used nor even referred to. Nonetheless, the citizen will find here a readable account of some important facets of the "Japanese problem" as a whole and how it was handled in wartime America.

What contribution this book makes to the professional literature remains to be seen, although the reviewer believes that it will not be substantial. The title hints at a significant problem, but this is not a study of Nisei college students or graduates as professional interest would lead us to define it. It is merely a presentation of materials which came into files in the course of carrying out a relocation program of a special group about which another special group became urgently concerned. Hence the data were not gathered with a theoretical problem as the focus. This, and a confusing use of certain concepts—for example, acculturation—detracts from the value of the work for specialists. Chapter vii may be cited as a case in point.

The status and role of college Nisei, of those who wish a college education and of those who began one but did not finish are subjects of fruitful study for the development of theory. No investigator has yet dug deeply into this phase of American-Japanese life in pre-evacuation days, and it has not been probed systematically

or deeply by Dr. O'Brien for the evacuation period. It still remains a subject which, if approached forthrightly and boldly, can contribute fruitfully to our knowledge of the American social system and the struggles of one group to find a position in it.

FORREST E. LAVIOLETTE

Tulane University

Scientific Social Surveys and Research. By PAULINE V. YOUNG. 2d ed. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949. Pp. xxviii+621. $4.75.

This comprehensive revision of what has been one of the most useful and widely used textbooks for courses in methodology will be welcomed not only by sociologists but by other social scientists as well. Its value as a reference work for those engaged in research is scarcely excelled because of the wide scope of material treated. It is ten years since the book first appeared, and that it has run through six printings is evidence of its wide popularity.

But in the past decade important developments in methodology have taken place which need to be incorporated in any survey of the field of scientific research methods. For example, the present volume contains a new chapter on "Scaling Techniques" written by Calvin F. Schmid (who also wrote chapters on "Statistics," "Graphic Presentation," and "Human Ecology"). Other new chapters are "Basic Principles of Social Research," by Dr. Young, and "Surveys and Research in Present-Day Social Work," by M. J. Karpf. The chapter on human ecology has been expanded to treat rural as well as urban communities—the first edition was restricted to the latter. Discussion in various chapters has been expanded to give proper emphasis to new techniques and interests as represented, for example, in the study of public opinion, regionalism, experimental design, and stratified sampling.

The old edition was dedicated to Beatrice Webb; the new one, printed on slick paper, to "the memory of Beatrice and Sidney Webb," whose photograph appears on the dedicatory page. The photographs of fourteen other sociologists and statisticians, along with other illustrations, add interest to the book. It should have even wider reception than the old edition.

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

Foundations of the Public Library: The Origins of the Public Library Movement in New England, 1629–1855. By JESSE H. SHERA. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. xv+308. $5.00.

Professor Shera tells us in the first paragraph of his study that he is "concerned with those elements in American life which contributed directly or indirectly to the growth of the public library as a social agency and the character of the environment from which it emerged." He then warns us that the public library must not be regarded as a "social institution" but as a "social agency" because the one (the "institution") determines the pattern of society, and the other (the "agency") is determined by that pattern. "Judged by every standard and measured by every criterion, the public library is revealed as a social agency dependent upon the objectives of society. It *followed*—it did not create—social change." But then we are told: "There was a lag between social stimulus and library response, yet there also existed a reciprocity of relationship between the library and society. Each reacted upon the other. Because the public library contributed to the fullest expression of democracy, it supported that form of social organization. The relationship was constantly evolving."

Such sentences indicate that Shera conceives of his work as more than a modest monograph of the foundations of the public library. And since the conceptualization of this study is based in sociological theory as Shera understands it, it is reasonable to inquire about the use of such theory. To such reiterated assertions as "the true frame of reference for the library is to be found in its coeval culture" it is but natural to ask, "Who ever said that a social institution or 'agency' ever came from anywhere else?" In short, where else could it come from? As sociologists we are eager to know *which* social factors influence institutions and to *what* degree. Further we are concerned with *how* we know what we know, or think we know. To say that "The history of the modern public library supports Émile Durkheim's general principle that the origins of any social agency must be sought in the internal constitution of the milieu" (p. v) indicates that Shera is going to undertake some kind of validation (not merely a series of repeated assertions) of his position.

We have a right to know whether the statements made in the name of sociology are based on authority, opinion, or a methodological de-

velopment based on data given in the work itself or taken from the work of others. If authority is invoked, we ought to know why one authority and not another; if opinion is given, we should expect a well-developed statement of the perspective on which the opinion is based; or, if scientific method is used, we ought to be given some evidence of an understanding of the difference among theory, method, and technique. To say, for example, that in New England society religion was a *lesser* influence from 1629 to 1855 in anything to do with reading, without establishing this through research of one's own, is simply to offer one generalization where another scholar might offer another, without assuming any responsibility for validiating the choice. There seem to be two levels in this study. The first is the material on the beginnings of the public library. The second is the discussion on "New England Backgrounds," "Colonial Beginnings," and "Causal Factors in Public Library Development." The material on the development of the library is of interest; the discussions involving sociological concepts are, to say the least, rather naïve.

HUGH D. DUNCAN
Northwestern University

Easy Does It: The Story of Mac. By HUGH REILLY. New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1950. Pp. 277. $3.00.

The principal value such a fictionized biography as the present work could have would be that of illustrative material on alcoholic behavior for an undergraduate reading list. The downfall and rescue of a drunkard through the agency of Alcoholics Anonymous makes moderately palatable reading, but the claims for the cure stand on no scientific basis. Until we know what the influence of A.A. is in relation to other remedies for addiction, and how it produces its results, if any, sociologists would be wise not to embrace an interpretation mainly because it appears to fit in with the prejudices of his branch of science. The claims for this nobly motivated organization will have to stand up to pass the same severe tests to which we put less attractive hypotheses before the present reviewer will recommend such unsupported interpretations as those presented in *Easy Does It.*

ROBERT E. L. FARIS
University of Washington

Alcohol and Social Responsibility: A New Educational Approach. By RAYMOND G. MCCARTHY and EDGAR M. DOUGLASS. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1949. Pp. xvi+304. $3.50.

This is an informative and well-balanced survey of alcoholism as a social problem. The first part, "The Basic Principles and Facts," is a brief account of the historical background of the problem and the growth of the temperance movement with a description of the activities and viewpoints of such organizations as the Women's Christian Temperance Union and the Anti-Saloon League and the story of the Eighteenth Amendment and its repeal. Statistical data are presented on amounts of different types of liquor consumed in the United States, monetary expenditures on alcoholic beverages, government revenues, and the prevalence of drinking habits in various age, sex, and other groups. Differences of attitudes toward alcohol on the part of various organizations and segments of the population are set forth, and the difficulties which these sharply opposed views introduce into the problem of establishing a workable system of control are dealt with effectively and judiciously. Moralizing and sensationalism are carefully shunned.

The discussion of motivation in alcoholism seems to be the weakest part of what is generally a very good book. Alcohol addiction is conceived as a consequence or symptom of a personality disorder, but the evidence which justifies this view is not presented and indeed, so far as this reviewer knows, does not exist. In recent years, especially since the development of the Antabuse treatment, the conception of alcoholism as a manifestation of a pre-existing personality disorder has been seriously brought into question. This view should be presented as a hypothesis in need of verification rather than as a fact. The authors lightly dismiss the idea that there may be mechanisms connected with the very use of alcohol itself which tend to fix the habit regardless of personality traits. Something of this sort certainly seems to be true of the smoking and drug habits and may also be true of alcoholism. This issue is still not finally settled.

The second part of the book, "An Approach through Education," stresses the responsibility of educators and the schools for instruction in the basic facts of the use of alcohol and its social consequences and for mental hygiene programs

which may help protect youth from the abuse of alcohol. Various types of educational programs are described in considerable practical detail, and many teaching aids and techniques are suggested.

Throughout the volume the authors draw heavily on materials and programs worked up in the "Yale Studies of Alcoholism." One of the authors, McCarthy, is executive director of the Yale Plan Clinic. The book as a whole is designed to make the Yale Plan on Alcoholism known to the interested public. It should be useful in providing information and in contributing to the ultimate establishment of a more uniform and effective system of control.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

Indiana University

Character Assassination. By JEROME DAVIS. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. xix+259. $3.00.

Character Assassination is a book written so graphically that one doesn't put it down until it is finished. More important, however, is the significant contribution it makes to our understanding of the severely damaging effects of smear phenomena. The impressionistic style in which Davis writes perhaps also contributes to the value of the material, since it reveals the severe personal and psychological destruction reaped by individuals who are subjected to "the label."

Particularly enlightening is a chapter in which Mr. Davis describes his own experience with the *Saturday Evening Post*, where, in the eyes of his colleagues, he was a Communist because he refused to be a perpetual anti-Communist. The book provides an excellent depiction of the much too common dilemma forced upon individuals who are damned by the group because they refuse to be categorized along type lines.

In discussing the sociological and political implications of defamation, Davis makes the assumption that the modern Communist plays the same role in society as the early Christian; i.e., he is an individual who calls attention to the ills of his own society. The implied conclusion is of course that "red-baiting" and smear become effective tools for impeding social criticism and social improvement. With no damage to this idea, Davis' analysis of the problem might have been more complete had he not failed to point out that the American Communist is also a master of the smear technique.

The book might have been strengthened by a greater emphasis on suggestions for the elimination of smearing and for the promulgation of a more meaningful understanding, on the part of those who confuse patriotism with dogmatism, of what the American heritage really is.

KERMIT EBY

University of Chicago

Fundamentals of Sociology: A Situational Analysis. By SEBA ELDRIDGE and ASSOCIATES. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1950. Pp. xvi+720. $4.75.

This reviewer has often felt that two sets of standards seem a fair basis of judgment for a book reviewer. First, it would appear that one has a right to assess a book by determining whether the author has fulfilled the objectives set by himself; this is the author's *raison d'être* for his book. The reviewer's guidepost within this framework is: "Given these and these goals, are the contents warranted; are the ends fulfilled?" Second, a reviewer can properly assume the right to appraise the goals themselves. Are the objectives of the author legitimate?

This latter valuation will obviously be more personal and less objective than the former. Few teachers, however, will take issue with the asserted goals of the authors of this text. They state that one of their purposes is to have the student actively involved in understanding and applying sociological principles to life-situations. To this end pertinent illustrative matetrials have been included in the text. Further to realize this goal, each chapter is supplemented by a set of questions on the discussion in the chapter as well as a set of project problems that the student might engage in.

As was intimated, the book constitutes a collaborative enterprise, each section of which was written by an expert in the field covered by that section. Seba Eldridge authored "Personality" and the section on "The Composition of Social Life"; Malcolm Willey, "Society and Its Cultural Heritage"; Harold Gibbard, "Geography, Ecology, and the Community"; Carl Rosenquist, "Population Traits and Trends"; Noel Gist, "Social Interaction and Social Process"; and Newton Berry, "Social Institutions."

Each treatment is up to date, lucid, and adequate for novitiates in sociology. One wonders why the "group" has not come in for a more systematic and focal analysis. A second question might also be raised by anyone who has taught beginning students in sociology. Is there a clearly understandable integration of the subject matter from chapter to chapter and from section to section? This is understandably difficult in a volume written by several authors. Nevertheless, it is essential in an introductory text and has tended to be the greatest weakness in most of them. In the hands of an experienced and effective instructor this book might be used quite successfully.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

Iowa State College

CURRENT BOOKS

ACKERMAN, NATHAN W., and JAHODA, MARIE. *Anti-Semitism and Emotional Disorder: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xiv+135. $2.50. Comparative study of the factors in the anti-Semitism of a series of patients of psychoanalysts. The methods of analyzing the data are described. Résumé of cases in appendix.

AMERICAN PUBLIC HEALTH ASSOCIATION COMMITTEE ON THE HYGIENE OF HOUSING. *Planning the Home for Occupancy.* Chicago: Public Administration Service, 1950. Pp. xii+56. $2.50.

ATTEBERRY, GEORGE C.; AUBLE, JOHN L.; HUNT, ELGIN F.; and MASIKO, PETER, JR. With a Foreword by LOUIS WIRTH. *Social Science: A Survey of Social Problems.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. xxv+819. $5.00. A revised edition of a well-known orientation text in the field of social science.

BAKKE, E. WIGHT. *Bonds of Organization: An Appraisal of Corporate Human Relations.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xii+239. $4.00. Report of a study of organization and relations to each other of the Southern New England Telephone Company and the Connecticut Union of Telephone Workers. Research done by Yale Labor and Management Center in collaboration with the two organizations. Terms on which research was done are presented. Chapters on status, communication, reward and penalty, etc. Theoretical summary in final chapter.

BALFOUR, MARSHALL C.; EVANS, ROGER F.; NOTESTEIN, FRANK W.; and TAEUBER, IRENE B. *Public Health and Demography in the Far East.* New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1950. Pp. 132. Report of a survey trip, September 13–December 13, 1948.

BASTIDE, ROGER. *Sociologie et psychanalyse.* Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950. Pp. viii+290. Fr. 600. In two parts, one on history of relation between psychoanalysis and sociology; a second on the theoretical relation. Part I includes references to Marxism and anthropology. Extensive English and French bibliography.

BENNETT, WENDELL C. *The Gallinazo Group, Viru Valley, Peru.* ("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 43.) New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. 127. $2.00.

CATTELL, RAYMOND B. *Personality: A Systematic, Theoretical, and Factual Study.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950. Pp. xii+689. $5.50. Reviews the chief views and research findings on the nature of personality, drawing from the fields of psychology, sociology, anthropology, and psychology.

COOK, LLOYD ALLEN and ELAINE FORSYTH. *A Sociological Approach to Education: A Revision of Community Backgrounds of Education.* New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950. Pp. xii+514. $4.50. An extensive revision of the Cooks' *Community Backgrounds of Education,* amplified particularly with much case material.

COUNT, EARL W. (ed.). *This Is Race: An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man.* New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950. Pp. xxviii+747. $7.50.

DEES, JESSE WALTER, JR. *Urban Sociology and the Emerging Atomic Megalopolis,* Parts I and II. Ann Arbor: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1950. Pp. 270; 538. $3.00 each. An introductory textbook and casebook in the field of urban society and social pathology, replete with tables, charts, and photographs.

DEMING, WILLIAM EDWARDS. *Some Theory of Sampling.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1950. Pp. xvii+602. $9.00. Presents the basic theory of probability and shows the ways to which it can be applied to meet different requirements.

DEUTSCH, ALBERT. *Our Rejected Children.* Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950. Pp. xxii+292. $3.00. A spirited exposé of juvenile delinquency and of the ill-considered methods of trying to handle delinquents.

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WITCH BELIEFS AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE[1]

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ABSTRACT

The witch beliefs of the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika and the Pondo of South Africa differ considerably. An attempt is made to relate these differences to the variations in the social structure of the two peoples. The Nyakyusa emphasis on lust for good food as the main incentive to witchcraft is connected with the fact that they live in age-villages, not kinship villages, while the Pondo emphasis on sex in witchcraft is related to their insistence on clan exogamy.

Many anthropologists are concerned just now with the relation between values and social structure. My subject is a facet of that problem. I shall try to show that witch beliefs are one expression of the values of a society and that these vary with the social structure. My analysis is based on the comparison of two African peoples among whom I have done field work, the Nyakyusa of Tanganyika[2] and the Pondo of South Africa.[3]

[1] The first draft of this paper was delivered as a lecture to the Chicago Anthropological Society in April, 1950.

[2] Cf. Godfrey Wilson, "An Introduction to Nyakyusa Society," *Bantu Studies*, Vol. X (1936). "An African Morality," *Africa*, Vol. IX (1936). *The Land Rights of Individuals among the Nyakyusa* ("Rhodes-Livingstone Papers" [1938]); Monica Wilson, "An African Christian Morality," *Africa*, Vol. X (1937); *Good Company: A Study of Nyakyusa Age-Villages* (to be published by Oxford University Press); and "Nyakyusa Kinship," in *Kinship and Marriage in Africa*, ed. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown (London: Oxford University Press, 1950).

[3] Cf. Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936).

These peoples are similar in many respects: they are both cattle people and cultivators, traditionally having had a subsistence economy but now drawn into the world economy, the Pondo as migrant laborers in the gold mines of South Africa, the Nyakyusa as migrant laborers on the mines and sisal plantations of Tanganyika and as peasant producers of coffee and rice. Both peoples were, and still are, organized under chiefs and have well-developed legal institutions; both peoples are patrilineal, and marriage is legalized by the transfer of cattle from the groom's group to that of the bride; both speak a Bantu language, with all that that implies in similarity of concepts and categories of thought; and both have the type of religion so general in Bantu Africa, viz., an elaborate ancestor cult, a belief in the power of medicines (that is, in mystical power residing in certain material substances), and a belief in witchcraft.

I am using "witchcraft" in the sense in which Professor Evans-Pritchard uses it for the belief in a mystical power innate in cer-

tain individuals and exercised by them to harm others, and I distinguish it from sorcery, which is the illegal use of medicines to harm others. In doing so, I follow precisely the Nyakyusa verbal usage, for they distinguish between *ubulosi*, an innate power used to work evil, and *ubutege*, the illegal use of destructive medicines. The distinction is an important one; for sorcery, as I have defined it, is practiced, that is, people use medicines (which are sometimes poisons) with the object of harming others, while few anthropologists would admit the reality of witchcraft —the exercise of an innate power to harm others directly. But, though both Nyakyusa and Pondo have a lively fear of witchcraft, there are marked variations in the forms of their beliefs and in the incidence of accusations, and it is these differences which I wish to discuss.

The Nyakyusa believe that witches exist as pythons in the bellies of certain individuals. They are something tangible, discoverable at an autopsy, and inherited. The incentive to witchcraft is said to be the desire for good food. Witches lust for meat and milk—the prized foods of the group—and it is this which drives them to commit witchcraft. They delight in eating human flesh and gnaw men inside, causing death to their victims. The witches also steal milk, sucking the udders of cows, so that the cows dry up and later abort. All this happens in dreams. Nightmares of being throttled, of being chased, of fighting, and of flying through the air are taken as evidence of an attack by witches; and, if a man wakes up suddenly at night in fear and sweating, he knows that "they"—the witches—have come to throttle him. The witches are thought to fly by night on their pythons or "on the wind"; they attack either singly or in covins; and they feast on human flesh.

Though the first incentive to witchcraft is said to be the lust for food, witches select as their victims those against whom they have a grudge; they act illegally and immorally but not without cause. They attack those with whom they have quarreled, so that the good man who keeps on friendly terms with his neighbors has little to fear from the witches. Children are warned not to be quarrelsome or boastful or brusque in their manners, lest they arouse the anger of witches. People also fear to be conspicuously successful, lest, exciting envy, they bring upon themselves the attack of a witch. One can show off a bit, but not too much. Thus a man may safely hoe a garden bigger than that of his neighbors, but it must not be too conspicuously bigger, and he must not boast of its size; a woman may carry home a heavier load of faggots than her fellow, but it must not be too conspicuously heavier; and so on. To be a Don Juan, carrying on many intrigues, or the favorite wife of one's husband is also dangerous, provoking jealousy. Above all, witches are thought to attack those who are stingy with food, and a direct connection is made between feeding potential witches on beef and protecting one's self against attack. Well-fed pythons stay quiet.

The kind of person accused of being a witch is very like the person thought to be attacked. He (or she) is proud and boastful, morose, or aloof and unsympathetic to neighbors in trouble. The "strong, silent man" depicted as a hero by Hollywood would very likely be labeled a witch in African society. The unusually successful man, the go-getter, is also liable to be accused of practicing witchcraft or sorcery, for it is argued that his success can only have come through some mystical power and *at the expense of his fellows*.

The Nyakyusa believe that witchcraft is extremely dangerous but that the danger is limited in two ways: first, witchcraft rarely operates beyond the village—a private person can be attacked only from within his own village—and, second, the good man is defended by his neighbors. It is thought that in every village there are "defenders" (*abamanga*) who see the witches in dreams and fight them and drive them off. The leader of "the defenders" is the headman of the village.

But not only do "the defenders" protect the innocent, they also punish the guilty.

They bring upon a wrongdoer a chilling breath which paralyzes him or causes him to sicken with a fever or some debilitating disease. The supposed victim of such an attack will complain angrily of "witchcraft" (*ubulosi*), but other people will speak of his sin and the just retribution that has fallen upon him through "the breath of men" or "the curse." The source of this power of defense and punishment is almost identical with that of witchcraft: it comes from pythons in men's bellies, though, curiously, defenders have only one python, whereas witches have several, and the defender's python is not visible at an autopsy like that of a witch. The sins which are believed to bring down the anger of the defenders are many, but the commonest are failure to provide feasts on certain specified occasions, disrespectful behavior toward parents or by a woman toward her husband or parents-in-law, incest, and a breach of conventions regarding the limitation of pregnancies. Ill health in man and beast and field was directly linked to sin by our informants; Job, who suffered misfortune, though he was righteous, is foreign to Nyakyusa thought. Hence a study of cases of misfortune provided concrete data on values; it shows very clearly what was judged good and what evil.

The categories of people suspected by the Nyakyusa of practicing witchcraft are, first and foremost, village neighbors—more than a third of the cases of witchcraft we collected were of this type—second, fellow-workers in a mining camp, and, third, wives. Only very rarely is an accusation of practicing witchcraft lodged against a kinsman.[4]

The Pondo ideas about witchcraft are rather different. First, they think that a witch always works by means of a familiar—a fabulous hairy being with exaggerated sexual characteristics called *Tikoloshe*, or a baboon, a wild cat, a snake, or a lightning bird. The familiar is of opposite sex to that of the witch and is often spoken of as taking the form of a beautiful girl or a handsome man, very light in color, and the witch and familiar have sexual relations. Usually the familiar is acquired by inheritance.[5] The basis of these beliefs is again dreams, sex dreams being frequently interpreted in terms of witchcraft. The Pondo do not distinguish so sharply between witchcraft and sorcery as the Nyakyusa do; nevertheless, they speak of two types of power used illegally, viz., familiars and medicines. Familiars are regarded as altogether and utterly evil, and there is no idea of their being used in defense or to punish a wrongdoer. A homestead is defended against witches by its ancestors and by medicines placed round about it, not by some of its members who see and fight the witches in dreams. And the range of witchcraft is not limited in the way in which it is among the Nyakyusa; nowadays it is even said to be sent by post.

I know much less about the kind of behavior thought to excite the attacks of witches or to lead to an accusation against one among the Pondo than among the Nyakyusa, for I was less interested in this problem when I was in Pondoland than I became later on and also I was less intimate with the Pondo than with the Nyakyusa. I do know, however, that envy, roused by conspicuous success, is a cause very commonly cited. I am inclined to think that misfortune is less closely linked with morality among the Pondo than among the Nyakyusa, that is, that they conceive of the witches acting without cause in a way in which the Nyakyusa do not; but I have not the evidence to substantiate this. Further investigation will be necessary to prove or to disprove such a hypothesis. But, even though witchcraft and morality may not be so closely linked by the Pondo as by the Nyakyusa, a study of Pondo witch beliefs throws a good deal of light on Pondo morality.

The typical accusations of witchcraft in Pondoland are between mother and daugh-

[4] This account is based on the general statements of our Nyakyusa friends and an analysis of ninety-one cases of misfortune, all of which were attributed to mystical causes.

[5] Monica Hunter, *Reaction to Conquest*, pp. 272–90.

ter-in-law who live in the same homestead and between fellow-employees in the mines or elsewhere. Accusations against neighbors, people of other homesteads, occur but are less frequent. I have no figures to support this impression of the incidence of accusations among the Pondo, but it is largely confirmed by the analysis of accusations now being made by a young anthropologist, Miss Selma Kaplan, in another Xhosa-speaking area, the Keiskama Valley, which is culturally very similar to Pondoland.

Now the differences between the Nyakyusa and Pondo ideas about witchcraft are not absolute; there is some overlapping between them. There are some hints among the Nyakyusa of sex associations with witchcraft, though they have no theory of familiars with whom the owner has sex relations and do not interpret sex dreams in terms of witchcraft, and there is some suggestion among the Pondo of witches seeking food—the baboon familiar is said sometimes to milk cows. There is also some overlapping in the type of behavior thought to anger the witches in the two societies and in the relationships within which accusations occur. But the difference in emphasis is very great. I went straight to the Nyakyusa after working with the Pondo, and I was puzzled by the contrast. What was the reason for it? Why should the Nyakyusa always talk about the witches lusting for food and the Pondo talk about witch lovers? Why do the Nyakyusa have this theory of a power akin to witchcraft used in defense and to punish evildoers, and not the Pondo?

With the reports of the dreams of men in half-starved prisoner-of-war camps in mind, I began, first, to reflect on the differences in Nyakyusa and Pondo diet, but I found no answer there. The Nyakyusa have long[6] been among the best-fed people in Africa, while the Pondo are nowadays very badly fed. The Nyakyusa eat only a limited amount of meat but have a good deal of milk and ample supplies of bananas and plantains, maize, beans, finger-millet, groundnuts, sweet potatoes, pumpkins, and greens; and many of them get fish and rice. The Pondo, on the other hand, have no more meat than the Nyakyusa and almost certainly less milk, while their supplies of fruit, grains, pulses, greens, and fish are much more limited in quantity and variety. It is true that a century ago the Pondo probably had much more meat and milk than they have today; but, if meat hunger really produces the idea that witches kill to get flesh, then it would have appeared among the Pondo long before this. There is no tradition of cannibalism among either people, though it may conceivably have been resorted to by both in periods of extreme privation. Neither people have ever had the reputation among their neighbors of being cannibals, as the Azande had.

What, then, are the other conspicuous differences between Nyakyusa and Pondo societies? The Nyakyusa are peculiar in that they live not in kinship villages, like most African peoples, but in age-villages. A group of boys build a village when they are still quite young—about ten or eleven years old—and they remain together through life, bringing their wives to this village when they marry. Tremendous emphasis is laid on enjoying the company of age-mates, on eating and drinking with them, and avoiding quarrels with them. Until he marries, a boy is fed by his mother, though he sleeps in the boys' village and spends his spare time there, but he does not come home alone for meals. Instead, a group of boys visits the mother of each member in turn, and this habit of eating in a group is ideally maintained all through life. A man cannot eat with women, and he cannot eat with his sons; to do so would imply a familiarity wholly immoral in Nyakyusa eyes; but he should eat with neighbors who are age-mates of his own standing. Generosity with food and hospitality to neighbors is the first virtue and the basis of prestige in the society. The village is the landholding group and joins in com-

[6] J. Thomson, *To the Central African Lakes and Back* (London: Sampson Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1881), I, 268–74; F. D. Lugard, *The Rise of Our East African Empire* (London: Blackwood & Sons, 1893), I, 131.

mon defense under the leadership of the village headman in the "war by day and war by night" (*ubwite pa musi nobwite pa kelo*), "war by night" meaning the war against witches. Traditionally, also, the members of a village have certain responsibilities for torts committed by one of their fellows.

In spite of living and fighting with his age-set, however, a Nyakyusa man has very close ties with his kinsmen. He is bound to them by a supposed mystical interdependence and the performance of rituals directed to common ancestors, on which health and fertility are thought to depend, and by interest in the cattle owned by members of his agnatic lineage. I have not space now to go into the very complicated system by which cattle are acquired and distributed; it must suffice to say that they circulate within agnatic lineages and between lineages; a man acquires cattle primarily through kinship connections, and his kinsmen have certain claims on the cattle he holds. Fellow-villagers have no claims on his cattle other than food; they do not inherit from him or get cattle from him with which to marry, but they do expect to receive a share of his milk and to feast on beef upon certain recognized occasions, when he should kill cattle for a ritual. There are no clans or large exogamous groups. Descendants of a common grandparent cannot marry, and those with a common great-grandparent should not marry; but, since kinsmen are scattered, the limitation on choice within one neighborhood is small.

Nyakyusa country has been under European control since 1893, and, as we saw earlier, some of the men are in European employment, but relations between Nyakyusa and European are still fairly tenuous; the atmosphere is that of a frontier, and the caste system has not solidified as it has in South Africa. Racial segregation is not taken as an ultimate value by any group.

The Pondo social structure is quite different. Among them the local group, the homestead (*umzi*), is a kinship group, comprising an agnatic lineage, together with wives and unmarried daughters. The men of a homestead form a close-knit group, commonly eating in company and formerly being jointly responsible for each other's torts and fighting as a unit in the army of the district. A number of lineages make up a clan, which, though not strictly a territorial group, has a territorial headquarters, a substantial proportion of the men in any one area being of the same clan, that of the chief of the area. Tremendous emphasis is laid on clan exogamy and not marrying into the clan of one's mother or of either grandmother. Clans are large; they may have three thousand or four thousand members; and, since they tend to concentrate in different areas, a great many girls in one neighborhood are classed as sisters by a young man of the neighborhood. The emotional content of this taboo on clan incest is tremendous; it survives even among urbanized people, and it is one of the main cultural differences separating the Xhosa- and Zulu-speaking people from the Sotho, with whom they mingle in Johannesburg and other centers of employment.

Second, the Pondo are members of a color-caste society, in which one of the ultimate values is the exclusion of sex relations between members of different castes. They are in much closer contact with whites than the Nyakyusa are, and the emphasis on endogamy within each color group is much greater in South Africa than in Tanganyika. Sex relations between white and black, whether marital or extra-marital, are now a criminal offense in South Africa.

Now my hypothesis is that the differences between the Nyakyusa and Pondo ideas of witchcraft are directly connected with these differences in their social structure. The Nyakyusa emphasize the virtue of feeding village neighbors and regard the lust for meat and milk as the main incentive to witchcraft *because* they live not with kinsmen but with neighbors and yet cattle, the main form of wealth, are controlled by kinship groups. Jealousy of a neighbor's wealth is common enough, but it is peculiarly keen among the Nyakyusa because nonrelatives live close together in villages and the poor cannot help being aware when the rich feast

on good food. Our Nyakyusa friends spoke of the witches *smelling* meat roasting or *smelling* milk, and that, I think, is very significant. A share in feasts is the only benefit a nonrelative can expect to have from the wealth in cattle of a fellow-villager.

The Pondo setup is quite different. Among them, only kinsmen live together, and kinsmen can expect to benefit from the herd of their wealthy relatives either through inheritance or by assistance with marriage cattle, so every man has a personal interest in the increase of cattle belonging to the kinsmen with whom he lives. Pondo also crave meat feasts, but they speak of the pressure to kill cattle as coming from the ancestors, not from neighbors. When a sacrifice is made on behalf of a kinsman who is ill, the Pondo say: *Balambile, bafuna ukudla ngaye,* meaning "they are hungry, they want to eat with him," and "they" refers to the ancestors, not to witches or neighbors. Neighbors play no necessary part in the ritual at all, and even if they do not come to share in the feast the patient will recover, whereas, if a Nyakyusa has been ill and sacrifices, the neighbors *must* eat of the meat of the sacrifice and bless him.

And what of the Pondo emphasis on sex in witchcraft? Are they a much more inhibited people than the Nyakyusa? At first sight it appears that they are not. There is, in fact, much greater freedom of premarital relations between the sexes among the Pondo than among the Nyakyusa, for the marriage age of girls is much higher and the marriage age of men rather lower. In Pondoland there is a large group of nubile girls who dance and flirt and cuddle with the young men, whereas among the Nyakyusa there is no such group. Among the latter most girls are betrothed well before puberty, and, once a girl is betrothed, any sex contact with her (outside the puberty ceremonies) is treated as adultery. But the Pondo prohibit sex relations with a much wider group of persons than do the Nyakyusa. I relate the emphasis on sex in witchcraft among the Pondo to the system of clan exogamy, which excludes large categories of individuals living in the same neighborhood from marrying or flirting with one another, and the idea that the familiar is a light-colored person to the caste system which almost excludes sex relations between persons of different colors. In short, I suggest that the familiar is a symbol of forbidden sex attraction and that such attraction is common in a society in which large categories of people who live in close contact with one another are forbidden to marry.

The belief in "the breath of men," that is, in a power akin to witchcraft used in defense and to punish wrongdoers is also, I suggest, related to the age-village organization. It is matched in a kinship village by the belief that the ancestors are a shield against misfortune to the group and that senior living relatives have a mystical power over their descendants and juniors. The concept of "the breath of men" gives a Nyakyusa village headman a power over the members of his village comparable to that of a headman in a Pondoland village. The fact that the power of the one is thought to derive from a python in his belly and the power of the other from his ancestors does not materially affect his relationship with members of his village.

The difference in the incidence of accusations of witchcraft in Nyakyusa and Pondo societies is also related to the differences in the social structure of the two groups. A Pondo bride joins the homestead of her husband and lives, often for many years, under the control of her mother-in-law. Friction between them is very common. Moreover, she is long regarded as a stranger and so is suspect because she is a member of another clan. The Nyakyusa wife, on the other hand, lives in a different village from her mother-in-law and does not necessarily see much of her. Nor is she an outsider in a closely knit kin group as the Pondo woman is. In Nyakyusa society friction is most likely between neighbors who live close together, and it is between them that accusations of witchcraft are most frequent. Both societies are polygynous, and, in both, accusations are fairly frequent between co-wives. Individuals from both societies work for Europeans,

and accusations are very common between fellow-workers.

There are indications that, as these two societies are drawn into closer relationship with the outside world, there is a change in the forms of belief, as well as in the incidence of accusations. Among the Nyakyusa, for example, the more sophisticated fear sorcery while denying belief in witchcraft. Sorcery is felt by them to be compatible with Western science in a way in which witchcraft is not, for *ubutege*, the word I have translated as "sorcery," is usually interpreted as "poisoning" by those Nyakyusa who know some English. It is quite true that it includes poisoning, but it also includes burying a medicine under an enemy's doorstep or in the thatch of his hut, and no consistent distinction is made by the Nyakyusa between these different types of *ubutege*.

But, though the forms of belief change, belief in witchcraft or sorcery of one kind or another continues, and this, I think, is the crux of our problem. What are the social conditions which produce a general belief in witchcraft and sorcery? Granted that accusations of practicing witchcraft or sorcery are an expression of conflict and that they are likely to be many when conflict is acute, as in a Johannesburg slum or a mining camp in Tanganyika, we still have to explain why such accusations are not common in London slums or Tyneside collieries. For example, what were the social conditions in seventeenth-century England that produced beliefs so very similar to contemporary beliefs in Pondoland—the parallels to the Pondo belief in familiars are very close indeed in seventeenth-century England—and what were the effective causes of the decline of these beliefs? I long to read an adequate analysis of this problem by some social historian aware of anthropological theory. The decline in belief in witchcraft and sorcery is not purely a matter of extending scientific knowledge—our answer must cover the astute Pondo teacher, who said to me: "It may be quite true that typhus is carried by lice, but who sent the infected louse? Why did it bite one man and not another?"

I have suggested elsewhere[7] that witch beliefs are general in small-scale societies with inadequate control of their environment and dominated by personal relationships, societies in which people think in personal terms and seek personal causes for their misfortunes. This hypothesis may or may not prove to be part of the answer; but, even if it is true, it does not take us far enough. Innumerable other questions crop up. For example, is the close connection which the Nyakyusa make between witchcraft and morality, between misfortune and sin, characteristic of all very small societies or of all relatively stable societies, or is it related to other, quite different factors? Supposing that I am right in thinking that the Pondo tie misfortune less closely to morality than the Nyakyusa do, what is the reason for this difference?

And when the belief in witchcraft in the sense in which I have defined it disappears, what takes its place? Are the witches but the primitive form of the scapegoat who is always with us? Are men with pythons in their bellies and those who ride baboons by night indeed a true parallel to the red agents of McCarthy's fevered dreams?

Understanding of these problems will, I think, proceed from a close analysis of the relation between witch beliefs and other aspects of society, such as I have tried to paint on a very small canvas in this paper. I see witch beliefs as the standardized nightmare of a group, and I believe that the comparative analysis of such nightmares is not merely an antiquarian exercise but one of the keys to the understanding of society.

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[7] Godfrey and Monica Wilson, *The Analysis of Social Change* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1945), pp. 89–104.

POPULATION, PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, TECHNOLOGY, AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

WILLIAM FIELDING OGBURN

ABSTRACT

The peoples of some countries have higher standards of living than those of others, as shown by what the money earned by an hour's labor will buy. As causes of these differences in income, technological development is shown by statistics to be much more important than population density. From an analytical study of a few countries one concludes that communism or private ownership is not very significant in explaining these differences in standard of living, contrary to popular opinion.

The wealth of nations has been the subject of much distinguished writing. Nowadays we speak of "income" rather than "wealth." And, more recently, in an age of the "welfare" state, much reference is made to the "standard of living"—a less exact term—which usually refers to an economic plane of living in actual existence and not to a moral or spiritual standard.

In this paper four factors that affect differences in the standard of living of peoples will be considered: population, natural resources, organization, and technology. Actually, these factors are interrelated and not independent.

The term "population" refers to quantity, which has meaning only as it is related to the size of an area. The theory is that, if all other factors are constant, generally the greater the population, the lower the standard of living, particularly in agricultural areas; though it is probably true that in some sparsely settled countries an increasing population for a time would have meant an increasing standard of living if other factors had remained the same.

Natural resources vary in quality of soil and variety and extent of minerals as well as in sun, moisture, and temperature. A people with meager natural resources will have a lower standard of living than a people with the same technology and more abundant natural resources.

"Organization" in this context refers to economic organization, though it is tied in with political and social organization. The concept of economic organization is separate from the concept of technology, though actually they are very closely related.

The economic organization of a state may be one in which productive industry belongs to private owners or is owned by government or owned by both in various combinations. It is customary to contrast today these types under the names "communism" and "capitalism." From the organizational point of view, communism and socialism are much alike. "Private capitalism" is not a very satisfactory term, for it implies not only private ownership but also capital goods which are the subject matter of technology. So private capitalism is really a combination of technology and private ownership. These types of organizations, even with the same technology, may affect the standard of living of the people. The economic organization in other cultures than our modern ones, as of hunting peoples, of herders, or of those with a hoe culture, have varying standards of living in the order named, but in these cases the technology differs. It is difficult to separate organization from technology.

By "technology" we mean the knowledge of the production of material goods, and by extension it includes applied physical science. The standard of living is obviously related to the tools of production, that is, technology. For instance, the standard of living of the Stone Age American Indian, two hundred years ago at the foot of Lake Michigan, was lower than that of the pres-

ent-day Chicagoan, with his advanced machines.

Probably all will admit the validity of the claims for the influence of these variables on the standard of living. But what we should like to know is the degree of influence of each. This question has arisen particularly in a comparison of the effects of communism and of private ownership or free enterprise on the standard of living. In the discussion of this topic it seems to be assumed that communism and private ownership are the main determinants of the standard of living. For instance, in *Time* magazine[1] in an article showing that for seven items of consumption about ten times as many hours of labor were required to earn enough money to purchase them in the Soviet Union as in the United States, the following comment is made: "They . . . prove . . . that 30 years after the Revolution, Russia was still giving its workers 10 percent of what an 'exploited' worker under capitalism got for his labor" (see Table 1). Similar figures have been quoted in newspapers and by speakers, with the suggestion or implication that the reason a Russian worker can buy so much less for an hour's labor than a worker in the United States can is somehow due to a difference between communism and private ownership. Thus a leaflet distributed by the American Telephone and Telegraph Company at the Chicago Fair of 1950 contains the following statement:

> America has only 1/16 of the world's population, and about the same proportion of land and natural resources. But America has more than 1/2 of the world's telephone, telegraph, radio networks; more than 1/3 of the railways, and about 3/4 of the automobiles and almost 1/2 of the radios. Just what is it that has given Americans the highest income, the most goods, the best quality, and the lowest prices on earth? It is free enterprise.

A little reflection, of course, reminds one that there are other things besides organization in the standard of living.

Further consideration suggests that the hours of labor as an index of values might be used to indicate the degree of importance of the four factors just described—population, organization, natural resources, and density—on the comparative wealth of peoples. Accordingly, we chose for comparison five countries: China, India, the United Kingdom, the United States, and the Soviet Union.

China before the war had private ownership of production, with a low technology, abundant natural resources, and a dense population. India's status was much like China's in these respects, but with a somewhat more advanced technology, though one not highly developed. The United Kingdom has about 80 per cent private ownership and is the most densely populated of the five countries, with a highly developed technology, though not so extensive or so efficient as that of the United States, and with rather good natural resources. The U.S.S.R. has extensive socialism, is not a very densely populated country, has excellent natural resources, with a technology somewhat more developed than that of China and India but not so advanced as that of the United Kingdom and the United States. The latter is favored by a small population for the size of its territory, a very advanced technology, abundant natural resources, and private ownership.

TABLE 1

MINUTES OF LABOR REQUIRED TO EARN MONEY TO PURCHASE ARTICLES IN U.S.S.R. AND IN THE UNITED STATES

Item	In U.S.S.R.	In United States
Rye bread, pound	31	7
Wheat bread, pound	70	7.5
Veal, pound	315	34.5
Butter, pound	642	48.5
Beer, bottle	171	6.25
Cotton dress	1,911	142
Woolen suit	34,815	1,684

Let us see how much an hour's labor will buy of a common list of articles in each of these countries with varied technology,

[1] December 29, 1947, p. 25.

population density, and politico-economic organization, as shown in Table 2.[2]

The low prices in the United States can hardly be due to private ownership of productive industry, since India and China (1937) have private ownership, and their prices are quite high. The industry of India is not highly developed; yet in the cities theirs is a commercial economy, with private ownership and a free-enterprise system. Perhaps the influence of private ownership on prices in India and China may be offset by the large populations of these countries. But it should be remembered that the density of population is greater in Britain than in India or China, and Britain has low prices as compared with India and China, though the people of the United Kingdom draw more of their food from an area outside their national boundaries than do the other nations here discussed. Therefore, the concept of density should be qualified for Britain. That these differences in price levels are not caused by population density is further indicated by Russia, which has a low figure for population density, yet rather high prices. Russia's density figures rest in part upon a cold, barren land in the north, and her prices are probably unduly high because of her war-preparation effort, which diverts much income from butter to cannon. Still the Soviet Union, not densely populated like Britain, India, and China, has prices somewhat comparable to those of China and India. Indeed, the density of the Soviet Union is not greatly different from that of the

TABLE 2

MINUTES OF LABOR REQUIRED TO EARN ENOUGH MONEY TO BUY ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION

Article	United States	United Kingdom	U.S.S.R.	India	China
Cotton cloth, yard	23	45	(276)	96	180
Bread, pound	6	5	30	.....	.....
Flour, pound	4	5	.....	26	(144)
Fish, pound	19	23	170	216	300
Peas, pound	7	17	212	156	170
Sugar, pound	4	9	(140)	(190)	(204)
Rice, pound	8	17	.....	84	58
Beef, pound	29	26	(254)	(240)	(280)
Eggs, dozen	27	55	(382)	(348)	(360)
Tea, pound	56	72	(1,506)	(408)	(370)

[2] The comparisons in Table 2 are in units of the value of an hour's labor of urban wage-earners, usually an average for factory workers. The workers generally comprise some skilled and some unskilled. The prices are for cities, and, where there is a variety of kinds of the same item, the ones chosen are those bought by working-class people. It is difficult to find a list of the same articles widely used by the factory wage-earners in all the countries. Thus British wage-earners use little tea or rice, both being imported. Parentheses are used where little use is clearly indicated. The U.S.S.R. has probably restricted the production of consumer goods and is diverting a good deal of income into the heavy industries and hence is unusual. The data are, in general, for 1948 and 1949, except for China, where the data are for 1937, before the war. Obviously, for the comparisons it is not advisable to make them very precise.

The United States data, except for cloth, are from the *Monthly Labor Review*, November, 1949. For the United Kingdom the prices are from the official quotations except for items not controlled as to prices, for which information was obtained in England from stores or from the British Information Services in Chicago. Wages were £6 a week. The wages in Russia were 590 rubles for a month of 204 hours. Prices came from the American Russian Institute and from the State Department and from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics. Prices from China in 1937 are from the Bureau of Social Affairs and were supplied by Professor Ta Chen. The wages were 5 cents an hour in Chinese money. The wages in India were 5 anas per hour, an estimate from the textile, railroad, mining, and government workers. The prices are from the Indian Ministry of Labor, the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette*, and the India Information Services in the District of Columbia.

United States, yet her prices are so much higher that it is hard to explain the difference in terms of war effort. If population density were the determining factor, then the prices in the United States and the U.S.S.R. should be more nearly the same

Since Russia has low population density and high prices, it might be thought that the high prices are due to the politico-economic organization of the Soviet Union. There are no other countries with a long experience in communism or socialism with which to check. Britain has had some socialism for five years, but only about 20 per cent of her industries are governmentally owned. Even so, the prices in Britain are quite low relative to Russia's. But, before drawing conclusions about the influence of state-owned industry in the U.S.S.R. as being a cause of her high prices, we should examine the factor of technology, which is much less developed in the Soviet Union than in the United States and in Britain but somewhat more developed than in India and in China. So the low state of technology in the U.S.S.R. may explain her high cost of living.

The analysis so far fails to indicate that population density is a large factor in explaining the low standard of living; for Britain has a high density and a high standard of living, while Russia and the United States have a low density of population, with Russia having a low standard of living and the United States a high one.

Also organization does not appear to explain the divergencies in the table. For the U.S.S.R. and India, one with communism and the other with private ownership of productive property, have standards of living that are not widely divergent, and the private ownership in the United States and in China has produced very unequal standards of living. So the variation in organization from governmental ownership to private ownership does not vary concomitantly with the standard of living and hardly appears as a controlling factor.

The natural resources are large in all the countries in the table and hence are a constant, approximately.

There remains the factor of technology. When it is found highly advanced with a monetary economy, the products of technology become the capital goods of capitalism. The two countries with advanced technology, the United States and Britain, have high standards of living, even though population pressure and organization differ. And in the three countries where technology is not very advanced—the U.S.S.R., China, and India—there are low standards of living even though population pressure and organization vary.

This analysis which has been somewhat winding may be seen in summary in Table 3, which presents numerical measures of the cost of living in these five countries and also measures of two of the factors—population density and technological development. The figures for the cost of living are the sums of the minutes of labor required to buy a pound of bread, flour, or rice, a pound of fish, and a pound of peas. Density is the total population divided by the total area in square miles, and the technological development is the per capita annual consumption of energy of all kinds in hundreds of kilowatt hours. We see from Table 3 that the first and second lines of data, namely, cost of living and density, do not synchronize in the case of Britain and the U.S.S.R. On the other hand, the first and third lines—cost of living and technological development—move up and down together, but in reverse.

The foregoing analysis, then, of the data of prices in terms of labor for five countries indicates that technology is much the most important of the four factors in explaining the variations in the standard of living, though no doubt population density and organization are also factors. Five countries are a small sample, though the extreme variations make them more significant than might be thought from the small number. However, the sample is too small to hold two variables constant while measuring the influence of the third on the dependent variable. That the data indicate the greater influence of technology is probably due to its real importance as a factor. If all three vari-

ables had been nearly equal, the small number of countries—only five—would not have indicated such a result.

It is possible to get a larger sample of countries with differing prices, but it is not possible to get a larger sample with a communistic organization in existence for a long time. The *Monthly Labor Review* for December, 1949, publishes for eighteen countries the amount of a list of some forty-one food commodities that could be bought for an hour's labor. The prices of a substantial number of these commodities were found for each of eighteen countries in terms of what an hour of labor of the average factory worker would buy. These countries were the United States, Australia, Austria, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Great Britain, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, and the U.S.S.R. The data were for 1948–49. For these same countries it is possible to get an index of the degree of development of technology that seems to be reasonably satisfactory. The ones selected were annual per capita use of energy as measured or translated into kilowatt hours of electricity. This energy may be that used for productive purposes or for all purposes. The data are for 1946. They show that the countries with the greatest use of energy and hence of machines have the highest standard of living, that is, lowest prices as measured in terms of labor.

The coefficient of correlation between the per capita use of energy and the high standard of living, as measured in what an hour of labor will buy, is +.7 for the eighteen states. For comparison, the correlation of the high standard of living with population density (for the total areas) is −.3. These data indicate for a different group of countries that technological development, as measured by use of energy, is a more important factor than density of population.

The comparisons will be better with each of the factors if we hold the other constant. When the data is arranged in a correlation table, the partial correlation coefficient between standard of living and technology, with density held constant, is found to be lowered a little but still about +.7. The correlation between standard of living and density, with the influence of technological variation removed, becomes −.2. The table shows a few far outlying cases, but the coefficients derived from the same data, grouped into only two categories, are approximately the same.

TABLE 3

COST OF LIVING, POPULATION DENSITY, AND TECHNOLOGY

	United States	United Kingdom	U.S.S.R.	India	China
Cost of living	32	45	412	398	428
Population density	47	521	25	200	209
Technological development	130	71	22	4	2

The two sets of data discussed in this paper indicate the great bearing of technology, as compared with population density, on the wealth of peoples, natural resources being approximately constant.

This conclusion of the relatively great importance of technology for the standard of living and hence for the wealth of nations should not be surprising, for productivity may be greatly increased by machines. It would take an American Indian a long time to dig the foundations for a building with his Stone Age tools. Our forefathers with a pick, shovel, and wheelbarrow could dig it much more quickly. But with a steam shovel and a truck, a twentieth-century man could dig it even faster. We have a way of failing to uncover the impersonal technological factor. Thus we often speak of the increased productivity of labor, which is, however, due

not to the fact that a laborer works any harder but that he has better tools to work with. The productivity of the American Indian is much less than that of a modern construction worker. Such is the implication of some figures presented by Mills, where he shows that the total annual income in the United States for the forty-seven years from 1899 to 1945 in 1929 dollars was $3,151 billion.[3] But the labor input for each year operating at the 1889–98 level in productivity in 1929 dollars would have created a total of only $1,669 billion, a little more than half. The workers hardly worked any longer or any harder, though the organization may have improved.

While little credit has been given by social science analysts to technological change as a cause of the rise in the standard of living, much has been said about population density as a factor, owing to the remarkable and well-known claims of Malthus.

[3] Frederick C. Mills, "Technological Gains and Their Uses: A Review of Some Recent Economic Changes," *Science*, February 28, 1947, p. 221.

Then lately we have been attributing much virtue in explaining production, which is the basis of the standard of living, to capitalism and much evil to communism. But capitalism is not wholly private ownership and free enterprise; it means also capital goods, which means technology. Furthermore, communism uses capital goods as well as private capitalism. Again, the technology factor is obscured in favor of human achievement and morals, which are usually quite adequately appreciated.

It is obvious that natural resources are a necessity for a high standard of living, but the question concerns their variability from country to country, not their existence as a factor. Furthermore, technology is needed to use natural resources.

Organization is also closely related to technology. One wonders, indeed, how much difference in economic organization there can be with the same technology, given a sufficiently long time to make adjustments and remove cultural lags.

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INSTITUTIONAL VULNERABILITY IN MASS SOCIETY[1]

PHILIP SELZNICK

ABSTRACT

The vulnerability of institutions to political manipulation increases as society becomes increasingly a mass society. This development is pathological. It is associated with the debilitation of creative and culture-sustaining elites and with changes in the quality of social participation which lead to both cultural attenuation and activist involvement. Existing insight on the nature of "mass" populations and institutions is reformulated and developed, with special emphasis on the nature of mass organization, segmental participation, mobilizability, and the role of unmediated attachment to symbols and organizations.

The struggle for power in society poses the central question: How can we preserve the integrity of social institutions when they become targets in political combat? The current weakness of social and political theory becomes manifest when we attempt to deal with this problem in scientific terms.

In order to provide guides for research, the following analysis attempts to bring to bear upon the problem of institutional vulnerability a reformulation of the idea of mass society.[2] It is suggested that a close inspection of our institutions from this standpoint will illuminate relevant sources of weakness and of strength.

The approach taken here is clinical. We are necessarily interested in social pathology, in appraising the capacity of institutions to meet, within their own terms, the requirements of self-maintenance. "Self-maintenance," of course, refers to the preservation of central values and purposes as well as to the bare continuity of organizational existence.

We shall approach a definition of mass society by considering (1) the role of creative and culture-sustaining elites; (2) the quality of participation in mass society and mass organization; and (3) a catalogue of diagnostic symptoms of mass behavior. We proceed on the assumption that the achievement of adequate definitions reflects the close of this phase of inquiry rather than its beginning.

THE MASS AND CREATIVE ELITES

Critics of egalitarianism have sometimes put forward the view that the mass, incompetent and vulgar, is unable by definition to uphold the standards which sustain a culture or to participate effectively in political decision-making.[3] The mass is, moreover, a dire threat because what was once a passive multitude, a neuter element in the body-politic, has now become dynamic. In this view the consequences of democratization are seen as the spread of incompetence into new areas and, indeed, the emergence of a type of man who may be found in all sectors of social life—the mass man.

The mass man, runs the anti-egalitarian complaint, exerts a heavy influence upon all areas of social life but is unqualified to do so. Whereas earlier the mass accepted its proper station, now it arrogates to itself the right to upset ideals of attainment and behavior established by traditional culture-bearing elites. The result is a cultural vacuum in which no group is able to give moral direction to society; there is an absence of standards to which appeal can be made; and resort to violence becomes characteristic of the age. In the words of a Nazi playwright:

[1] This paper is based on work done in connection with a project sponsored by the RAND Corporation.

[2] "Mass society" is used here as the best available substitute for a more abstract term which would denote the quality of "massness"—a possibly useful but infelicitous expression.

[3] See José Ortega y Gasset, *The Revolt of the Masses* (New York: Norton, 1932), p. 120: "By mass . . . is not to be specially understood the workers; it does not indicate a social class, but a kind of man to be found today in all social classes, who consequently represents our age, in which he is the predominant, ruling power."

"When I hear the word 'culture,' I reach for my revolver." Bolshevik activism replaces "parliamentary mathematics." In the nontotalitarian countries, too, a leveling process in education, literature, and politics substitutes the standardless appetites of the mass market for the canons of refinement and sober restraint. The mass rejects tradition and, in doing so, avoids responsibility for the continuity of constitutional order and the arts. Hence the very souls of nations are placed in tragic jeopardy.

This critique is not limited to anti-egalitarian ideologists. Even among those who favor the general process of democratization, and who lack any feelings of contempt for the non-elite, there is some acceptance of the notion that the mass is inherently unqualified. Thus Mannheim, in tracing the "fundamental democratization" of society, saw negative consequences of the widespread intervention of intellectually backward elements into new areas of social life:

> The crisis in culture in liberal-democratic society is due, in the first place, to the fact that the social processes, which previously favored the development of the creative elites, now have the opposite effect, i.e. have become obstacles to the forming of elites because wider sections of the population under unfavorable social conditions take an active part in cultural activities.[4]

Specifically, according to Mannheim, this democratization brings such undesirable results as (1) an increase in the number of elites to the point where "no group can succeed in deeply influencing the whole of society" and (2) a breakdown of the exclusiveness of elites—that insulation from day-to-day pressures which permits new ideas and skills to mature.

The import of Mannheim's critique is that creative elites are objectively necessary for the maintenance and development of culture. The mass is implicitly defined in contrast to these elites; hence it is conceived of as essentially unqualified. This is not to say that such elites are necessarily identical with traditional aristocracies. And, regardless of what one may think of a specific elite, it is, in this view, sociologically demonstrable that the creation and protection of elites are essential to a healthy society. A mass society is one which does not permit elites to carry out their cultural functions; hence it results in the sovereignty of the unqualified. Of course, "sovereignty" here does not refer to government but to the locus of decisive cultural influence. The rule of the masses is not inconsistent with elite control of the state, for that rule is expressed in the fact that the governing elite is itself formed in the image of the mass.

If we examine this conception of the mass as unfit, we see that judgments as to the inherent competence of various strata of society are in fact irrelevant. What is really identified is a social system in which the indispensable functions of creative elites cannot be performed. It is not the quality of the individuals which is in point but their roles; it is not so much that the mass is unfit in any literal sense as that the nature of the system prevents the emergence of an effective social leadership. In a sense, a mass society is one in which no one is qualified. This is so because the relationships involve a radical cultural leveling, not because no superior individuals exist.

If mass characteristics appear in a university, for example, this does not necessarily mean that the student body or the faculty is inherently incompetent. The large achievements in technical fields would be testimony to the contrary. What is at issue is cultural competence. Where the mass exists, we find the following symptoms of it: (*a*) the faculty is unable to reach the students as persons but merely trains them as experts; (*b*) conditions for the emergence and sustenance of intellectual elites on the campus are poor; (*c*) the faculty adapts itself to the mass character of the institution; (*d*) standards of conduct and of nontechnical achievement deteriorate; and (*e*) the meaning of the university as a culture-bearing institution is increasingly attenuated. This says nothing about the inherent competence or incompetence of the participants, but it does say

[4] Karl Mannheim, *Man and Society in an Age of Reconstruction* (London: Kegan Paul, 1940), p. 85.

something about the nature and the consequences of a type of institutional participation. The latter is consistent with the literary-philosophical critique of the mass society as the "sovereignty of the unqualified."

These remarks emphasize the difficulty of attempting to say that some given society, taken as a whole, is a mass society. But if we understand that what we are asserting is a relation between abstract characters—the nature of the mass and the quality of elites—this problem can be avoided. As in the case of any universal proposition, the statement, "In mass society the creative and culture-sustaining elites are debilitated," merely tells us what can be expected, in the absence of counteracting forces, when social disintegration thrusts undifferentiated sectors of a population into direct contact with the areas of cultural incubation and development. Education, leisure, and politics have been most obviously affected by this process. Among its consequences is that political and educational agencies must adapt themselves to the intervention of the mass by permitting participation on the basis of low standards of knowledge and conduct.

But this adaptation is costly. Elites find it difficult to sustain their own standards, hence ultimately their special identity and function. This is most clearly evident in the institutions of higher learning: mass society threatens to transform them into institutions of specialized training. As higher education falls a prey to the mass, research as well as teaching will be affected. The student will no longer feel his relation to a community of scholarship; he is not concerned about—indeed, is impatient with—the traditional values of university life. He does not look forward to becoming a new kind of man; he expects to retain his commonness and to be distinguished from the multitude only by a certain technical competence. Like his highly specialized professor, his participation is segmental; it does not commit him as a whole man to becoming the bearer and protector of the society's aspirations. In the faculties two new types will become more prominent: the technician and the demagogue. Only these will maintain and increase enrolments; more important—the level of enrolment could indeed be steady—only these will earn the plaudits of the student body. The student will become his teacher's judge, sometimes even explicitly so. The result will be a decline in the university's ability to affect deeply the life of the student and concomitantly an increase in the vulnerability of both faculty and student to the stereotyped blandishments of the market place.[5]

Similar tendencies threaten all the highly sensitive institutions which protect existing standards and are the sources of cultural development. Even the church is not immune to this danger. Impatient of theological subtlety (not merely ignorant and deferential as in the past), uncertain and inadequate, the preacher as social worker deserts his distinctive cultural role. He becomes defensive about propagating religious values; he does not sustain the image of charitable or other activities as primarily spiritual missions. He finds new security in a feeling of oneness with the common man, but as a result he may fail as a moral and spiritual leader. Even where religion flourishes, demagogy may become the characteristic product of the times, the leader reflecting the mind and the fluctuating mood of the mass.

The strength of cultural values depends upon the ability of key agencies to transmit them without serious attenuation and distortion. But this in turn requires that these institutions be secure, that the elites which man them be able to maintain their distinctive identities. This becomes increasingly difficult as powerful solvents—science, technology, industrialization, urbanization—warp the self-confidence of the culture-bear-

[5] It may be suggested, in the light of the foregoing analysis, that a relation to the "community of scholarship" can be core participation (see below) only through the mediation of the person-to-person relation of "disciple" to "master." It should also be noted that, while mass behavior is most obvious in the great state universities, it arises as well in many colleges sustained by and for the moneyed elites, for there, too, training is valued above education.

ers and, at the same time, expose them to the pressures of an emergent mass.

From a research standpoint, this analysis suggests that inquiry into institutional vulnerability should focus attention upon the conditions which affect the ability of elites to maintain those standards and self-images which invest the institution as a whole with its cultural meaning.

It should be emphasized that no commitment to established values and institutions follows from what has been said here. The problem is strictly clinical: *If* we wish to preserve the integrity of certain institutions, these are among the conditions we must investigate and control. Whether in any specific case the institution is worth preserving must be determined on other grounds.

THE QUALITY OF PARTICIPATION

In the preceding discussion of elites in relation to the mass, we drew upon an older insight and reformulated it in clinical terms. We refer now to that idea of "mass" which associates it with such terms as "homogeneous," "amorphous," and "undifferentiated."[6] This view in effect represents the mass man as a product of social disintegration.[7]

Consider the transformation of the unemployed into a mass. The unemployed become a mass as their normal ties to community institutions and codes are broken down, as they break free, to reunite again in artificial ways. In other words, as family, church, and traditional political ties weaken, a psychological atomization takes place. This process is not completed overnight; nor does unemployment as such automatically create a mass. What is crucial is the change in the quality of social participation consequent upon the loss of employment in a society which values work.

Among the consequences of unemployment is, it appears, a general decline in social participation.[8] The individual's ties to friends and to recreational and church associations weaken with prolonged unemployment. Family life suffers and cannot easily be used as a refuge. At first all this is because of the unemployed man's poverty, especially in cities, where money is so important. But ultimately the loss of self-respect and its accompanying insecurity must challenge his adherence to the codes and symbols which have sustained his earlier motivations. This loss of faith in traditional values, combined with the breakdown of older patterns of family activity, of meeting friends, of going to church, casts him loose. But he finds this new freedom less than desirable. He may take to drink, sleep more, seek out day-to-day satisfactions in gambling or sensual pleasure; he may retreat to extreme apathy; and he may search out new social and symbolic arrangements as substitutes for his lost community. He has lost his moorings to the social structure and has become part of the mass. This process of withdrawal may take a long time; it is not easy to lose established modes of behavior. But its general direction is the creation of a proletariat, in the strict sense of an alienated mass.

When the normal inhibitions enforced by

[6] The dissolution of group structure into a formless and manipulable mass is stressed in Emil Lederer's *State of the Masses* (New York: Norton, 1940). See also Sigmund Neumann, *Permanent Revolution* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1942), p. 115: "Mob psychology, when it seizes a whole nation, destroys the web of its complex social structure. Like the individual differentiation of its members, so the innumerable associations of the living community are melted into one gray mass. This process of 'massification'—the dissolution of free organizations, the flattening of the social pyramid—in a way preceded the rise of modern dictators. They were the product of this disintegration of society which in turn *became* the basis of their established rule."

[7] Other products of social disintegration include extreme forms of apathy and privatization. It may be that mass behavior is an early, but by no means the final, stage in a process leading ultimately to the denial of meaning rather than a search for it.

[8] The studies of E. Wight Bakke and his associates support this conclusion, though, of course, among the American workers observed, only the beginnings of the process could be discerned (see *Citizens without Work: A Study of the Effects of Unemployment upon the Workers' Social Relations and Practices* [New Haven: Yale University Press 1940]).

tradition and social structure are loosened—and this, of course, occurs as a product of far more general and diverse conditions than unemployment—the undifferentiated mass emerges. Thus the mass has been associated with the idea of a crowd, most explicitly by Lederer. In the crowd, we find a temporary lack of differentiation, reinforced by circular response and high emotion, with concomitant loosening of inhibitions. The amorphousness of the mass is similar but is the result of a general and persistent mode of life. It does not rest upon psychological rapport but upon the atrophy of meaningful human relations, the disintegration of traditional institutional systems, and the rejection of old loyalties. Moreover, the readiness for manipulation by symbols, especially those permitting sado-masochistic releases, is characteristic of the mass as of the crowd.

The alienated mass man is in society but not of it. He does not accept responsibility for the preservation of value systems; hence he may be easily moved to new adherence. Here the insights developed by Fromm in his *Escape from Freedom* are applicable.[9] The emergent mass is not stable. The freedom thrust upon it by the decay of social ties has significant psychological consequences. The need to belong is unfulfilled; insecurity follows and, with it, anxiety-laden efforts to find a way back to status and function and to a sense of relationship with society.

But these efforts are compulsive: enforced by urgent psychological pressures, they result in distorted, pathological responses. There arises the phenomenon of the *Ersatzgemeinschaft*, the "substitute community," in which essentially unsatisfying types of community integration—most explicitly revealed in fascism—are leaned upon for sustenance. This commitment is, however, suffused with tension and requires continuous renewal, resulting ultimately in a radical dependence of the individual upon his substitute symbols, a vain effort to escape anxiety by blotting out his own identity. This process, as Fromm describes it, is conducive to submission to totalitarian control, aggression against the weak, nihilism, and compulsive conformity. These are the symptoms of the mass when the disease is well developed.[10]

It follows from this analysis that mass need not denote large numbers, though, of course, sheer numbers are important, especially in urban areas. Indeed, it is theoretically possible to have mass phenomena in relatively small populations and conversely to have very large and densely settled populations (e.g., on the Japanese countryside) which are not mass in nature. When we refer to a population as a mass, we are thinking of its members as undifferentiated, as forming an unstructured collectivity withdrawn from the normal, spontaneous commitments of social life. We are also thinking of the consequences which flow from this situation. Mass connotes a "glob of humanity," as against the intricately related, institutionally bound groupings which form a healthy social organism.[11]

Prolonged unemployment, it is clear, offers only the most congenial and easily recognizable conditions for the emergence of a mass. In fact, wherever culture impinges upon the individual only superficially, the emergence of mass phenomena may be anticipated. By "culture," of course, we mean not simply the arts or manners but the basic patterns of motivation and inhibition—the

[9] Erich Fromm, *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941).

[10] We have here reinterpreted Fromm somewhat, though not radically; he was primarily interested in the consequences of the isolation of the individual induced by modern capitalism and its supporting codes. His analysis may be generalized, however, to apply to social disintegration.

[11] The relation of the mass to the disintegration of personality is discussed in a study by Bruno Bettelheim of the consequences of internment in concentration camps administered by the Gestapo ("Individual and Mass Behavior in Extreme Situations," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXVIII, No. 4 [October, 1943], 417–52). Of special interest are his remarks on the breakdown of values and regression into infantile behavior. The characteristics of this regression (including the incapacity to establish durable object relations) cast additional light on the nature of the mass.

aspirations and the discipline—which are transmitted from one generation to another. When the culture is transmitted only weakly, as in the cases of certain second-generation immigrant groups and of primitive peoples under the impact of white culture, inhibitions are poorly developed and withdrawal is frequent. In extreme cases we find criminality, alcoholism, and loss of initiative and self-respect. These phenomena are well known. It is necessary to recognize, however, the continuity between these consequences of cultural attenuation and earlier stages in the same process which may have different, and less obvious, roots.

It is precisely this cultural attenuation which results from the attempt to adapt the character-defining institutions of a society (e.g., the schools, the churches, the political order) to the multitude. That this should be attempted is, of course, not a matter of choice. Industrialization and urbanization tend to weaken traditional value systems by confusing the distinction between means and ends and depersonalizing the individual; at the same time they corrode the older social structure and thrust ever greater numbers into direct contact with the centers of cultural development. As the family, the neighborhood, the work place, and the local community lose their near-monopoly over the life of the individual, new burdens are placed upon those centralized institutions which have historically been far removed from the common man. As a result, the latter can only poorly perform, in their segmental way, functions which require intimate contact with the total individual; and, equally important, they become themselves incompetent to perform their essential creative tasks.

The general consequence of such conditions is the weakening of social participation, especially a superficiality in the relation of individuals to the ethos and social structure. To be sure, the breakdown of culture is never complete, and the mass may emerge even before an advanced stage of decay has been reached. It would be idle to look for some definite point at which society may be called a mass, but the symptoms are identifiable: widespread alienation, a general cultural leveling, the compulsive search for substitute sources of security, and susceptibility to propagandistic and organizational manipulation. More important, these characteristics are reflected in varying degrees in specific institutional arenas: education, religion, literature, communication, politics, and industry. Even if mass phenomena are only partially characteristic of society as a whole, they may be strikingly so of specific sectors (e.g., among the youth or in some great industry). Especially in considering relative vulnerabilities within a society, it is important to conceive of mass phenomena in terms of a set of relevant predicates which may be useful in illuminating a particular group without being necessarily characteristic of society as a whole.

It is evident, from the discussion above, that there is more in the mass character of an organization than sheer numbers. We may say that a mass organization is one in which participation is segmental, mobilization is high, and the membership is relatively unstructured save through the formal devices of managerial control and through unmediated emotional attachments to a centralized elite.

Segmental participation.—In its most obvious sense, segmental participation refers to the partial commitment which a man may give to organizations in which he has a limited interest and which do not affect him deeply. In extreme but not unusual cases, membership is of the "paper" variety, and the members themselves are easily manipulated by a small core of leaders and their supporting cliques. The mobilizability of the membership is usually low, however; and, in order to create a mass organization, the leaders must attempt to activate the ranks. Thus, to take an extreme case, it makes little sense sociologically to speak of a large "book club" as a mass organization. And those trade-unions whose members' relations to the organization are limited to the checked-off payment of dues are not mass organizations.

A more significant meaning of segmental participation invites attention not to the *extent* of participation but to its quality. Participation is segmental when individuals interact not as whole personalities but in terms of the roles they play in the situation at hand. This is characteristic of urban life and of formal organizations where only the functional relevance of participants is prized. The personalities of individuals are leveled; men deal with each other as abstractions rather than as whole persons.

The underlying distinction is sufficiently familiar: it is that between primary and secondary groups. Participation which provides needed emotional satisfactions—what Paul Kecskemeti calls "core" participation—is possible only in or through primary groups. We may have core participation in the person-to-person group, and also in the secondary group, but in the latter only by mediation through primary person-to-person groups. Without the interposition of person-to-person interaction, participation in the secondary group can only be segmental. Fully evolved mass organizations forbid such primary-group ties, because these prevent free manipulation of the members; loyalties to subleaders can only be conditional, and only loyalty to the top leader is unconditional. But the latter, while involving primary symbols, is not a person-to-person relation.[12]

Segmental relations in a mass organization may be contrasted with the situation in large nonmass organizations, such as a church. To the extent that a church bases itself upon primary-group relations at the grass roots and builds upon the incorporation of whole families into its communion, it may become very large without being a mass organization. It is precisely this foundation, however, which the modern totalitarian party, with similar organizations, does not permit. It does not build upon, but on the contrary destroys, family and friendship ties.[13]

Mobilization.—Mass behavior connotes weakened social participation, and yet mass organization is associated with a high degree of involvement. This apparent inconsistency is soon resolved, however, if we consider the meaning of mobilization. High participation in nonmass contexts is not mobilization; it is the spontaneous product of social relationships which create an integrated life-pattern. Mobilization takes place when an unstructured population is set into motion by a controlling elite. When it is also understood, as we shall suggest below, that the very character of the mass man predisposes him to be mobilized by managerial and symbolic devices, then the bridge between the amorphousness of the mass and intense

[12] On primary and secondary symbols see E. Shils and M. Janowitz, "Cohesion and Disintegration in the *Wehrmacht*," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XII, No. 2 (summer, 1948), 280–315.

[13] Correlatively, Max Weber noted: "Bureaucratic organization has usually come into power on the basis of a leveling of economic and social differences. . . . Bureaucracy inevitably accompanies modern *mass democracy* in contrast to the democratic self-government of small homogeneous units. . . . This not only applies to the structure of the state. For it is not accidental that in their own organizations, the democratic mass parties have completely broken with traditional notable rule based upon personal relationships and personal esteem. . . . Democratic mass parties are bureaucratically organized under the leadership of party officials, professional party and trade union secretaries, etc. . . . Of course one must always remember that the term 'democratization' can be misleading. The *demos* itself, in the sense of an inarticulate mass, never 'governs' larger associations; rather it is governed, and its existence only changes the way in which the executive leaders are selected and the measure of influence which the *demos*, or better, which social circles from its midst are able to exert upon the content and the direction of administrative activities by supplementing what is called 'public opinion.' 'Democratization,' in the sense here intended, does not necessarily mean an increasingly active share of the governed in the authority of the social structure. This may be the result of democratization, but is not necessarily the case. . . . The most decisive thing here—and indeed it is rather exclusively so—is the *leveling of the governed* in opposition to the ruling and bureaucratically articulated groups, which in its turn may occupy a quite autocratic position, both in fact and in form" (*From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills [New York: Oxford University Press, 1946], pp. 224–26).

organizational activity can be readily discerned.

When the community structure and its supporting codes are viable, it may be expected that individuals will adhere only partially, with limited commitment, to those organizations which are only tangentially related to the family-friendship core of community life. Such participants may be manipulated but not mobilized; they may constitute a source of power for some organizational leadership, but this power will be only a fraction of what it might be if the individuals could be withdrawn from their institutional attachments and more fully absorbed into the organization. It is only with general alienation that the population—where and to the extent that it does not retreat into apathy and isolation—will turn for sustenance to what are usually impersonal structures. When this occurs, our analysis entails the prediction that participation remains segmental; but it is combined with a greater psychological commitment to the organization. The result is a group which may be manipulated and mobilized—hallmarks of the modern mass organization.

Symbolic and organizational manipulation.—Mass behavior in organizations, as in society generally, is associated with a decline of the primary group and of traditional symbols. This situation leads to new types of control, both symbolic and organizational. On the one hand, alienation from older loyalties creates a need for new social symbols, new sacred objects with which the individual can identify himself and to which he can defer. But these new man-symbol relationships are unmediated; they contrast sharply with traditional symbolic controls. The latter filter through multiple agencies of social control, and especially primary groups, where the ideas symbolized can be lived and acted out. These socially mediated values and symbols express themselves in the way personalities are molded, and in the implicit understanding, the capacity to distinguish between the genuine and the fraudulent, which characterizes an effectively transmitted cultural system. The impact of traditional symbol systems is softened by long and matter-of-fact adherence; it does not necessarily interfere with rational judgment and the accommodation of interests. But when the older bonds are loosened and the shadow of values is substituted for substance, then the individual's communion with the social symbols becomes artificial and forced. He is no longer their legitimate offspring, and yet his compelling need may enforce an even more intense (but still segmental) attachment to the husks of social meaning.

The new unmediated man-symbol relationships have a manipulative directness. The individual becomes susceptible to extreme types of behavior, called for in the name of abstractions which have little to do with his daily life and which he has had no opportunity to test and reshape. Alienated from other objects of deference and devotion, the individual may focus all his deference strivings on the new symbols; but, since this is ultimately unsatisfactory, tension is not alleviated, and ever new expenditure of emotional energy is required. At the same time the individual's stake in his new attachments is very great in the absence of other sources of satisfaction. All this results in a measure of need which permits extensive manipulation.

An example of this process may be seen in alterations in the meaning of patriotism. Sentiments of this sort in a well-structured community provide a background of ideological unity which shapes the character of specific institutions. Attachments are mediated, not direct. They do not normally involve marked irrationalities (as opposed to being based upon *non*rational, custom-bound elements) or hasty aggressions against deviants. And they are consistent with a common-sense understanding of the nature of the traditional political order. But a symptom of the emergence of the mass is the direct, emotionalized adherence to patriotic stereotypes, associated with a loss of intuitive understanding and a willingness to sacrifice the traditional content of the belief in exchange for emotional release. "Ameri-

canism" as a symbol can be dangerous because it is sometimes used to arouse mass responses in ways which affront the very foundations of our constitutional order; if it were simply a name for general sentiments reflected in the core attitudes of participants in a healthy community, it would not be dangerous and, indeed, would not be a slogan at all.

Another consequence of the absence of bonds in mass groups is organizational. Symbolic identifications are reflected in and supported by the day-to-day associational behavior of individuals and groups. Again it is normal and healthy for the spontaneously evolving familial and community relations to mold such behavior. But where segmentalized relationships have destroyed the old, given pattern and are unable to create a new one, the resulting vacuum will not be filled by new symbolic attachments. This vacuum will be occupied by a secular, power-oriented machine which provides new (though inherently less satisfying) means of social participation. That is why the mass party, in which emotion-invoking symbols are combined with techniques of mobilization, is the characteristic political vehicle in a mass society.

DIAGNOSTIC SYMPTOMS OF MASS BEHAVIOR

The utility of these ideas is not that they permit us to say of some population, "This is a mass." Rather, they may help us to be forewarned concerning the emergence of mass qualities among widely disparate groups which are subject, nonetheless, to certain common pressures. These qualities may weaken without destroying, may significantly characterize yet not wholly dominate, the specific areas in which we may be interested. To put the matter another way: To analyze the mass is to identify a disease. It will be best observed when its symptoms are well developed; yet we wish to know its most general nature so that we may recognize its symptoms as early as possible.

We may now restate the major characteristics of the mass society and their implications for institutional vulnerability.

1. *Mass behavior results in the debilitation of creative and culture-sustaining elites.*—At this point it need only be emphasized that a statement of this sort is to be used in investigating specific institutions and segments of society, not necessarily society as a whole.

2. *Mass behavior results in superficial adherence to stereotyped values.*—Foundation for this element of the syndrome was laid in the discussion above of segmental participation and unmediated symbol attachments. A few additional remarks here will be in point.

The cultural attenuation associated with the mass manifests itself in a peculiar relation of the individual to major cultural symbols. On the one hand, he is only weakly affected by them; he does not reflect their pervasive influence in his habitual conduct. At the same time, however, he may develop a compulsive attachment to the symbols as such—not to their meaning—and to their institutional embodiments, especially if these attachments offer leverage for aggression. Thus it would be characteristic of the mass man to be only poorly influenced by the complex meaning of democracy, unable to make the necessary discriminations, with little conception of how to fulfil the value in his daily life; and yet he may be easily susceptible to manipulation by wielders of this symbol, will swear allegiance to it, and will be prepared to use any means (including those ordinarily interdicted by democratic principles) against its purported enemies. Similarly, mass elements in a church may have little understanding of basic religious principles and reflect nothing of them in their own conduct, yet they will characteristically respond with special fervor to the symbols of the church and be its most aggressive defenders. This ambiguous participation, both in symbolic and in institutional behavior, is fundamental to the mass.

Mass behavior is not a matter of a simple lack of understanding among untutored elements. Values (and their behavioral correlates) are not transmitted intellectually; they are the standards of right conduct, of proper aspiration, which are taken for

granted in a healthy society. Unmediated transmission, in the sense discussed above, results in a cultural impoverishment which has significant psychological consequences.

The political import of this condition is readily apparent. When values are stereotyped, symbol and meaning become divorced. Their content can then be manipulated with impunity; acts taken in the name of the values may in fact violate their spirit. The established political order can no longer be taken for granted. It must be defended explicitly, hence held open to attack as a secular, debatable thing. In the course of the struggle the embattled system becomes overrigid, identified with specific forces in the status quo, and thus even more vulnerable. At the same time a pervasive need for new and more satisfactory relationships is created—which is in turn transformed into disposable energy by demagogic managerial elites.

3. *Mass behavior is associated with activist interpretations of democracy and with increasing reliance upon force to resolve social conflict.*—Social disintegration entails the breakdown of normal social restraints, including internalized standards of right conduct, and the established channels of action.[14] This frees the mass to engage in direct, unmediated efforts to achieve its goals and to lay hands upon the most readily accessible instruments of action. Ordinarily, even in countries having democratic constitutional systems, the population is so structured as to inhibit direct decision. The electorate participates at specified times and in defined ways; it is not free to create *ad hoc* methods of pressure. The citizen, even when organized in a pressure group supporting, say, a farm lobby, can vote, write letters, visit his congressman, withhold funds, and engage in similar respectable elections. Other forms of activity are strange to him. But, when this code has lost its power over him, he will become available for activist modes of intervention.[15]

It is the mass-oriented elite, Fascist and Communist alike, which is the advocate and engineer of activism. The mobilization of the mass takes place in the streets on a day-to-day basis. And it is characteristic of the Communist-led mass organization that it will engage in unorthodox pressure tactics, for example, the "invasion" of a state legislature. The meaning of such tactics—especially when they are used before any significant degree of mass character has emerged in the target population—is precisely to break down feelings of deference for the lawmaking body and to prepare for extralegal methods of intimidation. Communists attempt to *create* a mass, as well as to use it, though of course their long-term strategy is based on the assumption that deployable mass energies will be made available as a result of more general historical forces.[16] Like other aspects of mass behavior, activism is thus a result of the withdrawal of deference to established institutions. Its extreme versions are well known, as when

[14] The hold of traditional techniques of political participation—balloting rather than pressure tactics—must be broken before the activist tendencies come to the fore. Bakke (*op. cit.*, pp. 54 ff.) discusses the continued hold of custom as restraining the unemployed from engaging in types of political action advocated by radicals. Increased mass behavior would be expected if unemployment were indefinitely prolonged. Bakke also suggests that radical political action "requires a greater degree of hope and confidence in the future than many unemployed can muster." However, the characteristic activist responses of mass elements do not center upon utopian visions but upon direct efforts to gain short-term release from intolerable situations: the need for immediate solutions to such problems as mass unemployment, the suffering of war, hunger, etc., and the ideological need for "some sort of answer."

[15] Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.*, p. 111: "These dispossessed taken together composed the material of the amorphous masses of modern totalitarianism. They had lost or never possessed real group life. They now were ready to merge into a great stream of political activism giving them direction and fulfillment in a life which was no longer of their own making. 'To believe, to obey, to fight' became the motto promulgated by Il Duce. It was the chief political function of the new masses."

[16] This does not mean that other groups, either Fascist or Communist, will not be forced in the direction of activism. On the contrary, it is characteristic of the emergence of the mass that pressures are generated which force reluctant leaders to engage in activist ventures.

mass elements, impatient with the niceties of legal procedure, set up their own tribunals. These may retain the external forms of juridical administration while transforming its spirit. Such extreme measures, however, often taken in crisis, represent only the conclusion of a process which begins with the surrender to popular pressure of the values intrusted to a culture-sustaining elite.

4. *Mass behavior devalues social institutions and therewith subverts their character-defining functions.*—Institutions are defended, often at great cost of life and resources, because they come to reflect society's self-image. They define its aspirations and its moral commitments; they are the source and receptacle of self-respect, of unique identity. No enemy is so dangerous as he who threatens these valued principles and structures. Like the Tenno in Japan, they are the haloed, reverenced symbols of public weal, the last bastions which dare not be surrendered, without which life itself seems worthless, cast down to a melancholy level of hopelessness and despair. This is in no essential different from an individual's attempt to protect the extensions of his own personality. Books, a house, signs of status, manner, clothing—any components of a "way of life"—may come to be valued for themselves because they define for the individual his essential nature. These are *his;* they have symbolic meaning for him, a meaning which sustains him against the depersonalizing pressures of the outside world.

Thus as particular modes of action become infused with value, that is, institutionalized, they add to their direct functions that of defining the character of the group. The institutionalized modes of holding property, defining responsibility, transferring power, raising children, and directing traffic are developed in order to satisfy specific needs. But, like habits in the individual, they have the indirect consequence of committing the society to an integrated system of values. Taken together, these valued institutions reflect the ethos of the culture, its peculiar way of self-fulfilment.

We may take it as axiomatic that a society becomes confused and uncertain, hence vulnerable to alien doctrine, to the extent that it loses this consciousness of a unique and valued identity. This does not mean, as many too quickly conclude, that a tight doctrinal unity is a necessary condition for cultural resilience. No more than fanaticism in the individual is general subservience to dogma a sign of strength. Nevertheless, it is essential that individuals feel that they are living in a world of valued modes of life, all ultimately integrated by a sense of kinship. This does not require that men should all believe the same thing. It does require that (1) they should believe something and that (2) there should be a core of shared assumptions as to the ultimate distinction between good and evil.

In this context, however, we are concerned not with the problem of homogeneity but with that of devaluation. Splits in the community, even those leading to civil war, do not necessarily imply a general weakening of values; splits polarize values and intensify adherence, sometimes resulting in a general strengthening of over-all community.[17] The debilitation which comes from the secularization of social institutions is of another sort. The machinery of social life becomes nothing more than machinery, shorn of its valued, sacred quality. As culture decays, attention shifts from ends to means, from values to things.

The mass is at once a symptom of this atrophy and a contributor to it. Population sectors take on a mass quality as they are alienated from symbolic and institutional loyalties. But the movement is reciprocal. The pressure of the mass upon key social agencies—especially in education and sci-

[17] A community is not necessarily defined by the locus of sovereignty or organizational boundaries, though these are often convenient indexes. A community may break into segments, because the common framework of decision-making is not adequate to deal with differences; yet these differences, though requiring organizational independence, are not necessarily such as to establish separate communions. A commonwealth of nations, a social movement, a council of churches, are examples of this ambivalent unity.

ence—results in demands for a narrow utilitarian justification. The cultural elites are insecure and do not feel that their special (but indispensable) prerogatives are justified. It is not only the general pressure of a factory system but the capitulation to the demand for commonness which leads them to accept the standards which the mass man insists must be applied to all alike. This leveling pressure, indifferent to long-run cultural meaning, combines with the demand for efficiency and service to deny to institutions any intrinsic value. The mass thus joins with other forces in industrial society to transform institutions into organizations. They become technical (and expendable) instruments for the achievement of proximate goals.

The general consequence of this process is to attenuate and confuse society's self-image; to increase the likelihood of severe shifts in behavior under the pressure of immediate exigency; and to make possible the capture of key institutions—no longer well defined in character—by organizational manipulators.

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TYPES OF INTEGRATION AND THEIR MEASUREMENT

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ABSTRACT

Problems of index construction are discussed for four types of integration, each of which varies on a continuum of its own. The four types are: the cultural, that is, consistency among the standards of a culture; the normative, or conformity of the conduct of the group to cultural standards; the communicative, or exchange of meanings throughout the group; and the functional, or interdependence among group members through the division of labor.

Ever since the days of Comte and Spencer, sociologists have been concerned with the integration of smaller units into social wholes. The literature has dealt with such questions as these: What constitutes the difference between a group and a mere sum total of individuals? In what sense is it one single entity? What is the nature of its unity?

From the modern empirical point of view the problem of social integration is as challenging as it was from the older, more speculative point of view. However, a change has occurred as to the kind of question asked about integration. Nowadays it seems less pertinent to ask: What *is* integration? If this question is asked at all, then it is only in preparation for the more fruitful question: How can integration be measured? And, again, this latter question is not of interest in itself but merely a preliminary step, which leads to genuine problems of research such as these: Under what conditions does social integration increase? Under what conditions does it decrease? What are the consequences of a high degree of integration? What are the consequences of a low degree of integration? Sociology is in need of basic research oriented toward this kind of problem.

Early in the exploration of a type of phenomena it seems advisable to break it up into as many subtypes as one can distinguish and to use each subdivision as a variable for research. This appears to be a more fruitful procedure than to attempt immediately to generalize about the generic type as a whole. The main advantage of subclassification in an initial phase of research is that it leads to problems of relationship among subtypes which would evade the attention of the investigator if he were to deal with the broader type from the very beginning. Generalizations on the higher level of abstraction will suggest themselves as a matter of course, once regularities common to several subtypes are discovered.

We do not know enough about social integration to postulate any one set of data as the index of integration as such. Thus in this paper problems will be formulated with reference to social integration in particular respects. No general definition of social integration will be offered, but several types of integration will be stated and defined. Each type will refer to one particular respect in which some degree of integration may exist in a group. To determine relationships among the types is a problem for research. Research may show a correlation between some of these types sufficiently high to suggest that one can be used as an index of the other in further investigations. It may also be discovered that one particular type is basic to all others and therefore can be designated as a measure of social integration in general. Or research may lead to the construction of a composite index, with several types of integration as units. Even the types themselves must be considered as entirely provisional. They may turn out to be useful, or, on the other hand, research may show

[1] The writer is indebted to Professor Robert C. Angell for helpful suggestions.

the necessity of modifying the very typology from which it proceeds.

In order to distinguish among the different ways in which a group may be integrated, it is necessary to assume the existence of different types of group elements. A typology of integration can be developed on the premise that for sociological purposes the smallest units of group life are cultural standards, on the one hand, and persons and their behavior, on the other. If one uses this premise as a criterion of types of integration, three varieties suggest themselves: integration among cultural standards, integration between cultural standards and the behavior of persons, and integration among persons.

The first of these, which we will call "cultural integration," varies along a continuum ranging from extreme consistency to a high degree of inconsistency among standards within the same culture. Integration between cultural standards and the behavior of persons will be called "normative integration," since it measures the degree to which the standards of the group constitute effective norms for the behavior of the members. It varies from an extremely high frequency of conformity to cultural standards to a high frequency of violation. The manner in which persons are integrated in relation to one another will be employed as an additional criterion in classification. There is integration among persons in the sense of an exchange of meanings, or communication; and there is integration among persons in the sense of an exchange of services, or division of labor. Integration with respect to an exchange of meanings will be called "communicative integration." It ranges from communication throughout the group to the prevalence of barriers to communication within the group. Integration with respect to an exchange of services will be called "functional integration," in that it measures the degree to which the functions exercised by the members of the group constitute mutual services. Functional integration varies from extreme interdependence to a high degree of self-sufficiency.

In place of the initial threefold distinction, four types of integration have emerged in the preceding sketchy analysis: cultural, normative, communicative, and functional integration. Each varies along a continuum of its own, ranging from one theoretical extreme to the other. Each raises its own problems of index construction, with which the remainder of the paper will be concerned.

I. CULTURAL INTEGRATION

The work of anthropologists like Linton and Benedict has made it apparent that cultures are configurations which vary in internal consistency or integration.[2] But, while the concept of cultural integration is familiar, it has not received a sufficiently specific and quantifiable definition for purposes of research. Linton's conception of cultural integration can probably be represented most adequately in terms of a proportion among types of culture traits which he calls "universals," "specialties," and "alternatives." His theory is that, "while the universals and specialties within any culture normally form a fairly consistent and well-integrated unit, the alternatives necessarily lack such consistency and integration."[3] Thus cultural integration can be measured by determining the proportion of alternatives in relation to universals and specialties. The lower the proportion of alternatives, the higher the degree of cultural integration.

The accuracy of Linton's assessment of two of his types, alternatives and specialties, in their significance for cultural integration is not beyond question. If "alternatives" are taken to mean traits which a culture offers to the person as a matter of choice, then one may wonder whether alternatives seriously affect the internal consistency of a culture. As long as freedom of choice exists and a

[2] For a detailed analysis of the concept "cultural integration" in a broader sense see John P. Gillin, *The Ways of Man* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1948), chap. xxiv; see also David F. Aberle, "Shared Values in Complex Societies," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 495 ff.

[3] Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), p. 282.

clash of moral pressures is lacking, it is doubtful whether the person is faced with a real dilemma. Nor is it apparent that the function of a culture as a universe of discourse is impaired among persons faced with the same cultural alternatives, even though they do not make the same choice at one time. Therefore, it is possible to restrict the concept of cultural integration to a relationship among traits which constitute cultural standards in the sense that they require adherence.

Inconsistency among cultural standards can exist in two forms. It may occur, first, in the form of contradictory demands made by universals. For example, the same culture may demand altruistic behavior and competitive behavior, without necessarily limiting each to a particular group or situation. The more inconsistencies of this kind exist in a culture, the lower the degree of its integration. Therefore, it seems possible to measure cultural integration in terms of the frequency of inconsistency among universals. The criterion of inconsistency should not be sought in logic but in experience. Durkheim suggests that the idea of contradiction depends upon social conditions.[4] What may appear to an outsider as a logical contradiction is not necessarily felt as such by those who live under these standards. Therefore the earmark of inconsistency among standards should be an *experienced* difficulty.

A second form of inconsistency among standards exists in the area of cultural specialties, although not all standards of specialty character are relevant to cultural integration. The situations to which some of these standards refer exist only among the specialists themselves. Many standards which have evolved in an occupational category refer to situations which do not exist outside that category. For example, the medical profession has a code of ethics, and so have realtors. Obviously, professional standards for physicians and for realtors are not and cannot be the same. Nevertheless, the two sets of standards do not clash because each refers to situations which do not exist in the other profession. Therefore, differences among standards which vary from one another not only with respect to the persons who uphold them but also with respect to their situational reference do not interfere with cultural integration.

In distinction to the preceding type of standard, which might be called "specialty with specialist reference," there is another type which might be called "specialty with societal reference." The latter is the kind of standard which is shared mainly by members of a particular group or category but which establishes norms for situations which are society-wide in their scope. If several "specialties with societal reference" are at variance with one another, cultural inconsistencies exist. For example, if labor and management differ in their standards as to the proper place of labor and of management in the business enterprise, two sets of specialties are in conflict with each other. The same is true if different segments of the population disagree in their standards as to whether divorce is right or wrong, whether the government should own the big industries, or as to what is right and wrong in race relations. The larger the number of inconsistent specialties with societal reference in a culture, the lower the degree of its integration.

Thus indices of cultural integration can be developed in several ways, each apparently measuring a somewhat different phase. Following Linton, one might use the proportion of alternatives in a culture as a negative index of its integration. On the other hand, from the point of view suggested in the preceding paragraphs, an index would be constructed on the premise that the fewer the inconsistencies among universals and among specialties with societal reference among all standards in a culture, the higher the degree of integration of that culture.[5] Possibly, re-

[4] Émile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1926), p. 12.

[5] Research in the study of conflict among norms which apply to the same social role and which apply

search might show a high correlation among these indices, since one may expect that an increase in alternatives and an increase in inconsistency among universals and specialties would occur under the same conditions.

II. NORMATIVE INTEGRATION

Cultural standards can be viewed not only in relation to one another but also in relation to the persons for whom they establish norms. Integration in relation between standards and persons is called "normative integration," and it varies with the degree to which conduct is in accord with such norms. The importance of integration in this sense has received particular attention in the work of R. C. Angell. He considers obedience to societal norms as the difference between a mere society and one that possesses elements of moral community.[6] It is symptomatic of what he assumes to be the basis of societal integration, i.e., the orientation of persons by common values.

In recent studies of American cities, Angell has devised an index of social integration as shown by conformity to social standards.[7] His index of integration is composed of two, more specific, indices—a crime index, which measures integration negatively, and a welfare effort index, which measures it positively. The crime index is made up of rates for those crimes which are most reliably reported, i.e., murder and nonnegligent homicide, burglary, and robbery. The welfare effort index is based on the assumption that social standards demand that the citizen contribute a share of his resources to the welfare of the community as a whole. The index consists of the amount raised by the Community Chest in proportion to the quota established, the number of pledgers in proportion to the number of families in the community, and the proportion of the amount raised to other family expenditures as expressed in the volume of retail sales in the community. The welfare effort index and the inverted crime index are combined into the integration index in such a manner that the crime index receives greater weight because it correlates more highly with variables which accompany community integration than does the welfare effort index.

If the accuracy of crime reporting increases, as is likely, further gains in the development of this index can be expected. The selection of reliably reported crimes for the purpose of index construction has been accomplished at a price; most crimes selected are acts of violence. Conceivably, crimes of this character are expressive of nonconformity in a relatively limited segment of the total population. If it should become possible to include offenses which involve at least some amount of white-collar criminality, such as fraud and embezzlement, a more significant measure of normative integration could be obtained. However, the need for further contributions to the measurement of normative integration is greatest with regard to social groups other than the community as such. The local community is a unit for the tabulation of crimes and of contributions to welfare chests. An index based on such data cannot be used, and is not intended, as a measure of the normative integration of groups like the family, the labor union, the service club, the church congregation, the congeniality group, or the juvenile gang. Not only are the data required for the

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to persons who combine several roles with one another provides a fruitful point of departure for the mechanics of index construction (see Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, XIV [1949], 707 ff.; and Mirra Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII [1946], 184 ff.; see also Paul Wallin, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles: A Repeat Study," *American Sociological Review*, XV [1950], 288 ff.).

[6] Robert C. Angell, *The Integration of American Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941), p. 22. For a similar view see Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory, Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 50.

[7] Robert C. Angell, "The Social Integration of Selected American Cities," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (1941–42), 575 ff.; "The Social Integration of American Cities of More than 100,000 Population," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 335 ff.

index not available for such groups, but also in many instances such data would not be indicative of the behavior of the group relative to its own norms, which may be concerned primarily with other than civic responsibilities. It is particularly with respect to this phase of normative integration that future efforts at index construction are required.

III. COMMUNICATIVE INTEGRATION

The extent to which communicative contacts permeate a group, the degree of its communicative integration, will bear some relation to the integration among its cultural standards and the integration of conduct with these standards. The precise statement of these relationships awaits research; and as prerequisites for such research, ways are needed to determine the degree to which the members of a group are linked to one another through communication.

The degree to which communication constitutes a connection throughout the group has not yet entered into the focus of the sociologist as a variable for research. Therefore, in the absence of experience with the problem, what will be suggested here as a guide in measuring communicative integration is not a master-index but a number of more or less tentative indices, each of limited applicability. In fact, it will be seen that several of the potential indices rest on assumptions which themselves need to be tested further by research.

The more comprehensive the network of interpersonal communication, the smaller the number of socially isolated persons. It would appear, therefore, that the percentage of group members who display symptoms of social isolation can be used as a negative index of communicative integration. It was one of Durkheim's hypotheses that social isolation of the individual is one of several situations in which suicide is relatively frequent.[8] "Egoistic suicide," as Durkheim calls it, is committed by the person who is detached from social contacts beyond the point of toleration. This involves, as its most crucial element, a lack of, or at least relatively little participation in, communication with others. If it were possible to develop definite criteria by which "egoistic suicide" could be distinguished from other types of suicide that do not involve social isolation, rates of "egoistic suicide" in different groups could be used as a measure of their relative degree of communicative integration.

Some mental disorders constitute another, very similar symptom of isolation. To explain delusions of grandeur or of persecution as the result of restrictions in communication was one of the fruitful implications of Cooley's theory of the "self."[9] More recently, the hypothesis, in this or another form, has received support among psychiatrists[10] and social psychologists.[11] The relationship between mental disorders and isolation from communication needs to be explored further. Presumably, certain disorders lack this particular functional basis. As the etiology of mental disorders advances, it will become possible to distinguish disorders symptomatic of lack of communication from those which are not. Once this is accomplished, it could be assumed that a high incidence of the disorder in question expresses a high frequency of socially isolated persons and, in this sense, a low degree of communicative integration of the group. Perhaps a more accurate index could be obtained by combining the rate for the relevant types of mental disorder and that for suicide.

Indices consisting of rates of suicide or personality disorders would determine the frequency of isolation through the observa-

[8] Émile Durkheim, *Le Suicide* (Paris: Felix Alcan, 1897).

[9] Charles H. Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* (rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 256–60.

[10] Norman Cameron, "The Paranoid Pseudo-community," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (1943), 32 ff.

[11] Theodore M. Newcomb, "Autistic Hostility and Social Reality," *Human Relations*, I, No. 1 (1947), 69 ff.; see also H. Warren Dunham, "Social Psychiatry," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (1948), 183 ff.

tion of its symptoms. A more direct approach could be taken by attempting to discover the proportion of persons in a group who lack intimate social contacts. Communicative integration would vary inversely with the proportion of such persons. Research techniques which have been developed in studies of patterns of social visiting in the community[12] and of the frequency of personal contacts in the neighborhood[13] could be utilized for the purpose of determining the local number of isolated persons. Another useful technique would be that which has been employed in so-called "social participation" studies. These deal mostly with the participation of the individual in organized groups.[14] As their scope is being extended to include the analysis of membership not only in formally organized but also in informal associations,[15] they yield information as to the frequency of persons who are not in close communication with others.

T. M. Newcomb has stressed the function of barriers to communication in the maintenance of antagonistic relationships.[16] It would follow that the degree to which interpersonal relations in a group, on the average, are antagonistic would be indicative of the degree to which its members fail to communicate with one another. On this premise, sociometric techniques of measuring the volume of attraction and rejection in a group as a whole would seem to be a device by which the adequacy of communication in the group can be indirectly measured. Among the several forms which sociometric research has taken, perhaps the one most relevant to the task of measuring the communicative integration of the small group is the technique of measuring "group morale" designed by L. D. Zeleny.[17] In its simplest form the technique consists in determining the number of atractions or "likes" that are found in a group and expressing it as a ratio of the total number of attractions which would be theoretically possible in that group, i.e., if each member were attracted to each other member. Allowance is made for the intensity of the attraction measured. This ratio Zeleny calls the "morale quotient." If one assumes with Newcomb that, in general, hostility is indicative of disturbances in communication, Zeleny's "morale quotient" would seem to constitute a useful measure of the communicative integration of a group.

One way in which barriers to communication may interfere with the communicative integration of the group is by isolating the person. Indices discussed up to this point are concerned with this phase of communicative integration. Another manner, also pointed out by Newcomb,[18] in which barriers to communication may be drawn can be described by a line which divides several major subdivisions of a group from one another without necessarily creating isolated persons. Within each of these subdivisions communicative links may be strong. However, in relations between them, misunderstandings and distortions restrict communication and, on their part, are augmented by the very barriers to communication which they themselves foster. Thus prejudice bears a close relation to communicative integration. It flourishes where the communicative links among the subdivisions of a population are weak. Groups which lack much give-and-take of ideas develop unrealistic, prejudiced notions of one another. This conclusion is supported by studies which show that prejudice is acquired in contacts with

[12] Olen Leonard and C. P. Loomis, *The Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: El Cerrito, New Mexico* ("Rural Life Studies," No. 1 [Washington: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Bureau of Agricultural Economics, November, 1941]), pp. 38–48.

[13] Frank L. Sweetzer, Jr., "A New Emphasis for Neighborhood Research," *American Sociological Review*, VII (1942), 525 ff.

[14] F. Stuart Chapin, "Social Participation and Social Intelligence," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 157 ff.

[15] See Stuart A. Queen, "Social Participation in Relation to Social Disorganization," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (1949), 251 ff.

[16] *Op. cit.*

[17] "Sociometry of Morale," *American Sociological Review*, IV (1939), 799 ff.

[18] *Op. cit.*

those who share it rather than with those who are its objects.[19]

Thus the volume of communication among the subgroups of a society constitutes a distinct aspect of this type of integration. There seem to be several ways in which it can be measured. One may, first of all, focus on barriers to communication, in the residential distribution of minorities; spatial contacts provide opportunities for communication, and residential segregation is a barrier to it.[20] Elaborate techniques to measure residential segregation have been devised[21] and can be employed as a negative measure of integration.

Since weaknesses in communicative integration are highly interdependent with prejudice, the problem of measurement can also be approached on the premise that prejudice is symptomatic of barriers to communication. In fact, it would seem that measures of prejudice can be used as negative measures of the degree to which the subgroups of a population are linked by communication. A number of techniques to measure prejudice have been developed[22] which would serve as useful tools for integration research.

IV. FUNCTIONAL INTEGRATION

Functional integration is the degree to which there is mutual interdependence among the units of a system of division of labor. This type of integration is of prime concern from the modern ecological point of view as formulated by A. H. Hawley.[23] Although division of labor is a strictly behavioral and observable phase of integration, not all obstacles to its measurement have been overcome. Measurement is difficult because interdependence is a phenomenon with several dimensions. First of all, it involves specialization, a characteristic which may exist in a number of degrees and for which no generally applicable index has been devised. However, to demonstrate specialization does not mean to show division of labor among the specialists, because a given number of persons specialized in different ways are not necessarily interdependent. Some may be organized into one, and others into a different, system of division of labor. Thus we need to ask: Who exchanges functions with whom? in addition to asking how specialized these functions are.

So far, only limited aspects of functional integration have been subjected to direct measurement. The Bureau of the Census has defined a metropolitan district as a territory with a specified minimum of population density, surrounding a metropolitan center. Thus the area is measured over which a presumably high degree of functional interdependence extends, but the degree of that interdependence is not determined. Other indications of the extent of metropolitan districts are newspaper circulation, the distance over which commuting takes place, the area over which metropolitan stores provide free delivery, and the volume of telephone calls.[24] D. J. Bogue has measured the degree to which a population is concentrated in each of four types of economic activity: retail trade, wholesale trade, services, and manufacturing. As indices of specialization he uses the proportion of the population employed in any of these activities, the number

[19] *Ibid.* and the evidence reviewed there.

[20] See Amos H. Hawley, "Dispersion vs. Segregation: Apropos of a Solution of Race Problems," *Papers of the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters*, XXX (1944), 667 ff. Hawley stresses the influence of spatial segregation on the inferior status of minorities.

[21] Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag, "The Measurement of Ecological Segregation," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 293 ff.; and Richard A. Hornseth, "A Note on 'The Measurement of Ecological Segregation' by Julius Jahn, Calvin F. Schmid, and Clarence Schrag," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 603 ff.

[22] For a survey see Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions: A Survey of Research on Problems of Ethnic, Racial, and Religious Group Relations* (Social Science Research Council Bull. No. 57 [New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947]), pp. 112 ff.

[23] Hawley's term is "ecological organization" (see Amos H. Hawley, *Human Ecology* [New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950], chap. x).

[24] R. D. McKenzie, *Readings in Human Ecology* (rev. ed., Ann Arbor, Mich.: George Wahr, 1934), p. 333.

of establishments of any of these types per population, and the value in dollars of business done in the kind of establishment concerned. Thereby he is able to determine not only the degree to which a local population is functionally concentrated in each of these fields of activity but also its corresponding interdependence with other local units of the larger area dominated by the same metropolitan center.[25]

For more indirect devices to measure functional integration no other writer is as suggestive as Durkheim. His best-known idea on the subject is to use, as an index of what he calls "organic solidarity," the proportion of legal norms with merely restitutive sanctions among all norms in a legal system. His basic assumption is that, as division of labor increases, legal norms with punitive sanctions diminish and those with restitutive sanctions increase proportionately. The validity of this assumption is dubious, especially in view of the relative paucity of punitive sanctions in societies with very little division of labor. Nevertheless, his hypothesis suggests the need for research to determine whether and to what degree the frequency of a particular type of legal sanction correlates with other measures of functional integration.

Less well known but also relevant is his theory that, with increasing division of labor, it becomes more and more difficult for the member of a group to break away.[26] He applies this idea to the family by suggesting that the more division of labor there is in the family, the more difficult it is for the individual to live outside the family relationship. One would expect that Durkheim might have proceeded to propose that the functional integration of the family be measured negatively by certain rates of separation of individuals from the family, possibly by a combination of rates of divorce and of desertion. The reason why Durkheim did not actually pursue this idea is presumably the fact that a low separation rate may be indicative not only of a high degree of functional integration but also of a high degree of cohesion due to other causes. Nevertheless, the frequency of separation from the group could be used as a measure of its functional integration if research techniques were employed to hold other types of integration constant.

For the purpose of measuring the functional integration of a community, variables could be employed which distinguish urban, highly differentiated populations from rural, much less differentiated populations. Care would have to be taken to limit the index, as much as possible, to variables which are symptomatic of the difference in division of labor rather than of other urban-rural differences. For example, the proportion of the nonfarm population in an area might be a useful measure. The larger the proportion of the nonfarm population is, the higher the degree of functional differentiation will be. The fact that reproduction rates are lower in urban than in rural areas suggests another possible index of functional integration. These and similar measures are limited, however, in that they do not apply to all kinds of groups. For example, they would be useless as measures of functional integration in comparison among groups within the urban community. Such groups, being in an urban environment, can be expected to be made up of people in nonfarm occupations and with low reproduction rates. And yet such groups within the urban community may differ considerably in functional integration. At present, it seems we are better equipped to measure functional integration by different indices for different types of groups than by employing one single index of functional integration for all types of groups.

Four types of integration were described in this paper: cultural, or consistency among

[25] Don J. Bogue, *The Structure of the Metropolitan Community: A Study in Dominance and Subdominance* ("Contributions of the Institute for Human Adjustment, Social Science Research Project" [Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 1949]).

[26] Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933), pp. 148 ff.

the standards of a culture; normative, or conformity of conduct in the group to cultural standards; communicative, or exchange of meanings throughout the group; and functional, or interdependence in the group through exchange of services. In each of these four respects, integration may range from high to low.

The immediate problems suggested by this analysis are methodological. In order to promote substantive research involving different aspects of integration, more effort must be spent in developing techniques of measuring integration in its several forms. With respect to the measurement of all four types, unmet problems of basic importance were pointed out. But, while the area as such is, by and large, underdeveloped, the present status of the component types is not identical. Future work on normative integration should be facilitated by research experience already gained with a measuring device. In so far as communicative integration is concerned, index construction has not yet been attempted, but a considerable amount of relevant theory and research, especially in social psychology, may prove instrumental in this task. With respect to functional integration, indices have been developed which measure the spatial area within which functional interdependence exists, and a promising beginning has been made in measuring the degree of interdependence among spatially defined units. For groups other than local communities, however, no practicable measure of functional integration has as yet been provided. Finally, in the area of cultural integration the first step from preliminary theoretical considerations to the actual development of measuring devices is still to be taken.

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JOB-SEEKING AND THE READJUSTMENT ALLOWANCE FOR VETERANS

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ABSTRACT

The functions of the Readjustment Allowance, a federal benefit for eligible unemployed veterans of World War II, are found by studying the attitudes and behavior of urban ex-servicemen who were unemployed when jobs were available to them. The findings indicate that uniform benefits do not have uniform effects but differ according to four major patterns and that the reasons for the veterans' joblessness can only partially be found in the direct economic functions of the RA. To fully understand this joblessness, it is necessary to study unemployed veteran types.

This paper presents a study of the functions of the Readjustment Allowance[1] (RA) in veterans' job-seeking. It also affords insights on the effectiveness of public policy with respect to the jobless ex-serviceman, on the question of how the job market is defined by the expectations of job-seekers, and on the relationship of the level of job aspiration to job-taking. The importance of these insights extends beyond the veteran and nonveteran unemployed to the questions of job satisfaction and motivation to work.

One hundred unemployed veterans were interviewed between August, 1946, and February, 1947, in intensive home interviews with respect to their adjustment following discharge.[2] This sample of jobless veterans was selected[3] by a door-to-door canvass of distributed election districts within a large section of New York City. While not demonstrably representative of all urban unemployed veterans, their responses and reported experiences at least constitute characteristic patterns among jobless ex-servicemen—patterns which probably exist among unemployed veterans elsewhere and perhaps among metropolitan unemployed generally.

The specific problem to which the present article is addressed—the function of the RA in veterans' job-seeking—is but one part of the larger question of why some veterans were unemployed when jobs were available. It is a significant part, because in the lives of the veteran recipients the RA had many functions.

Receipt of the benefit imposed minimum job-seeking activities in order for the veteran to become and remain eligible. The compensation of $20 a week for 52 weeks fixed a monetary income against which to measure the earnings possible in prospective jobs and constituted, in fact, a definition of minimum wage. In short, despite the heterogeneity of the population of unemployed veterans, all who accepted the RA were subjected to at least one common objective experience.

Although the RA provided a minimum monetary level for job-taking, positions paying more than $20 a week were not thereby automatically accepted. All members of the sample who reported weekly salaries offered to them had turned down jobs which paid more than $20 a week, and the postwar jobs which they had accepted provided an average of $44 a week. The rejection of employment is explained only in part by the fact

[1] The Readjustment Allowance was a benefit provided for honorably discharged veterans, authorized in Public Law 346, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944—better known as the "G.I. Bill of Rights." The Act granted $20 a week for 52 weeks to unemployed veterans of World War II who were capable of working and who met certain other eligibility requirements.

[2] The field research and statistical analyses were conducted by Erwin O. Smigel, who has prepared reports on the entire study.

[3] Only white, male veterans with a minimum of three months' unemployment since discharge, and unemployed at the time of interview, were included in the sample. Veterans who were disabled, ill, or otherwise out of the job market were also excluded.

that the $20 benefit was "free and clear," whereas wages were reduced by tax and social security deductions to the cash in the pay envelope.

Clear indication that jobs were not rejected simply because the RA provided a weekly income may be seen in the reasons which veterans gave for their joblessness. "Poor pay" was the explanation of but 12 per cent of those who had left jobs and 24 per cent of the reasons for unemployment. All but three of the sample had actually refused jobs which paid more than the $20 provided by the RA.[4] Yet 77 per cent said that the RA was not enough to live on. This contradiction between the attitude that the benefit was insufficient to live on and the rejection of jobs which provided greater income further points up the limitations of any exclusively economic interpretation of motivation to take jobs.

In its direct economic sense, then, the RA functioned in two ways. First, it represented a minimum wage in that it was a measure of the monetary acceptability of jobs. Second, it provided a margin of tolerance to the economic pressure of unemployment, some protection against the necessity of taking a job.[5] In its first function it permitted the rejection of jobs; in its second, it provided "waiting time." The relief of pressure to "take any job" meant that the veteran could postpone the adjustment which must finally be made to the available job opportunities.

What did "waiting time" mean for the unemployed veteran? What was he waiting for? What effect did the availability of the RA have on his definition of an "acceptable" job?

Preliminary study of the case histories disclosed five major factors which were important aids in differentiating these unemployed veteran types. These five variables were (1) job-seeking intensity, (2) socioeconomic status,[6] (3) occupational preference, (4) age, and (5) the individual's hanging-out proclivity.[7] Indexes for these items were created, or existing indexes used, which would measure the above factors. The factors were then cross-tabulated in all possible ways, and various combinations of correlations were statistically observable among different items; that is, by combining the results of the cross-tabulations, patterns of meaningful correlations were found. For instance, it was observed that young men who continuously hung out also had low job-seeking intensity. When these men were separated from the rest of the sample, it was made obvious that they also had in common poor socioeconomic backgrounds and lacked defined occupational preference. In this same manner, three other patterns were distinguished. While each of these patterns has factors common to more than one category, each has certain major distinguishing characteristics which are absent in the other patterns.

The four patterns which emerged, then, were differentiated in terms of situations, attitudes, and behavior, and reflect differences in socioeconomic background, pre-induction experiences of work and education, and the type of postwar adjustments made. For each pattern the RA functioned in a different way.

One unemployed veteran type is called the "Candy-Store Pattern" because it was characteristic of their total adjustment that

[4] Although higher pay levels or reduced RA benefits might be expected to have some effect on the acceptance of available jobs, it is still suggested that direct economic attraction has greatly reduced effectiveness as a motivation to accept or not to accept work (see Florence Peterson, *Survey of Labor Economics* [New York and London, 1947], p. 713).

[5] Strictly speaking, the law required a veteran to accept suitable work. In realistic fact, however, the law could not be administered so finely as to eliminate the margin to which we refer.

[6] Socioeconomic levels were defined by using an adaptation of an index created by the Pulse of New York, Inc., on the basis of fathers' occupations and living arrangements, including conveniences (Genevieve Knupfer, *Indices of Socioeconomic Status* [New York, 1946], p. 159).

[7] "Hanging out" as used here refers to the time spent by the veteran at a candy store, bar, or poolroom, usually in the company of other unemployed veterans. Hanging-out proclivity was measured by the frequency of visits and length of time the veteran spent at the hangout.

they used the neighborhood candy store and soda fountain (or, in some very few instances, the bar or poolroom) as a club or "hangout." Here they insulated themselves from the unpleasant pressures of their families and their employed friends and, in part through the exchange of gossip about jobs, developed the illusion that they were actually looking for work. The men of this pattern were young (under twenty-five), came from the lowest socioeconomic levels, did not know the kind of job they wanted, and were no longer actively looking for one (Table 1).

These veterans needed the income from jobs more than any of the other unemployed, yet they were the least inclined to go to work. The income from the RA was also more important because their families were less able to support them without it. Yet these men felt that the RA impeded their active job-seeking. More than two-thirds stated that the RA either hindered their search for work or had a mixed effect of both helping and hindering. The following are typical observations of these veterans:

When a guy knows he can get the twenty bucks for 52 weeks, he just doesn't look for a job. Only when the money runs out does he think, "I guess I'll have to get a job."

It's no damned good. A fellow doesn't want to go to work if he gets it. It makes me lazy.

I think it's a hindrance. I need a driving force to make me go out and get work.

The men of this pattern expressed their job aspirations simply—they wanted high pay and easy work. The jobs they had held had been at relatively low pay levels. Their ratings in the service were lower than the other veteran types, and their educational backgrounds more limited. The easy jobs and high pay they wanted were unrealistically related to the skills and experiences

TABLE 1

COMPOSITION OF UNEMPLOYED VETERAN PATTERNS IN NEW YORK CITY,* 1946–47

Index	Pattern†			
	Candy-Store	Time	Young and Ambitious	Promise‡
Per cent of sample§	26	34	14	12
1. Job-seeking intensity	Low‖	High#	High	Low
2. Socioeconomic status	Lowest— 38.5%—C 61.5%—D	Middle— 26.4%—B 58.9%—C 14.7%—D	Low— 7.1%—B 57.2%—C 35.7%—D	High— 83.3%—B 16.7%—C
3. Occupational preference	Undefined— 100%	Defined—100%	Undefined— 100%	Defined—58% Undefined—42%
4. Average age	21	28	22	22
5. Hanging-out proclivity	100% hang out long and often	47% hang out occasionally 53% do not hang out	79% hang out when not looking for work 21% do not hang out	67% hang out sporadically 33% do not hang out

* It is not claimed that the typology has been exhausted.

† Of the sample, 14 per cent were not classified into patterns. These cases each have some idiosyncratic factor of a personal character. They have therefore been omitted from this discussion.

‡ One additional major factor distinguished the men of the Promise Pattern from the rest of the sample—all had a bona fide promise of a good job.

§ Number in sample = 100.

‖ Perfunctory job-seekers; followed USES regulations and sometimes (no more than twice a week) looked for work on their own initiative.

Hard and earnest job-seekers; followed USES regulations and looked for work over four times a week on their own initiative; did everything they could think of to find work.

they had to offer prospective employers. Their job expectations had been raised by wartime visions of high pay and by their service experiences, and they were reluctant to face the realistic and irreconcilable differences between their desires and opportunities. Instead they claimed, "There ain't no good jobs around . . . nobody's paying out good money these days." Jimmy Kelly's story is typical of the men of this pattern:

Jimmy is nineteen and a half years old, has completed two years of high school. When he quit school, he took a job with the New York Central Mail and Baggage Carriers which he held for nine months, until he was called into the service. Discharged two years later, he immediately found a job. "When I got out, I worked for the Tri-Borough Bridge Authority for thirty-two bucks a week. I was supposed to collect the toll fares as the cars crossed the bridge. But after two weeks I was damn bored. So I quit. Then I went to the USES and told them I was an airplane mechanic's helper. Sure, it was a lie. But I knew they never have anything like that on the job lists, and I thought I'd like to take a vacation. As I figured they told me, 'No helper jobs—come back in three months.' Well, I hung around then for about two months, until I got bored again. So I decided to go out on my own hook—to a couple of employment offices. But all they had were $30-a-week jobs with no future. Then I followed the ads. But when I got there some other guy always got the job. So I almost stopped looking. Now I go to the USES to get my check [RA]. But they don't ever get anybody a job. All they can offer are the laborer jobs with the worst pay and no future. But if they ever find me a good one, by some accident, well, I'll take it."

More than one-third of these men stated that they do not expect to find jobs while still eligible for the RA. The difference between the wages they could earn and the benefit obtainable "from the government" was insufficient to supply the incentive to seek work in more than a casual fashion. "They offered me twenty bucks a week to be a sweeper" was one comment.

At the candy store the veterans of this pattern mixed almost exclusively with other unemployed ex-servicemen and were able to say, "Nobody else around here is working." By this selective association, the candy store protected the men psychologically at the same time that the RA protected them economically. They substituted talking about jobs for active job-seeking. They did not take jobs even to quit them and thereby deprived themselves of the chance to define their work aspirations in the hard experiences of the job market. The RA functioned for the Candy-Store Pattern to sustain the unrealistic gap between their levels of job aspiration and the levels of jobs available to them.

In sharp contrast to the Candy-Store Pattern, a second type consists of men who were older (over twenty-five), had more education, and came from higher socioeconomic levels. Two additional factors distinguished these men from the members of the other patterns: (1) a clear and definite conception of their job goals and (2) a persistent, urgent pursuit of the type of work they knew they wanted. This veteran type had been designated the "Time Pattern," emphasizing their own conviction that getting the "right job" is merely a matter of time.

Knowing specifically what they wanted, these men used a great variety of techniques in their energetic search for work. The job-seeking activities of one of the Time Pattern veterans is illustrative:

Frank Walters is twenty-seven, married, and has one child. He was discharged from the Navy after five years as a chief motor machinists mate. The Navy had sent him to two diesel schools, and he worked as a diesel mechanic on a minesweeper, and now he is looking for work as a diesel mechanic. At first he thought he would re-enlist, but he changed his mind when he learned he would have to take a lower rating. He has canvassed the USES and private employment agencies. He looked up his father's old boss but was offered only a $30-a-week job and not at the work he wanted. Applying at private concerns, he found that staff cuts were being made. Soon he discovered that the only openings in his line were on board ship. Since he still wants this type of work, and since a prerequisite to a job on a ship is proof that he has passed certain examinations to show his ability, he is studying to take those exams. At the same time,

however, while he still has some savings and the RA, he continues to look for a shore job—as a diesel mechanic.

These men needed the income from jobs almost as much as did the members of the Candy-Store Pattern, since they were older and some were married. More than 90 per cent regarded the RA as insufficient to live on. Yet they continued to accept the benefit, and almost all (92 per cent) believed it helpful in their job-seeking efforts. Four-fifths expected to get jobs while still eligible for the RA. The following expressions are typical of the men of this pattern:

This way I have a chance to gamble. I can pick my job. Without the RA I'd have to take any menial job offered.

It gives me a chance to be choosey. . . .

. . . to better myself. . . .

. . . to eat and sleep and still look for that job.

Wonderful—a lot of fellows were young when they went into the Army and didn't have any job experiences. This $20 a week gives them a chance to look around and try out different jobs so that they can know what they want. If they can't find that kind of work, it keeps them going meanwhile.

It's good for fellows coming out. I'll look as hard but be more particular.

Some of their job objectives were not realistic; nevertheless, the clear-cut conceptions which these men had of the type of work they wanted gave them a focus for job-seeking efforts. Most of them had held postwar positions, which they left because they were "not the type I want," coupled with reasons they expressed as "bad working conditions" or "no future." Said one man: "I don't want to take just any job, because I'm afraid I might get stuck with it for the rest of my life. I need a job that leads on."

This is the only pattern of unemployed veterans for whom a list of specific job objectives would be meaningful. Their job aims were fashioned by their prewar work experiences, which acted for many as the trial-and-error work period, and by their service life, which opened new employment vistas and helped crystallize job goals.[8] Their job-seeking was energetically directed toward specific work that was generally within their capabilities and related to their experiences. While looking for a specific job, they used the income from the RA to live on.[9] For the men of the Time Pattern, "waiting time" was the opportunity to find the particular jobs they wanted, and their job-seeking efforts provided experiences which tended to bring together their job aspirations and the realistic possibilities they faced.

A third grouping of unemployed ex-servicemen was characterized by the intensity of the members' search for work and their vagueness of employment goals. At the same time they were younger (under twenty-five), unmarried, had less work experience, and came from a slightly lower socioeconomic level than the Time Pattern men. This cluster is called the "Young and Ambitious Pattern." Furthermore, the men of this pattern had taken and left more postwar jobs than those of any other pattern.

More than any other type, the veterans of the Young and Ambitious Pattern exhibited polarity in their attitudes toward the RA. About half said that the compensation was of help in their job-seeking, while the other half thought it a hindrance. Contrasting responses, such as the following, were typical:

I think it's an excellent idea. It gives the vet an opportunity to scout around for a worthwhile job. The people who denounce it are a lot of hooey. It has worked well for me and my friends.

It hinders me—makes me feel lazy. My family wants me to give it up. They feel it will make a bum out of me.

Almost three-fourths expected to get jobs while still eligible for the RA. They used a

[8] Almost half of them claimed to have changed job goals during their service years.

[9] This income was supplemented by some help from relatives, as well as by savings, which were greater for the Time Pattern than for any other type.

greater variety of job-hunting techniques than the men of the other types except the Time Pattern. Their own expressions about their unemployment revealed a high degree of anxiety and reflected a sense of pressure, not only from home and associates, but from their own keen feeling that they should find a "worth-while job." They exhibited a strong motivation to work but, not knowing what they were looking for and, to some extent, feeling their way to that knowledge, tried one job after another. The experiences of twenty-year-old Harry Silver were typical:

He doesn't know what he wants to do. "I'd like to have a sum of money and be independent. I'd like not to have to work if I didn't feel like it." However, quickly becoming realistic, he adds, "I'd like a job paying $30 a week, or even $25 if it offered a future." Harry worked in photography before the war, a field he had lost interest in at the time of his discharge. As soon as he was separated from the service, he took a job as a vacuum assembly man. Though he was earning $40 a week, it was little compensation for the monotony of the work, and he quit after three months. He then stayed with a jeweler for a week, but that too was not what he wanted. Laid off his next job as a stock clerk in a clothing store, he immediately followed it with one he liked. This one was as a messenger for a Belgian Economic Mission, traveling between New York and Washington. He lost it when girls were substituted for the men holding these jobs. However, he recognized that the job held no future for him and states that he would have left it before very long anyhow. At the time of interview he claimed to have "one or two prospects lined up."

Not knowing what they wanted occupationally, these men expressed dissatisfaction with jobs they might get and jobs they had held since discharge. "No experience" and "poor pay" were the chief reasons they assigned for their unemployment. The "waiting time" provided by the RA permitted them to look for jobs, take jobs, and quit jobs until such trial-and-error experience would reveal what they wanted and what was available to them.

The fourth type was made up of young unemployed veterans from a comparatively high socioeconomic status. Their fathers' occupational level was relatively high—largely small business or skilled work. Their educational level was also relatively high—two-thirds had completed high school or college. But more important is the fact that these young men had bona fide promises of jobs with high pay and assured futures, provided through the business and job contacts of their families. Because of this sharply distinguishing characteristic, this type has been called the "Promise Pattern."

The Promise Pattern men showed in their attitudes toward the RA and job-seeking that they were secure in their work futures and that they expected eventually to take the promised jobs. Yet they continued to accept the subsidy and used it as "waiting time" while they looked in a desultory way for types and levels of jobs which they could neither get nor hold. In spite of the inadequacy of their training, they wanted positions paying more than the promised job and work having greater interest and glamour. For instance:

Everett Murtagh, a nineteen-year-old high-school graduate, has a promise of a job from his father, a successful building contractor, who would like to have his son in his business. Everett was unimpressed by this prospect and says he would like "something better." After four months' unemployment, he job-hunts only once a week. He goes to the USES, but only to keep eligible for the RA. He thought over the prospects of going into the refrigeration business with a friend; considered a job offer from a friend of his father; looked through, but did not follow up, the ads in the classified columns of the newspaper; canvassed the neighborhood and was offered a job delivering suits for a local tailor. He now seems to be giving more serious thought to his father's offer, as he finds that the "something better" has not turned up. However, his well-to-do family is not pushing him to a decision.

For these men the economic pressures to take jobs were negligible, because their families could and did support them, and the RA was used largely to supplement this support. Under such circumstances, these men,

more than any of the others, considered the RA sufficient to live on. Over two-thirds claimed that the RA was simply ready cash rather than support while they found a job. It provided a sense of independence from their parents by supporting the belief that they were trying to make their own way, to find their own jobs. They said, "It gives me the chance to look for the kind of work I want." However, many did not know the kind of job they wanted, and all did not look for it very actively. Like the Candy-Store Pattern men, the veterans of the Promise Pattern pretended to themselves that they were looking for work, but for the most part their search was casual and indifferent—confined to the legal requirements to remain eligible for the RA.

There is little chance that they could, through their own efforts, find a job to match the promised position in pay and future. Their recognition of this was indicated by the deterioration of their job-hunting and by their statements that they expected to get jobs while still eligible for the RA. Many went as far as to say, "I'll probably wind up taking my father's offer." The RA functioned for the Promise Pattern men, as it did for the Candy-Store Pattern, to postpone the inevitable acceptance of a job which they knew they would have to take but could not admit that they wanted. But unlike the Candy-Store men, who needed to reconcile a high level of job aspiration and the reality of poor job opportunities, the Promise Pattern men had to reconcile the acceptance of a family-sponsored but better job than they could get on their own with their desire to be independent of their parents.

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

In the job-seeking responses of the types of veterans distinguished here, the differential functions of the Readjustment Allowance may be observed. For the Candy-Store Pattern the RA functioned to provide needed support (waiting time) while the men by selective association built up an in-group which protected them against the inevitable necessity of accepting jobs at lower pay and status levels than they would admit they must take. The Time Pattern men used the needed support of the RA to implement their job-seeking, which was directed toward desired and generally attainable objectives. The Young and Ambitious Pattern found in the RA the means to justify the refusal of an unwanted job and the abandonment of positions obtained. Their intensive job-seeking and trial-and-error job-taking were part of the process by which they were defining their job objectives. For the Promise Pattern the RA served a protective function similar to that which it performed for the Candy-Store Pattern, but for this type the protection offered was against a known and inevitable job which carried with it implications of dependence and, eventually, the realization that they could not secure so good a job on their own.

Except for the Promise Pattern veterans, the income which the RA offered also served as an economic reference for judging jobs. And for all veterans the RA constituted a psychological support for rejecting employment which might yield greater income but which did not conform to their aspirations.

The implications of these findings are twofold: (1) Uniform readjustment benefits did not have a uniform effect upon the job-seeking activities of those receiving it. The effects were variable, depending upon the relationship between the economic level of benefits and the economic and other characteristics of jobs which the veteran job-seekers considered important in making their occupational decisions. (2) The meaning of "work available" in a job market is determined not only by wages and working conditions offered but by the definitions which each job-seeker makes of the employment he would find acceptable.

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GEORG SIMMEL AND TOTALITARIAN INTEGRATION

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ABSTRACT

Georg Simmel's penetrating insight into the sociology of domination and submission shows the way toward a more genuine understanding of the mechanisms and techniques of totalitarianism. Yet Simmel's limitations were conditioned by his static outlook on the forms of association. Modern technology and communication, while they radically alter some of the basic tendencies within the process of domination, have helped others toward a more complete fulfilment.

In the course of their development, communities have been confronted with the problem of spatial expansion. They might, at the cost of military efficiency, retain simple popular institutions in small areas, or, alternatively, they might organize a large unit in which the individual's voice must necessarily be overwhelmed. Democracy could either, as it did in Athens, limit itself to a small state and face defeat, or it could, as in the Roman Empire, expand to a size which would provide sufficient manpower for its armies but in which political organization would become increasingly bureaucratic and finally tyrannical.

The development of modern communication seemed a great advance for popular government; but the people were ill prepared for it. By some malevolent paradox, the new technical developments of the industrial age seemed to threaten democracy with destruction. Modern means of communication have brought people nearer to one another but have hardly increased neighborliness. The circles of control are widened so quickly that the circles of group co-operation cannot keep pace. Not only communications but many other branches of modern technology increase the opportunities of those who are in positions of power by decreasing the control exercised over them by those who are ruled. Large-scale industrial organization, for example, needs swift decision on the part of the management, and inventions in the field of military technique have powerfully strengthened state control. Contacts between individuals and groups have become considerably modified by improvements in communication. The frequency and duration of such contacts no longer change gradually, as in former times.

The development of communications has simultaneously enlarged the integration of local and national life. There has been a marked tendency for the state to control more and more aspects of the individual's life. Hand in hand with the increasing standardization and regulation of life there has developed a leveling-down of intellectual and moral standards.

Although the Russian Revolution should have been a warning, people brought up in the spirit of utilitarianism and Spencerian optimism were inclined to ignore the danger in modern society of an all-embracing tyranny which might set itself up with the help of modern social mechanisms and techniques. German national socialism brought home to us the true facts of the situation. It was the first thoroughgoing attempt at a modern totalitarian tyranny and, although it was carried out by an elite of dilettanti, it illuminated like a searchlight some of the most pressing social and political problems of the contemporary world.

General interest in the structure and method of totalitarian government has been rapidly decreasing since the end of World War II. Yet the overwhelming superiority in men and materials which was required to defeat national socialism by a rather narrow margin invites further deliberation; nor does the recrudescence of totalitarianism in the shape of Stalinist communism allay our ap-

prehensions. Among problems of vital interest to modern political sociology are the following: How far is this clear modern tendency toward totalitarianism due to inherent structural elements, and how far is it due to social techniques? How far have existing social mechanisms been affected by modern technological developments? And under what circumstances are these mechanisms and techniques likely to be modified?

Those who endeavor to answer these questions are likely to appreciate the ingenuity and farsightedness of Georg Simmel, who, since he died in 1918, never lived to see his analysis of domination in relation to group constellations put to the test. The general principles and character of his writings are well known on the European Continent and the United States, where they so greatly stimulated later sociological research; yet the startling insight into contemporary political problems of this analytical genius has so far been less realized. Among his numerous contributions, his allusion to the integration of individuals and groups within a tyrannical society is essential for a real understanding of totalitarian structure and techniques.

Let us recall his statement that under a tyranny the individual gives only a fragment of his individuality to the state-person relationship, whereas the tyrant gives his whole individuality. It would appear, at first sight, that Simmel assumed in the individual a division between his individuality proper and that part of him which is capable of integration into the "group mind."

From the general character of his writings it seems rather unlikely that Simmel would have believed in a "group mind" which assumes an independent existence, apart from the individual minds composing it, but more probably thought that there are aspects—Simmel calls them "fragments"—of the working of the human mind which more easily relate themselves to social problems. At the time when he wrote, it was inevitable that he should have been vague in respect to the frontiers between the "individual" and the "social" man.

It is the normal course of the art of politics, Simmel says, both of church and of state and even of the family, to select those parts of the individual's mentality which are most readily absorbed into the group mentality. His view may be stated thus:

> The groupings differ characteristically by the proportion between the whole individuality and the quantum of the personality which is contributed to the group or mass. A group will be more easily ruled by a tyrant, the smaller the part of the single individuality contributed to the group. . . . Where the social unit integrates so much of the personality that nearly the whole individuality is absorbed, tyranny becomes untenable.

Simmel understood that the Athenian concept of citizenship, which integrated all aspects of the individual's life, was totalitarian. There was no escape for the individual personality. There is an inherent tendency (though not a law in Spencer's sense) in any given society toward an equilibrium of liberty and constraint.[1] In Great Britain, for example, the considerable political freedom has always been correlated with a proportionally greater degree of constraint in society. The latter is expressed by stringent conventions, moral obligations which are generally accepted and enforced by public opinion. Political tyrannies, on the other hand, often find that they have to permit a great deal of liberty in the less political regions of social life. It appears that Simmel's hypothesis has, to some extent, adapted to modern conditions Aristotle's request for balance and moderation in government.

According to Simmel there are two important limitations to tyranny: (*a*) the size of the dominated group and (*b*) the variety of the personalities included in it. He thought that the wider the circle of domination, the smaller will be, *ceteris paribus*, the sphere of thought, emotion, interests, and attributes which individuals have in common and which form them into a mass. In so far as domination is concerned with what

[1] This view was expressed in Plato's *Laws* and clearly implied in Aristotle's *Politics*, in the concepts of "polity" and "sofrosyne."

the individuals have in common, the individual's submission to domination is directly related to the size of the dominated circles. According to the author, the following principle is hereby demonstrated: "The larger the number of individuals ruled by the one [the tyrant], the smaller the part of the individual which he dominates."[2]

Simmel's hypothesis can be said to have applied to most tyrannies in history. If we think of ancient Egypt, Babylonia-Assyria, Persia, and the Roman Empire, the most atrocious tyranny at the center of power did not (apart from spasmodic punitive expeditions) make life uncomfortable on the periphery. In the tyrannies of the Italian states of the Renaissance and even in the absolute monarchies which ruled Europe from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries, the subject who did not come into touch with the princely court did not experience the direct impact of tyrannical government, provided that he did not meddle in politics. In czarist Russia and Hohenzollern Prussia a comparatively small part of the individual's life was subject to domination.

Even modern dictatorship exemplified this rule at the beginning. Italian fascism did not, at first, interfere greatly with the life of the nonpolitical person; nor did Polish, Yugoslav, or Hungarian authoritarianism between the two world wars. Austria's semidictatorship followed the rule. No state, except Germany, achieved a full totalitarianism. This failure did not, however, generally rest in a lack of desire, except perhaps in the case of Austria, but in the incapacity of the dictatorial rulers to recognize the social requirements of modern tyranny and in a lack of courage to go to the full length of the consequent conclusions.

How far did German national socialism follow the rule? Admittedly, there was, right from the beginning, a great deal of superficial ostentation. There were flags, drums, parades, and speeches. Interferences with life, liberty, and property of political opponents and the Jews were far-reaching from the start. But even naziism found that the process of killing and uprooting democracy in a modern community has to be slow and systematic. At first, there was still a considerable neutral or hesitant public opinion to be considered. Naziism, however, was able to profit from new and old conflicts of loyalties, which led the public to accept measures which in normal times would have been considered entirely illegal or unjustifiable, provided that they did not go too far at any one time. One of the reasons for the acquiescence of the people in the deprivation of their liberties was the disproportion between the actual technique of government and the ideas of the masses with regard to the symbols of government. This disproportion was the breach in the democratic fortress into which authoritarian propaganda could infiltrate, to the destruction of popular loyalties to democratic institutions.

To give an exhaustive survey of political techniques applied by naziism in the stage of transition would go beyond the scope of this essay. But, to give an example, the military form of procedure suggested to the average German that parliament was a kind of military unit. The Reichstag was addressed by Nazi ministers as if they were its commanding officers reading the order of the day. They could draw on a natural proclivity for discipline and soldierly display. Many Germans fell into the trap so easily that after 1933 it was quite common to hear them maintain that theirs was merely an improved and democratized version of the former Hohenzollern regime. Thus in its first years of power naziism merely played at the tradition of "constitutional dictatorship" which the Prussian monarchy had created. It was pretended that the dictatorship was but a temporary expedient, adopted for a phase in the national development. Naziism was hiding, so to speak, behind the traditional forms of tyranny, while it established a regime quite unprecedented in history.

The mechanism sketched by Simmel would have run counter to all totalitarian purposes; the regime, always anxious to

[2] Simmel, *Soziologie* (Munich: Duncker & Humblodt, 1923), p. 116.

draw on expert advice, labored ceaselessly to overcome that social mechanism; with all the knowledge of modern social and political organization at its disposal, controlling all technological inventions of the industrial age, it was temporarily successful, but only to some extent. Channels of various types were prepared to catch all those parts of the individual personality that might wish to escape domination. There was the *Arbeitsfront* for trade-unionists; children had to enrol in the Hitler Youth Movement, and father had to do military exercises several days a week; "strength through joy" looked after leisure, all of which was rather like a travesty of Plato's Republic.

Yet the results of totalitarian integration under Hitler, although they do not disprove the tendency toward a social equilibrium between liberty and authority, derogated Herbert Spencer's assumption that this tendency is a permanent law. National socialism was able to prove that a government that controls the principal means of power and communication can dominate not only the citizen's external but also his private life and, what is more, can control his very thoughts.[3] A metaphysical and quasi-religious background of such ideologies facilitates these techniques and tends to make their effect cumulative. This has been noticed by several writers.[4] For, once such propaganda can affect the upper strata of the human hierarchy of values,[5] processes of imitation, emulation, domination, and adjustment are likely to help beliefs which are quasi-religious in character.[6] Thus it is possible to exceed the natural limits of domination over large numbers of individuals.

There can be little doubt that Stalinist communism has, since World War II, adopted several of the Nazi techniques of totalitarian domination; just as naziism had originally learned from Soviet communism. The coup d'état in Czechoslovakia of 1948 and the subsequent integration of all social and political life into the Communist system bear witness to that.

On the other hand, the social limits to domination still present difficulties to dictatorship. Marshal Tito's apostasy from Communist orthodoxy has amply proved the danger to a dictatorship that sets out to dominate too extensive a geographical area. Whether this limit to tyranny within the large-scale community can be overcome will, in my view, depend on three main conditions: (*a*) the proportion of opportunists to loyal partisans, (*b*) the number of overseers available, and (*c*) the efficiency of the social techniques applied.

During the later stages of World War II the second condition presented an ever increasing problem to the Hitler regime. Under any authoritarian rule the number of overseers whose loyalty can be relied upon under all circumstances will be small in relation to the number of those whose loyalties will be conditioned by material advantages derived from the regime. Thus, once totalitarianism is opposed from the outside, be it war or peace, the majority of overseers will be inclined to strike a balance between momentary actual advantages and their fear of prospective dangers.

One of the totalitarian techniques which

[3] See my article in *Philosophy* (British Institute of Philosophy, 1943) on "Tyranny and Group Loyalties."

[4] See Carl Jung, *Psychology and Religion* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943), p. 59. Also, more recently, Alfred Weber's *Farewell to European History*—his notion of "loosening of dogma and redogmatization" ("International Library of Sociology and Reconstruction").

[5] See my reference to the "transcendental field" in the article quoted above.

[6] In the case of German national socialism this is not difficult to prove, for its doctrine admittedly related itself to mysticism. Karl Marx, partly through the intermediate services of Hegel, extensively "borrowed" from Augustine's theological interpretation of history. Whereas Augustine spoke of a struggle between the Heavenly Kingdom and the Kingdom of Satan, Marx spoke of the perpetual class struggle between exploiters and exploited. The classless society represents heaven, and in both cases the outcome is predetermined. Whereas in Augustine the struggle between good and evil has entered a new decisive stage with the advent of the Christian church, in Karl Marx it is the proletariat organized in its party which brings salvation.

satisfies the need of a balance between freedom and authority and thus facilitates totalitarian integration is, as Simmel knew well, the technique of pseudo-toleration. The relatively considerable degree of criticism permitted to German citizens often astonished visitors from Western countries. Similarly, Communist-dominated countries are not too sensitive about the convenient safety valve which they call "constructive criticism." But, once criticism hardens into opposition, no minor punishments are applied but rather a policy of liquidation.

After a modern authoritarian group has assumed power, the former democratic parties become completely submerged. Their energy is destroyed, and, after the democratic leaders are eliminated or rendered harmless, their partisans become docile followers of authoritarianism. This was the case as much in prewar Germany, Italy, Austria, Hungary, and, to a lesser extent, Poland and Yugoslavia as is the case in present-day Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, and the Eastern zone of Germany. What has Simmel got to say on this point?

> There is a degree of antagonism between groups which is replaced by unity if all the antagonistic groups are put under pressure from a third party. But should the original aversion transcend a certain limit, the common suppression will have the opposite effect. The reason for this phenomenon is not only an increase in general irritability but, first of all, the fact that the common experience presses the divergent elements together and brings them nearer; this enforced neighborhood throws into relief irreconcilable differences of all the suppressed elements. Where unification is unable to overcome antagonism, the latter is not left untouched, but is increased. . . . The negative side of this is the jealousy among the dominated groups. Common hatred does not increase opposition, but submission, if the one who is hated by all is the master.

Outwardly this might appear as a mere restatement of the old *divide et impera*. Simmel knew from English history that the laws against the Nonconformists did but little increase their affection for the Roman Catholics; he could not have foreseen that common suppression by national socialism would divide the German opposition to such an extent that the Communists sometimes denounced their democratic comrades-in-arms to the Gestapo; nor could he have foreseen how easily former Fascists were enrolled by the Communist regimes in some of the countries of eastern Europe. Here is another social mechanism of domination, the efficiency of which is likely to be intensified by modern methods of technology and propaganda. As the means of communication make distance shrink, so totalitarianism is able to press against the other patterns of conflict in an entire state or even continent, once these conflicts have been artificially stereotyped by propaganda.

Once the former constituent group elements of democratic society have been effectively disrupted and paralyzed, totalitarian tyranny can proceed toward the constructive process of integration. Simmel says:

> By the submission of many divergent groups to a single master, the latter facilitates domination by taking on the position of a referee. Conflicts and divergencies between the antagonistic suppressed groups can be exploited, and new wide common interests can be created for groups varying from children's play-groups to religious and political parties if a common denominator can be found.[7]

National socialism, to achieve the final aim of totalitarian integration, artificially stimulated social conflicts with considerable skill. It was possible to persuade the worker that he was being protected against "Jewish capitalist exploitation." It was possible to tell the German peasant, who seldom leaves his village, that he was being protected against the *Zinsknechtschaft*, and at the same time make the banker Schacht virtually economic dictator of Germany; to tell the peasant that naziism was protecting Christianity and at the same time to arrest Catholic and Protestant priests alike; to support sometimes the party extremists and sometimes the more conservative elements in the army. Similar techniques were applied

[7] Simmel's *Soziologie*, p. 110.

in the realm of international relations after 1939, when the Nazis alternated in favor shown to the various nations integrated within the New Order.

There have been some tendencies in postwar Soviet policy which indicate that it is not entirely averse to this technique. In a sociological analysis of Soviet techniques one must bear in mind the undisputed fact that the teachings of Marx and Lenin still serve as a supreme authority and orthodox solvent, whatever the temporary strategy and tactics may be: "The task of a truly revolutionary party is not to declare the impossible renunciation of all compromises, but to be able through all compromises, as far as they are unavoidable, to remain true to its principles, to its class, to its revolutionary task."[8]

These permissible compromises permit the application of techniques as they are outlined by Simmel. They have allowed international communism to come to a temporary agreement with German national socialism in 1939 and with Western democracy in 1941. International communism has always disliked "reactionary nationalism" in the small states of eastern, central, and southeastern Europe. And yet it has, since the dissolution of the Comintern, given it every encouragement. It is admittedly not easy to pose as the champion of several conflicting rival nationalisms, e.g., to support at the same time the cause of German unity and Polish territorial integrity; or to support simultaneously Czech and Hungarian nationalism; or, as the case of Tito proves so clearly, Yugoslav and Italian patriotism. But the Soviets have so far successfully played the role of referee, just as Simmel foreshadowed it (in this task they have been more successful even than the National Socialists, e.g., the German attempt to keep the peace between Hungary and Rumania in World War II). In some countries, such as Italy and Poland, communism has even attempted to come to a working agreement with Roman Catholicism. It has certainly tried hard to find common denominators in Poland and eastern Germany, not only on the left but also on the right side of the party alignment.

These few examples may help to assist those who are seriously interested in the discovery of the hidden forces which help the very real tendency toward autocratic rule. That which outwardly represents itself as a complicated social process is often merely a simple but ingenious social technique. As with every technique, much depends on the ethical end to which it is applied. Simmel's treatment of the social process of domination in relation to formal-sociological group constellations deserves, therefore, our closest attention.

University of Dacca
Pakistan

[8] Lenin, *Collected Works*, XXI, Book I, 152.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

ARNOLD ROSE'S "A DEDUCTIVE IDEAL-TYPE METHOD"

September 8, 1950

To the Editor:

In the July, 1950, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* Arnold M. Rose proposes in "A Deductive Ideal-Type Method" that sociologists endeavor to apply to the phenomena of their discipline the deductive method, which has proved so rewarding in theoretical economics. This deductive method, in his definition, consists in formulating significant tautologies involving "a few basic and manipulable variables" within the limits of assumptions based on observation. From such tautologies or truisms, logical deductions may be made which have predictive value. Dr. Rose then cites the equation of exchange as an example in economics of the empirical fruitfulness of a "practical truism." Standing in the way of the utilization of the deductive method in sociology, he further states, are the twin difficulties that sociologists are agreed as to neither their subject matter nor the basic unit of their science. Nevertheless, he proceeds to supply five sociological examples of truistic propositions which have important empirical implications.

The purpose of these comments is to criticize neither Dr. Rose's proposal nor his illustrations but to suggest that the employment of deductive ideal types is by no means absent from the history of sociological thinking, though perhaps not always linked to relevant, verifiable assumptions, and that a recent striking example is furnished by the structural-functional approach as developed by Parsons, Merton, and others. Moreover, this theory also obviates the two difficulties mentioned above, in that it holds sociology to be the science of institutional structure and its basic unit as the "actor-situation."[1]

Basic to sociology, says Talcott Parsons, must be a theory of social systems. He defines a social system as "a system of social action involving a plurality of interacting individuals," and he clarifies action as meaning "motivated human behavior."[2] Consider his prescription of "the functional prerequisites of the social system":

> Functional requirements of the maintenance of any such pattern system or pattern line of change can be generalized to a certain degree. In the first place, of course, a social system must somehow provide for the minimum biological and psychological needs of a sufficient proportion of its component members. On a more strictly social level, there seem to be two primary fundamental foci of its functional prerequisites. One lies in the problem of order, in the problem of the coordination of the activities of the various members in such a way that they are prevented from mutually blocking each others action or destroying one another by actual physical destruction of the organism, and, on the other hand, they are sufficiently geared in with each other so that they do mutually contribute to the functioning of the system as a whole. The second focus is on adequacy of motivation. The system can only function if a sufficient proportion of its members perform the essential social roles with an adequate degree of effectiveness. If they are not adequately motivated to this minimum level of contribution to the system, the system, itself, of course, cannot operate. A variety of further elaborations of the problem of functional prerequisites can be worked out from these starting points.[3]

Obviously, the statements in this paragraph constitute a series of truisms derived

[1] Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 32 and 39.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 6.

from the definition of a social system. They may be recast in the form of the following proposition: If a social system consists of social action involving a plurality of interacting individuals, then the conditions permitting such social action must be met, i.e., the survival of a sufficient number of individuals to engage in social action, kinds of action which do not impede further action, and motivations adequate to continuing nonblocking action. One may therefore predict that any internal or external condition which destroys more than the needed number of persons to carry on a social system, which leads to an excessive amount of mutually opposing action, or which negates previously effective sources of motivation will lead to the downfall of that system. Thus the attention of the investigator is directed to specific crucial empirical facts in evaluating the factors making for the success or failure of social systems.

The question may be raised, however, of whether this truism meets Dr. Rose's criteria of relevance and usefulness. The variables included are perhaps too general to dictate predictions specific enough for empirical verification. Even if one had the most precise knowledge of the structural and functional categories of a social system, one could not predict that a given change in a behavior pattern or shift in motivation would necessarily be dysfunctional to the system. Professor Merton has called attention to the importance of "functional alternatives, equivalents, or substitutes."[4] This concept permits the realization that certain functions, even if indispensable to a social system, may be performed by a variety of cultural forms. His distinction between manifest and latent functions also complicates the problem of assessing the effects of change in "particular conditions and process" upon a social system. An item may be manifestly functional and latently dysfunctional, or manifestly dysfunctional and latently functional. Extended observation may be required to determine which is the case. If the observer is also a participant in the social system under study, his own identification of himself with it will render it difficult for him to decide, in the short run, whether a given cultural item is functional or dysfunctional to the effectiveness of the system. The notion of "function" thus assumes a subjective character. What is functional for one group may be dysfunctional for another. Even if the observer attempts to view a social system from an ethically neutral vantage point, his decision concerning the functionality or dysfunctionality of a set of conditions for any individual or subgroup implies a definite value as to what constitutes the "good life"—unless he employs their goals as a touchstone.

Not only does the value identification of the observer make problematic an objective determination of the functionality or dysfunctionality of given cultural items, but it also may render the manifest or latent character of a function equally dependent upon his perspective. Thus Professor Merton[5] designates as a latent function of the political machine, not fulfilled by other alternatives and often unrecognized by political reformers, the personal service which the political boss gives to members of minorities who are fearful of formal agencies. But to whom, besides the political reformer who is now being informed of it, is this activity of the political boss latent? While it may not be his prime purpose, the boss knows what he is doing and frequently defends his existence in just these terms. To the individual he helped, also, such activity may appear as manifest, while the vote-catching aspect of the boss's behavior is latent. Both participants, not accustomed to taking a total view of the social system, may regard the tactics of the political boss as manifestly functional to themselves, without seeing, as a sociologist might, whether these actions contribute to the maintenance of the social system as a whole and/or the welfare of which, if any, of its participants. And now we are led

[4] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure: Toward the Codification of Theory and Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 35–36.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

back to the original problem of deciding which activities are functional and which dysfunctional, without receiving any great aid from the distinction between manifest and latent functions.

These considerations cast doubt upon the scientific utility of functionalism. Instead of formulating a priori assumptions concerning the "needs" of social systems, we can simply observe the activities carried on by participants in a social system. We can study the social processes which motivate certain kinds of behavior and the consequences of this behavior, without invoking the notion of function. If, for example, the training which the child receives in the family orients him to goals which conflict with those of groups which he enters as an adult, then this consequence can be noted without castigating the family as "dysfunctional."

In support of this suggested rejection of the functional approach as unrewarding, let us examine three possible meanings of the term "functionalism." The first is that of reinforcing, implementing, or contributing to a common end. This is the meaning accepted in the above discussion, and its difficulties have been indicated. It leads to propositions which are circular, obvious, or nonverifiable. A second meaning is that two items mesh or interlock. All that this implies is that they are compatible, that they can coexist, and that such imputations are subject to empirical investigation and are not in the present state of knowledge to be determined in terms of psychological or cultural theory. For example, the fact that idealist philosophies may be compatible with either "radical" or "reactionary" political views is a matter of experience and not deducible from the "nature" of such philosophies.

The third meaning of "functionalism" is the semimathematical one of dependence or invariant relationship. Two things vary together; one is a function of the other. In verifying such mutual dependencies, the language of functionalism is excess baggage. One can seek to establish social laws without reference to "needs," "compensatory mechanisms," etc.

Thus one must reluctantly conclude that, despite the seeming promise of the structural-functional theory as a tautology capable of yielding practical predictions, it does not appear useful in its present form. It must still be a painstaking matter of empirical investigation to determine the minimum conditions for survival of any social system, to determine which roles are essential and how they must be performed. Then there are the additional problems of isolating the "contribution" of any item to the ongoing system (except by "thinking it away"), of verifying latent functions and dysfunctions within the confines of one society. It is the belief of this writer that the notion of function is an unnecessary "intervening variable" in establishing invariant relationships among social phenomena, though it may prove its value in directing the attention of sociologists to certain relationships which they might otherwise have overlooked.

HELEN MAYER HACKER
Hunter College

COMMENT

To the Editor:

Professor Hacker's comments are noteworthy and interesting. Rather than answer directly, perhaps it would be more useful if I were to clarify certain points made by Hacker and other correspondents.

1. The essential difference between inductive methods and the "deductive ideal-type method" is that the former empirically tests the hypothesis that B follows A, while the latter works deductively to the equivalency of A and B. In the deductive method we can know perfectly the cause-and-effect relationship by means of a mathematical equation. The empirical test comes in by way of determining to what extent A exists (i.e., whether the equation is "relevant"). The deductive ideal-type method is *not* dependent on the functional system or any other theory of social relations.

2. When the deductive ideal-type method

can be used, it has certain advantages over many inductive methods for the following reasons: (*a*) It is usually easier to measure the existence of A than it is to find, by experiment or correlation, the relationship between A and B. (*b*) Some empirical studies are too expensive or too mechanically difficult at present. A rough guess at the relevancy of A may be highly useful in the application of the deductive method. For example, in one of the cases I cited, one of the major assumptions was that the American government and people are mobilizing for a potential war. This obviously needs no careful empirical test today. (*c*) The deductive ideal-type method fits in better with a systematic theory of behavior such as Parsons' and Merton's than do any of the empirical methods.

3. Perhaps the deductive ideal-type method can be fruitfully employed in only a few limited areas. I am neither optimistic nor pessimistic; only further efforts to exploit the method will answer the question.

ARNOLD M. ROSE
University of Minnesota

MICROSOCIOLOGY OF THE SENSES

September 27, 1950

To the Editor:

In Georg Simmel's sociology of 1908 there is a special chapter on sociology of the sensory perceptions ("Soziologie der Sinne"), the systematic continuation of an article which appeared in 1907 under the title "Microsoziologie der Sinne" in *Die Neue Rundschau*. These articles, full of interesting observations about the rub-elbow sociology, the social psychological significance of eyesight, hearing, smell, perfumes, and taste, had an unexpected revival in a book by Arnold Zweig, *Caliban: Essay on the Human Group-Passions, Demonstrated in Anti-Semitism*. The book, which appeared in 1927, has as its basis the thesis that there is a *difference-affect:* that people cannot help hating one another because of perceived differences and that we just have to accept this sensory perceptive basis of hatreds of minorities. This theory had a surprising success in Germany. And I say "surprising" because its success was not so much among the Nazis as it was among the intellectuals (see W. Eliasberg, "Psychiatry and Propaganda," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disease*, Vol. CI, No. 3 [March, 1945]).

Both the professional intelligence and the literati, owing to their lack of basic life-experience, as I have shown, easily fall prey to panic and that type of propaganda that works upon the lonesome conscience. Those good neighborly hatreds that are so typical of middle-class snobbishness in residential suburbia are accepted by the excluded intellectuals as a kind of escape from lonesomeness into mimicry. There is a typical succession of steps, a chain of emotional syllogisms:

First step.—The aggressor is right; he cannot help hating me because of his nature-ordained feelings.

Second step.—If two people differ, one is necessarily better than the other, and why should I be the better one? Ergo, the opponent is not only right but just.

Third step.—An overcompensation sets in. The intellectual, whose fears have come out in his looks and his books, turns to the psychiatrist for help. The idea is: If I can tell a man to put out his tongue and can examine his knee jerks, then I am his superior, and he is merely a patient. From then on, the opponent is no longer just, he is just crazy. But the overt or compensated feelings obviously are only meanderings of the same rill of inferiority feelings.

It is, then, a very dangerous adventure in ideology on which Gustav Ichheiser, formerly a professor at a southern university, has embarked. That the basis of his syllogisms are either without or with too much foundation has been proved conclusively by Louis Wirth in his rejoinder to Ichheiser's article (both in the *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LIV, No. 5 [March, 1949]). Wirth has rightly pointed out that just anything could be taken as sensory foundation for some difference-affect and that, indeed,

just anything, including black color and woolly hair and what not, has also been neglected at times. So it is not the senses that make for difference but culture and, as I have shown in many publications, among the cultural factors, propaganda. Without propaganda nobody would think of diverting his private woes into political, let alone party-political, channels.

I am very sorry indeed that I have to wind up with a trite statement. Although he does not care to quote his theoretical predecessors, what is so much emphasized in Ichheiser's statements is far from being new. And what is (relatively) new, i.e., as new as revivals or holdovers can be, is palpably wrong. The climate in the South, with its temptations, has once more proved dangerous to the intellectual who can stand nothing less than isolation.

Edwin H. Sutherland's idea of differential association as the cause of both criminal and general behavior comes to mind: "Criminal and any other behavior is learned in association with those who define such behavior favorably and in isolation from those who define it unfavorably."[1] Thought behavior is obviously subject to the same rule.

WLADIMIR ELIASBERG, M.D.

New York

[1] Edwin H. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime* (New York: Dryden Press, 1948), p. 234

IN MEMORIAM

EDWIN HARDIN SUTHERLAND, 1883–1950

Edwin H. Sutherland died at Bloomington, Indiana, on October 12, 1950. Just a few weeks before this he had attended the meeting of the American Sociological Society in Denver, where his many friends enjoyed the genial smile and the quiet but penetrating comments that had characterized Mr. Sutherland as long as we had known him.

To most teachers and students of sociology, Edwin Sutherland is known as a distinguished criminologist, the author of scholarly books and articles. But to a few who have known him since his own student days, the well-deserved recognition for professional attainment is overshadowed by our memories of Edwin Sutherland the man. To some of us he seemed at his best sitting at a table or strolling through a park while discussing some problem. I recall no instance of his becoming excited or indulging in oratory, but always he was thoughtful, clear, and forthright. He rarely missed the humorous aspects of a situation, but he engaged in no comedy. He was respectful of every view set forth by his associates, but he did not hesitate to present his doubts or objections. In turn the others listened with respect to him, for we knew he was honest and that he was setting forth conclusions based on careful observation and systematic inquiry.

Edwin Sutherland was a man of strong convictions, but he was not argumentative; he was frank but never caustic. He was loyal to his friends and colleagues, and they were devoted to him. His graduate students were especially attached to this wise but unpretentious professor, whose interest in them was so obviously kindly and sincere. He was usually accessible to those who wanted to see him, yet he managed to save time for research and for following the scholarly work of other sociologists.

His undergraduate work was done at Grand Island College in Nebraska, followed, after an interval of high-school and college teaching, by graduate study at the University of Chicago, where he received the Ph.D. degree in 1913. After that he spent six years on the faculty of William Jewell College in Missouri, where, as he put it, he had a chance to think out what he wanted to do, to plan his courses, and to give them a trial. In 1919 he moved to the University of Illinois, where Professor Hayes induced him to write a book on criminology. This experience seemed to fix Mr. Sutherland's major interest, one to which he adhered with a consistency not displayed by all his admirers. In 1926 he joined the group then making sociological history at the University of Minnesota. In 1930 he became a member of the department which had prepared him for the doctorate at the University of Chicago. In 1935 he succeeded U. G. Weatherly as head of the department of sociology at Indiana University, in which position he continued until 1949. At that time he turned over the administrative work he had handled so well but continued as an active member of the department until his death.

Among the honors which have deservedly come to Edwin Sutherland are these: president of the American Sociological Society, 1939; president of the Sociological Research Association, 1940–41; advisory editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*. Among his publications the following are especially worthy of note: *Unemployment and Public Employment Agencies* (1913), *Criminology* (1924), *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men* (with H. J. Locke) (1936), *The Professional Thief* (1937), *Principles of Criminology* (1947), and *White Collar Crime* (1949).

STUART A. QUEEN
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

NEWS AND NOTES

ERRATUM

The *Journal* regrets an error which appeared in the News and Notes section of the November issue, on page 276. The heading of *University of Pennsylvania* should read *Drew University*.

Brooklyn College of the City of New York.—Conrad Arensberg, of Barnard College, Columbia University, and Joseph K. Folsom, of Vassar College, are serving as part-time visiting professors. Dr. Arensberg is offering a graduate seminar in "Culture and Personality," and Dr. Folsom a graduate seminar on "The Modern Family."

Nathan L. Gerrard, formerly of Hofstra College and College of the City of New York, has joined the staff as a substitute for Samuel Koenig, who is on a leave of absence to study in Israel.

Rex D. Hopper has temporarily taken over Dr. Koenig's duties as deputy department chairman for the School of General Studies.

Sidney Nelson, executive director of Youth United for Better Citizens of Tomorrow, has joined the staff as a part-time lecturer. He is offering courses in "Social Work" and "Race Relations and Race Prejudice."

Norman Washburne has been appointed lecturer in order to undertake special work in community relations under the guidance of LeRoy Bowman.

Max Wolff, formerly of the Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, has been appointed a lecturer in the department.

O. Torrey Fuller has undertaken an extensive comparative study of the teaching of introductory sociology, as expressed in the textbooks and special literature during the past fifty years. He invites correspondence with others interested in this field of inquiry.

Herbert H. Stroup's textbook, *Social Work*, is being translated into Spanish by Professor Maria Eliana Umana, of the School of Social Service, University of Chile, Santiago, Chile. Dr. Stroup is conducting, for the fourth year, an Institute on Social Work in Settlement Houses, which is sponsored jointly by the Brooklyn Neighborhood Houses Fund and the department of sociology and anthropology.

Brown University.—Kurt B. Mayer has joined the department as assistant professor. Mr. Mayer will give new courses in social stratification, sociological theory, and research methods and a seminar in industrial sociology.

Anne Sangree and Thomas Smith have been appointed as graduate assistants.

Carleton College.—John Phelan retired in June, 1950. He had been professor of sociology since 1928 and chairman of the department until 1947. He continued as professor of sociology and chairman of the social science division until his retirement. For the year 1950–51, Professor Phelan is professor of sociology at Hanover College, Hanover, Indiana.

Samuel M. Strong has succeeded as chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology.

Dave M. Okada, former Marshall Field Fellow in the department of sociology at the University of Chicago, has been an instructor in the department for the last two years.

Eugene V. Schneider has resigned his position at the University of Wisconsin to become an assistant professor in the department of sociology. Besides courses in sociology he is also teaching several courses in anthropology.

Robert Hicks, who is doing graduate work at Columbia University, is assisting in the department by teaching several Freshman sections.

University of Chicago.—Louis Wirth was elected president of the International Sociological Association at the World Congress held in Zurich, Switzerland, in September, 1950.

Leo Goodman, of Princeton University, has joined the department of sociology as assistant professor in charge of statistics.

The *American Journal of Sociology* is anxious to hear from persons who can read foreign languages and who would like to review foreign books in sociology. In replying, please state your principal field of interest.

University of Edinburgh.—Kenneth L. Little, former lecturer at the University of London, is head of the department of social anthropology in the Mathematical Institute of the University of Edinburgh. Professor Little is the author of the recent book *Negroes in Britain.*

Fisk University.—Preston Valien, chairman of the department of social sciences, has been appointed a consultant to the Tennessee Valley Authority's Division of Regional Studies. Dr. Valien will give consultant services in connection with studies and projects initiated by TVA's Division of Regional Studies, which require sociological techniques and methods.

The department, under the direction of Dr. Valien, completed a study of the children of Tennessee for the Children's Commission of the State of Tennessee this summer. The study included a survey of the child welfare laws and of all the facilities for the children of the state.

New associate professors in the department are Richard H. Allaway, Jr., and W. Lou Tandy. New assistant professors in the department include the following, each of whom is working toward the doctorate at the university mentioned: Adam S. Arnold, University of Wisconsin; Ralph R. Ireland, University of Chicago; and Raytha L. Yokley, Indiana University.

Miss Carrell Peterson, graduate of Fisk and Cornell universities, has been appointed research associate.

The department has as research fellows Gloria Gibbs, a graduate of Columbia University, and Harvey Anderson, a graduate of the University of Washington.

Dorthine Minney and Alyce Taliaferro have assistantships in the race relations department of the American Missionary Association at Fisk University.

International Sociological Association.—The following officers were elected at the World Congress held in Zurich, Switzerland, from September 4 to 9, 1950, in co-operation with UNESCO, namely: Louis Wirth, United States of America, president; Fernando de Azevedo, Brazil, Georges Davy, France, Morris Ginsberg, United Kingdom, vice-presidents; and Erik Rinde, Grev Wedelspl. 4, Oslo, Norway, executive secretary and treasurer. The executive committee includes Pierre de Bie, Belgium; Theodor Geiger, Denmark; G. S. Ghurye, India; René König, Switzerland; Kunio Odaka, Japan; Stanislaw Ossowski, Poland; and Abdel Hamid Zaki, Egypt.

University of Kansas.—A new department of human relations has been established under the chairmanship of Hilden Gibson, professor of political science and sociology. It will offer a program of general education, but a research program combining sociology, social psychology, political science, and economics will be included. Several graduate seminars are offered, and doctoral candidates majoring in the various social sciences may elect a minor in human relations. Three members of the department of sociology, besides Dr. Gibson, will hold joint appointments in human relations: Carroll D. Clark, chairman of the department of sociology, associate professor Marston M. McCluggage, and assistant professor Melville Dalton, who has been recently added to the staff. The Graduate School has

made available two annual fellowships in human relations with a maximum stipend of $1,800.00.

Lawrence S. Bee has been appointed professor of sociology and home economics, replacing Robert Foster, who resigned to work with the Menninger Foundation. Dr. Bee will offer courses in marriage and family relationships and the sociology of the family, as well as direct research in this area.

An undergraduate major in anthropology was established in September, and the title of the department will henceforth be "Department of Sociology and Anthropology." New courses—methods of anthropology and primitive peoples of the Eastern Hemisphere—have been added to the curriculum and will be taught by Carlyle S. Smith, assistant professor of anthropology.

Rupert I. Murrill, who has completed residence work for the doctorate at Columbia University, has been added to the staff as instructor in anthropology and will teach the introductory course and the course on prehistoric man. Dr. Smith conducted field research in the Fort Randall area, South Dakota, during the summer.

Nino Lo Bello, who has been completing his doctoral requirements at New York University, has joined the department as instructor in sociology.

Three instructors have left to continue studies for the advanced degree—George Floro, who has gone to the University of Chicago, and Orry Walz and Robert Witt, who are now at the University of Wisconsin.

During the past summer E. Jackson Baur, associate professor, was on the staff of Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, Missouri. He designed and prepared a probability sample of the city which will be used in research for nonprofit welfare, health, and educational agencies.

University of Michigan.—Robert C. Angell has returned to the active chairmanship of the department of sociology after a year of service as director of the UNESCO Tensions Project and acting director of the Social Science Division of UNESCO.

Peter Ostafin has returned to his teaching after a sabbatical leave, during which he studied the educational system of several English universities.

Lillian Cohen and Gerhard Lenski have been added to the staff of the department as instructors.

Ian Ross, of the Research Center for Group Dynamics, is teaching courses in statistics in the department.

Mississippi State College.—Last year, for the first time, graduate work in sociology was offered.

University of Missouri.—Warren A. Peterson, who served as instructor in the department last year, has accepted a position on the staff of Community Surveys, Inc., a research organization in Kansas City, Missouri. At the present time he is directing a survey of the aged in the community.

Maynard Pappenfort, who was a graduate student in sociology at the university last year, has been added to the staff.

Robert Habenstein, formerly of the University of Chicago, has been appointed instructor in the department. He will teach courses in social theory and the family.

Marvin P. Riley, who for the last three years has been an instructor in the department, has accepted a position on the staff of South Dakota State College.

June Collins has been appointed assistant professor of anthropology. She will begin her teaching duties the second semester, handling courses in social anthropology. For the last year Dr. Collins has participated in the integrated program being worked out by the departments of sociology, anthropology, and psychology at Northwestern University.

Carl Chapman, instructor in anthropology and director of archeological research, has taken a leave of absence to attend the University of Michigan, where he will complete the work toward the doctorate. His classes will be taught by Robert Spier, instructor in anthropology.

Toimi Kyllonen has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor. Last sum-

mer he was the recipient of a research professorship awarded by the university.

Lawrence Hepple has been promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of rural sociology.

Herbert F. Lionberger, assistant professor of rural sociology, was granted the Ph.D. degree in June. He is now engaged in an intensive study of barriers to the diffusion of farm and home information. Milton Coughenour is assisting with the project, giving special attention to social stratification.

Ivan F. Nye, formerly of Ohio State University, has joined the staff as assistant professor of rural sociology. He will devote full time to research concerning the contribution of formal training to the success of county extension agents.

Two recent publications of the department of rural sociology are *Social Changes in Shelby County, Missouri*, by Lawrence Hepple and Margaret L. Bright, and *Rural Social Organization in Dent County, Missouri*, by Ronald B. Almack and Lawrence M. Hepple.

University of New Hampshire.—Raymond E. Bassett, chairman of the department, has been re-elected chairman of the social science division in the College of Liberal Arts.

Herbert J. Moss has been promoted to associate professor of sociology. In addition to his duties as secretary of the university, he will continue to give his course in the history of sociological thought.

A. Melville Nielson has joined the staff as assistant professor of sociology.

University of North Carolina.—A special graduate study program in research methodology and statistics for sociologists was inaugurated this fall at the University of North Carolina by the department of sociology and anthropology in co-operation with the Institute of Statistics and the Institute for Research in Social Science, through the jointly sponsored Social Science Statistical Laboratory. The joint staff includes fourteen professors and two associate professors in the department of sociology and anthropology; three professors and two associate and assistant professors in the department of mathematical statistics; five professors and five associate and assistant professors in the department of experimental statistics.

The staff in the department of sociology and anthropology includes: Gordon W. Blackwell, Harvard; Lee M. Brooks, North Carolina; Leo P. Crespi, Princeton; Nicholas J. Demerath, Harvard; John P. Gillin, Harvard; Reuben Hill, Wisconsin; S. H. Hobbs, Jr., Wisconsin; Katharine Jocher, North Carolina; Guy B. Johnson, North Carolina; Harold D. Meyer, Georgia; E. William Noland, Cornell; Howard W. Odum, Clark and Columbia; Wiley B. Sanders, Chicago; Rupert B. Vance, North Carolina, together with Harriet L. Herring, Radcliffe; Daniel O. Price, North Carolina; and George Simpson, North Carolina. From the department of mathematical statistics there are Harold Hotelling, Princeton; Raj Chandra Rose, Calcutta; and Samarendra Nath Roy, Calcutta, together with associate professors George E. Nicholson, Jr., North Carolina, and Herbert Ellis Robbins, Harvard. From the department of experimental statistics there are Richard Loree Anderson, Iowa State College; Ralph Ernest Comstock, Minnesota; Gertrude M. Cox, Iowa State College; Henry Lawrence Lucas, Cornell; and Jackson Ashcraft Rigney, Iowa State College, together with Paul Peach, Columbia, and Harold Frank Robinson, Nebraska.

Harold Hotelling is head of the department of mathematical statistics; J. A. Rigney is head of the department of experimental statistics; Howard W. Odum is head of the department of sociology and anthropology, with Lee M. Brooks as administrative chairman; Gordon W. Blackwell is director of the Institute for Research in Social Science; Gertrude M. Cox is director of the Institute of Statistics. Daniel O. Price is director and G. E. Nicholson, Jr., is associate director of the Social Science Statistical Laboratory.

Ohio State University.—Raymond F. Sletto has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology. He succeeds Professor Perry P. Denune, who has been a member of the teaching staff since 1921 and chairman since 1940. Dr. Denune plans to retire from his teaching duties also at the end of the current academic year.

Merton D. Oyler has been appointed to a professorship in the department and to the directorship of the marriage counseling clinic affiliated with it. He came here from a research project at the University of Virginia done in co-operation with the Virginia Department of Highways and the U.S. Bureau of Public Roads.

Psychological Book Previews is a new quarterly, starting publication in January, 1951. It is intended to help psychologists keep up to date on new books in psychology and selected new books in anthropology, education, neurology, psychiatry, sociology, and statistics. Each issue will have forty to fifty descriptive summaries of books, written by the authors before their books appear. Each issue will also contain a bibliography of over three hundred critical book reviews. This journal will be edited by John W. French. The subscription price is $4.50 per year. Address: 31 Markham Road, Princeton, New Jersey.

Purdue University.—Applications for graduate assistantships in sociology for the school year 1951–52 will be received up to March 1, 1951. Stipends range from $60.00 to $120.00 per month, depending upon the service required. Training is provided in such fields as sociological theory, research methods, industrial sociology, rural sociology, family sociology, minority groups, and criminology.

Seton Hall University.—Summer school for American students is being planned to be held at Port au Prince, Haiti. The object of it is to give students an opportunity to gain facility in the French language in the only French-speaking republic in the new world. Unique opportunities for social research also will be offered in Haiti, which is the only country in the world where all major international organizations are at work. The total cost will not exceed $500.00 per head, including return journey by air New York–Port au Prince, full board and lodging, tuition, and examinations under official supervision.

For information, apply to J. Comhaire, assistant professor of social studies, or F. M. Hammond, professor and head of the department of philosophy.

Temple University.—A Group Dynamics Center has been established with the aid of a grant from the Samuel S. Fels Fund. The purpose of the center is to carry on and broaden the "open-mindedness study" initiated by the Philadelphia public schools several years ago, which was conceived and financed by the late Samuel S. Fels. The program is founded on the assumption that the central problem of teaching "open-mindedness" is that of teaching people to make decisions based upon data. Since most such decisions necessarily involve relations with other people, the program of the Group Dynamics Center includes both the intellectual and the interpersonal aspects of problem-solving. The center is offering four services: (1) instruction designed for teachers and guidance personnel of the elementary and secondary schools, colleges, adult education centers, and nonschool education agencies; (2) field services; (3) diagnostic and remedial services; (4) research.

The University of Wisconsin.—New members of the department of sociology and anthropology are Otis Duncan, who is offering courses on statistics and population; Milton Barnett, on the general area of cultural anthropology and social psychology; A. B. Harter, on the family and methodology; and R. Morris, on social organization.

During the academic year 1949–50 fourteen Master's degrees and nine doctorates were granted. Although enrolment for the university has dropped two thousand since last year, there has been no observable drop

from previous high enrolments in departmental offerings.

Thomas C. McCormick, chairman of the department, has just published *Sociology: An Introduction to the Study of Social Relations* (Ronald Press).

Howard Becker has been appointed consulting American editor of the *Cologne Journal of Sociology*, as well as a visiting professor under the Fulbright Act to the University of Birmingham to conduct a training seminar on the social structure of Cotswald villages. Mrs. Becker will carry on a study of Hessian villages.

Howells' *Mankind So Far* has been published in Japanese. This summer color photograph material of human fossils available in England and France was collected under a Viking Fund grant.

In October at Washington, George W. Hill reported to the President's Commission on Migratory Labor on the social log in continuing beet-sugar production in the United States.

Hans Gerth, in collaboration with Martindale, of the University of Minnesota, published *Max Weber: The Hindu Caste System*. Professor Gerth and C. Wright Mills are collaborating on "Character and Social Structure," to be published by Harcourt, Brace. Karl Mannheim's *Freedom, Power, and Democratic Planning* (Oxford, 1950) will have an Introduction by Professor Gerth, as will Max Weber's *The Religion of China* (Free Press, 1951).

J. H. Kolb is continuing research on the interdependence in town and country relations in rural society. He will be visiting professor at St. Olaf College, Minnesota.

Barton's *Rural Artists of Wisconsin* has been published by the University of Wisconsin Press. Professor Barton is continuing his research on a survey of public libraries in Wisconsin.

A monograph on *Trends in Rural Organizations in Wisconsin* has been published by Wileden. Professor Wiledon has been appointed chairman of the North Central Area Town and Country Committee of the YMCA.

Gard and Drummond's *The Cardiff Giant* (Cornell University Press) has just been published. The first-named author is also the author of *The Theatre in Adult Education*.

The *American Journal of Sociology* is anxious to hear from persons who can read foreign languages and who would like to review foreign books in sociology. In replying, please state your principal field of interest.

BOOK REVIEWS

The American Mind: An Interpretation of American Thought and Character since the 1880's. By HENRY STEELE COMMAGER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. xii+476. $5.00.

Discussion concerning the difference and the similarity and interdependence, if any, between sociology and history began about as soon as a few interested persons started to offer to the reading public writings which they designated as "sociology" or to argue for the need of such a discipline. That discussion has continued ever since, though for the most part in no very heated fashion; and it has not yet reached any generally accepted conclusions. To what extent the sociologist can make use of the *product* of the historian as *material* or *data* for sociological inquiry is a question to which there is no commonly accepted answer; indeed, there does not seem to be much agreement among sociologists that it is part of their proper business to study and attempt some explanation of long-run social changes as recorded by the historian. Professional historians, on the other hand, have generally contended, or have taken for granted, that it is a part of their proper business to "interpret" the historical events which they seek to record accurately and reliably; but just what the nature, the methods, or the grounds of their interpretation of history ought to be has not been much emphasized in their writings.

In this state of affairs it is somewhat puzzling to a reviewer to know just what he ought to write for a presumably sociological clientele about a fairly typical piece of historical writing. Commager, in *The American Mind*, has produced an excellent and readable book—at least this reviewer found it eminently readable—in the interpretation-of-history tradition. On the other hand, he has consistently avoided in his interpretation anything in the nature of "comparative history"; and there is scarcely a hint or suggestion in this book that any generalizations might be attempted concerning the types of historical events and situations here appreciatively recorded. It is just straight "history," of the more "interpretive" sort, and as such I think it is excellent.

It is, of course, a somewhat specialized kind of history which is set forth in this book—intellectual history or the history of ideas; and, in so far as sociologists are and have been interested in the history and the historical contexts of their own subject, they will value what Commager has to say here. He has chapters—and excellent ones—on John Fiske and William James, on Lester F. Ward and Thorstein Veblen; in fact, the greater part of this volume is devoted to an interpretation and appreciation of the history of the social studies in this country. I for one found it quite provocative to read what a professional historian of Commager's reputation and ability had to say about these things. I think many of my colleagues in the sociological fraternity will find this volume interesting and enjoyable, and many of them will want to recommend it to their students.

FLOYD N. HOUSE
University of Virginia

Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure. By W. LLOYD WARNER, MARCHIA MEEKER, and KENNETH ELLS. Chicago: Science Research Associates, Inc., 1949. Pp. xiii+274. $4.25.

The authors claim several purposes for this volume. The broadest of these seems to be "to provide a corrective instrument which will permit men and women better to evaluate their social situations and thereby better to adapt themselves to social reality and fit their dreams and aspirations to what is possible." Its narrowest is to act as "a manual of procedure for the measurement of social status. . . . Its fundamental functions are to tell the reader (1) how to identify any class level and (2) how to find the class level of any individual." The book is also addressed "to those who deal with more practical matters . . . men who make, sell, and advertise merchandise. This book will greatly aid them in measuring and understanding the human beings who make up their markets."

Thirteen of the fifteen chapters are concerned with specific instructions for determining class

structure of communities and the class levels of individuals. The material is presented simply and directly. The first chapter is a thirty-page discussion of "What Social Class Is in America." It lacks, however, an explicit statement of the authors' conception of social class. In the mid-section of the book, social class is either a measure of the evaluation of the participation of the person or an index of specified characteristics, i.e., occupation, source of income, type of house, and area of residence. In other places it is conceived variously as a type of motivation (p. 6), a social force (p. 7), an institutional structure (p. 9), a rank order (p. 11), a conflict group (p. 17), a total system of statuses (p. 21), and a symbol of acceptability (p. 23).

The main argument of the book seems to fall into two parts. In any settled American community the population is stratified into five or six recognized groupings. Within each grouping the members accept one another as equals and participate in distinctive cliques and associations; a considerable number of their members strive to be identified with the class above; in general, each grouping repels the efforts of those below to seek identification with it. The system is sufficiently stable that members of the population recognize its workings; moreover, they can identify their own places and the places of acquaintances in the system. An outsider can proceed to describe the system either by eliciting from informants the positions of members or by inferring them from the participation of members in cliques and associational behavior. By working outward from a core of informants, the class structure can be delineated.

The second part of the argument seems to be as follows: The members of the five or six classes vary definitively in terms of their occupations, sources of income, types of homes, and areas of residence. These attributes of the members are distributed in distinctive clusters. On analysis, these clusters are found to be highly correlated with the class position of members. Hence a valid approximation to the class position of the population can be secured quickly and economically by assessing four objective characteristics of a person. These can be evaluated and combined into an index, which can then be directly translated into a measure of social class.

Though these procedures are relatively easy to carry out, it is not so easy to specify what they reveal. As indicated earlier, the concept of "class" is somewhat vague and various. Nor is it clear how the "index of status characteristics" is related to the "evaluation of participation." On page 40 the authors state that "it is not the house, or the job, or the income, or the neighborhood that is being measured so much as the evaluations that are in the back of all our heads." Two pages later they state that "the actual factors being directly measured by the two indices are quite different." But, in the same paragraph, "the index of status characteristics rates certain socioeconomic characteristics which are in part themselves determined by the level of social participation." By the tone of the analysis, the authors conceive the items as different entities and proceed to carry out partial and multiple correlations. Because much of the analysis hinges on the extremely high correlations between these two sets of data, an assessment is in order. The coefficients are of a very high order, implying that one can confidently predict participation (and therefore class position) from the status characteristics. One is struck by the fact that, in their final selection of socio-economic characteristics, none represents a continuous series in the way in which income or years at school or rent would constitute such a series. Each, on the contrary, displays distressing discontinuities. Occupations are notoriously hard to place on any one-dimensional scale. The authors circumvent this by rating occupations in terms of skill and the prestige values accorded them in the community. One is led to suspect that this procedure for classifying occupations might of itself guarantee a high coefficient when correlating occupational status with the evaluation of participation. Interestingly enough, occupation is the item which yields the highest correlation of any of the four characteristics. Moreover, in the final index it is given the highest weighting of any item.

The same solution is offered for the delineation of residential areas. "Average" homes are inhabited by respectable people. Areas above average are distinguished in terms of their social reputation. It seems here that the authors have defined their units in terms of the units with which they are to be correlated. This is particuarly the case where the residential areas are defined by noting the distribution of persons whose class position has been tentatively specified. The argument is of a circular nature, and the high-order correlations (.972) may be the

product of the procedures rather than of the data.

Something of the same approach is to be noted in the sampling procedure used. When the authors try to determine class by the self- and other-evaluations of the members of the society, a dilemma develops—what to do when members differ in their evaluations of the class position of a specified person. For purposes of analysis the authors discard such cases. Thus there are two stages to their sampling: initially they permit accidentally located informants to designate the sample used, and, second, they discard all cases on which there is not agreement. One would like to know just how far this sampling procedure contributes to the results set forth.

The problems of sampling here indicate one of the main areas of difficulty encountered in studying class. The authors seem to assume that the total population is involved in a common class order and that its members rank one another on a common scale of stratification. This seems implied in their statement: "Every aspect of American thought and action is powerfully influenced by social class" (p. 32). This seems an article of faith rather than a verified generalization. The fact that they have to discard cases seems to indicate that there are several scales of stratification employed in the area studied.

One wonders how this type of analysis would apply to a less specialized community. The one dealt with has many of the earmarks of a company town. One-third of all the gainfully employed work in one factory. In such a case three very special considerations are fulfilled: (1) the range of occupations is narrow; (2) occupations are objects of common understanding in the community; and (3) one's occupational designation and institutional position overlap and mutually reinforce each other. Therefore, the proportion of families who are involved in a common order is exceptionally high. But the order may be better described as an institutional order than as a class order.

As a manual of procedure the volume has much to commend it. However, it falls far short of the expectations raised by the dust jacket, which proclaims it "a dynamic study of a system that powerfully influences the lives of all Americans."

OSWALD HALL

McGill University

An Introduction to Social Anthropology. By RALPH PIDDINGTON. Edinburgh and London: Oliver & Boyd, 1950. Pp. xxvi+442. 25*s*.

Social Anthropology: The Science of Human Society and Culture. By J. S. SLOTKIN. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. xviii+604. $4.75.

The concurrent publication of the above two textbooks in social anthropology offers an example of contrast in approaching a common and well-identified subject. Piddington's book is firmly rooted in an established methodology which grew out of field work in preliterate communities, and his generalizations are held within the perspective of field observation. Slotkin's study has the characteristics of a system of a considerable radius. Piddington furnishes the uninitiated student with an elementary introduction to the study of simple cultures, while Slotkin's book is of an encyclopedic design, which transcends—one might say "wholesomely ignores"—the boundary lines of orthodox anthropology.

Piddington's book is, both by intent and by accomplishment, a synthesis of the late Malinowski's theory of culture and methodology of field work, although the reader who is familiar with Malinowski's work cannot fail to notice Piddington's own contribution to the subject. The main, analytical portions of the publication are prefaced by a brief ethnographic survey of native Africa, America, Asia, and Oceania. The subsequent sections deal with kinship, groupings, political organization, and law. A chapter on "The Principles of Cultural Analysis" elaborates on Malinowski's theory of needs. The chapter on land tenure, likewise based on Malinowski's classical analysis in his *Coral Gardens,* offers the prospective field worker a pragmatic introduction to the interpretation of verbal claims to land. Three additional chapters on "Religion and Magic," on "Food and Wealth," and on modern myths concerning primitive culture round out this lucid and practical introduction. A second volume in preparation will deal with material culture, geographic environment, culture contacts, the life-cycle, and the application of anthropological techniques to the study of modern communities. The book offers a welcome illustration of the mutual dependence of field work and a crystallized methodology. The solid grounding of the book in both should recommend this outline to students, particularly to future field workers.

The unquestionable merits of Slotkin's book lie in an entirely different field. This publication cannot be called an elementary textbook, although its colloquial style may recommend it for such use. This study is, in several respects, an original endeavor to synthesize anthropological and sociological theory around a few pivotal concepts. The two key categories on which major portions of Slotkin's deductions rest are "environment" and "adjustment." To live, an organism must continually adjust to its environment. Adjustment entails action the necessity for which arises from the—not further elucidated—disequilibrium within the organism. Its survival depends on its continuing ability to maintain that equilibrium and to adjust. Now adjustment may be achieved in four different ways. The environment may be modified to suit the needs of the organism—the "naturalistic approach." Adjustment may be attained through the use of symbols of immaterial powers—the "supernaturalistic" method; or the equilibrium may be restored "by finding situations to which one's responses are themselves satisfying"—this solution takes place in the realm of "estheticism." Finally, the urge to act may be relaxed by way of introversion, and the equilibrium may be reached within the confines of individual experience when it is harmonized with supreme values. "Mysticism" is the designation of this method of adjustment. Each of these four approaches has its theoretical and practical applications. The theoretical aspects are concerned with the nature of the situation which demands adjustment, while the practical aspects involve the technique of the particular action which may terminate the disequilibrium. Thus naturalism divides itself into science and technology; supernaturalism is embodied in dogma and ritual; aestheticism becomes aesthetics as a form of contemplation, while play and art are the practical manifestations of the same approach; and, finally, the passive state of "rapture" represents the cognitive aspect of mysticism, while its practice is induced by such techniques as concentration, meditation, and so forth. Through further differentiation of these eight categories the author develops an elaborate inventory of "customs," a full account of which would exceed the scope of this review. The subjects of economy, communication, social relations, politics, and social control are treated in a somewhat similar fashion, although the corresponding chapters are less closely reasoned and their conceptual scheme does not have the architecture of the first ten chapters.

The introduction of each item of this elaborate nomenclature is followed by illustrative material abstracted from the literature on contemporary civilization, on primitive society, and on recorded history. The function of these excerpts varies. In most cases they help to pictorialize a point argued in the preceding paragraphs; in some instances the quotations further elaborate on a distinction previously made, while occasionally they furnish the situational context of a definition. These illustrations almost always make excellent reading, and they help to convey the point which the author intends to fix in the reader's mind.

The high degree of conceptual integration which is often attained in this book raises the question of whether the architectonic manner of developing concepts is a contribution to knowledge over and above the necessary elucidation and empirical test of each concept as a separate entity. It is to be expected that some historians and anthropologists will question the merit of a conceptual "system" as a tool of research. One may anticipate some doubt about what may appear as the derivation of sociological categories from one another rather than from open-minded field inquiry.

The present writer can think of two suggestive reasons for an attempt to systematize working categories in the manner essayed in this publication. Both reasons are inherent in the scientific effort to construe a field of inquiry as a continuum of variable functions. To theorize is to regress from a series of unstructured observations to a definable pattern of variables. The process entails a shift from the observer's original frame of reference, involving an indefinite number of variables, to a progressively narrowed framework and a specified number of defined variables. The procedure is by no means new to the sociologist, but attempts to co-ordinate field observation and theory have not been so frequent and successful in anthropology and sociology as they have in some of the older sciences. This is quite natural in a discipline which is just about to emerge from its "natural history" phase of inquiry. Slotkin's attempt to bring field observation and theory together merits distinct notice. The "systematic" character of his inventory is rooted, first, in the aim of expressing familiar anthropological observations in terms of an attainable minimum of definable categories and, second, in the at-

tempt to designate the particular level of cultural integration of which each category is a derivative. Thus ritual is identified as a derivative of the need to act even after the means of technological control are exhausted, while prayer—a variant of ritual—in its turn is the symbolic extension of the customary modes of influencing people to ritualistic behavior, and so forth. That a substantial portion of the conceptual scheme of this book is developed from a few key categories need not make the attempt suspect to the field worker. For what he will find in this book is not a speculative system of abstractions deduced from one another in the manner of an accordion file but, for the most part, a set of biosocial functions presented in the order in which they enter subsequent levels of cultural integration. A conceptual order of that character is not alien to the anthropologist, for the analysis of culture on consecutive levels of integration is well grounded in the methodology of this field. Sumner's "folkways," "mores," and "strain of consistency" and Malinowski's "primary," "derived," and "integrative" needs represent just such successive levels of cultural integration.

It is unfortunate that the terms "adjustment" and "environment," so basic to the whole study, are used in a raw and dichotomous form. Had the author reinterpreted the meaning which they assume as they emerge from the biological level to the sociological, he might have escaped a misleading dualism which short-circuits some of his generalizations. Had these concepts undergone the necessary differentiation, the four "approaches to the environment," namely, naturalism, supernaturalism, aestheticism, and mysticism need not have been presented as four independent and unrelated variables of human adjustment. After all, the environment toward which the mystic is oriented is not the same as that which the technician masters or that to which the artist relates himself. Neither does the category "adjustment" form a common and identical denominator of the four "approaches to the environment." These terms need considerable modification if they are to be re-employed on the upper levels of Slotkin's conceptual structure.

Turning to trivia, the book might have gained, had it maintained the degree of cogency with which the material of the first three hundred and some pages is developed. Some passages resemble an annotated catalogue of terms which—the subsequent, well-chosen excerpts notwithstanding—do not materially advance the argument. Occasionally the encyclopedic style of presentation is carried well beyond the point of diminishing returns. Sometimes the book seems to recapture the punctilious atmosphere of an eighteenth-century encyclopedia; as when the author digresses to introduce and illustrate such italicized distinctions as rich and poor, qualitative and quantitative data, observation—skilled, unskilled, direct, and indirect—and raw materials versus artificial materials; or when an introductory paragraph and a series of excerpts are devoted to the prudence of making savings in order to adjust.

Such shortcomings will, however, not blind the careful reader of this book to its distinct merits. This reviewer considers this publication a step toward the consolidation of anthropology and sociology as a science. While one may question some of the generalizations advanced in this work, the issues which they raise lie not in the blind alleys of sociological casuistry but along a royal highway which, one may hope, will bear heavy traffic.

ERNEST MANHEIM
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Experiments on Mass Communication. ("Studies in Social Psychology in World War II," Vol. III.) By CARL I. HOVLAND, ARTHUR A. LUMSDAINE, and FRED D. SHEFFIELD. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949. Pp. x+345. $5.00.

Experiments on Mass Communication is the third of the "Studies in Social Psychology in World War II" reported by former members of the Research Branch, Information and Education Division, of the War Department. This volume deals primarily with films as a means of communication, although some studies of other media are included.

The authors, Carl I. Hovland, Arthur A. Lumsdaine, and Fred D. Sheffield, describe their work in the War Department and its relation to the present volume as follows:

> The studies had an immediate practical purpose and did not constitute a systematic research program. The present volume is, therefore, essentially a report on those by-products of the applied research that are thought to be of scientific interest. In preparing the report, an attempt has been made to give some systematization to the results and to present a rationale of the general field of research on mass educational media [p. 3].

Following this introductory statement, Hovland and his associates present a general statement of how the effect of films should be studied (chap. i) and then go on to present their findings, indicate their techniques and the limitations of such techniques, and finally suggest hypotheses which may fruitfully be explored in further studies.

Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield have divided their report into three parts. The first section presents what the authors call "Film Evaluation Studies," the second, "Studies Employing Controlled Variation." The third section of the volume serves as a technical appendix. The film-evaluation studies include an analysis of the effectiveness of Army orientation films in improving knowledge and changing opinions, a detailed consideration of soldiers' evaluations of orientation and training films, and a report of three studies of alternative means of instruction with communication media. The controlled-variation studies deal with the influences which the passage of time may have on the effectiveness of orientation films, the effect on opinions of variations of program content, and an evaluation of differing techniques in the employment of films as a teaching device. The appendix reports on some of the measurement problems which confronted the film analysts and which the authors feel may have a more than specific interest.

The authors have so integrated their materials that findings, techniques, and analyses are functionally related. It is difficult, therefore, adequately to state their findings, apart from the general context of the volume. A few of those findings, however, which have general application will be mentioned here.

The authors point out that the orientation films, which were primarily designed to increase men's motivations to serve as soldiers, apparently increased the men's factual knowledge, changed some opinions related to that knowledge, but had no effect (as measured by test questions) on motivation (pp. 64–65, 256). Further, the increase in information reported correlated only slightly with changes in opinion (p. 256).

A finding of special interest to those using films as a teaching device is the indication of the authors that the magnitude of opinion changes increased rather than decreased with the passage of time (p. 274). Further, they point out that films used for teaching should be as specific as possible, since the audience members may not make application of general information to concrete situations (p. 129). In addition, the authors introduce some evidence to indicate that heightened motivation increases learning capacity (p. 146).

Students of propaganda will probably be most interested in the finding that, contrary to some authorities, even men who are initially opposed to an opinion are influenced to accept propaganda favorable to that opinion (pp. 221, 269).

Interesting as the specific findings are, they do not constitute the major contribution of *Experiments on Mass Communication*. The data used in the reported studies were gathered for practical purposes, and the findings are limited in applicability to the specific study situations. Further, *Experiments on Mass Communication* makes no great contribution to techniques of research. The techniques used were those already developed for public opinion and audience surveys, which had been adapted by the Research Branch for its studies of soldiers.

What, then, is the chief contribution of this volume? As the reviewer sees it, the chief merits of *Experiments on Mass Communication* are, first, the conceptual framework for communication research which the authors offer and, second, their critical evaluation of the techniques used and findings secured in the specific studies.

Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield make it clear that the theoretical framework given in this volume was derived in part from their War Department studies and, in some measure, was used to give direction to these studies. Unfortunately, because of practical difficulties and the utilitarian nature of the War Department research, many projects suggested by their theories could not be executed. Their conceptual framework, however, is available for future research in the field of mass communications.

The authors' treatment of their techniques and methods indicates the extent to which their findings may be reliable and discusses the limitations of the methods which they used. This discussion is clear and provocative. It enables the reader better to evaluate the results of the researches reported and provides guidance to future workers in the field.

The thoroughness of the authors' critical evaluations enables them to pose a number of important questions, extraneous perhaps to their main discussion but pertinent to the War Department's opinion-attitude research in gen-

eral.[1] For example, Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield discuss the relation between opinions and attitudes as follows:

> Presumably opinions reflect a person's outlook on a more general topic with which a particular opinion item is concerned. If he has little specific, relevant information his opinion is likely to be determined by his general outlook and can be used as an index of his bias on the more general topic. As a consequence, if a series of specific questions on the same general topic are asked, on each of which he has no very well-informed opinion, he would be expected to reveal his bias by a consistent trend in the nature of his answers; this is presumably what is sought in attitude scales. Under these circumstances if one presents relevant arguments, covering specifically the topics of the opinion items used in measuring a communication's effects, the specific opinions may be altered without basically altering the outlook or "attitude" toward the more general subject.
>
> Thus, opinions may be influenced by attitudes. . . . But a change in specific opinions does not necessarily lead to any change in the presumed attitude that the opinion item was designed to measure. And it may be that concentration of specific coverage, even though it produces large changes in opinion, leaves attitudes untouched [pp. 70–71].

This astute analysis, raising questions in connection with the measurement of film effects, is equally applicable to certain of the attitude studies reported in Volumes I and II of "Studies in Social Psychology."

In general, Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield are so circumspect in their use of language and so thorough in their presentation that it is to be regretted that their work contains examples of undefined terminology and poorly formulated concepts. The noun "scale" and its derivative verb and adjectives, for example, are used extensively in a special meaning. Items "'scale' with each other" or do not "scale" (see, e.g., p. 61), "scale items" are discussed, and "scale theory" is mentioned, as though all readers were familiar with the "accepted" meaning of this term. Since many readers will not be so well acquainted with the work of the Research Branch as the authors or with the reports of the Guttman scale theory which have appeared in the sociological and psychological literature, some definition of this particular usage might well have been included in this volume.

Similarly, the concept of "variable" is never clearly defined by the writers. In their introduction they speak of film studies employing three types of variables—"population," "film," and "external" (pp. 9–10). Their usage of the term "variable," however, lacks specific designation. For example, the authors say:

> Thus motivation, as a variable in learning, will be a *population* variable in that some audience members will possess more motivation to learn than others; it may be a *film* variable if techniques to motivate the audience are incorporated into a film; or it may be an *external* variable if a supplemental technique of motivation—such as announcing in advance that a quiz on the film will be given—is used in conjunction with showing a film [p. 10].

A "variable," if the concept is to have meaning, implies some item which varies either quantitatively or qualitatively along a fixed axis of content. To have scientific value, a "variable" must be defined in terms of specific content and within specific limits. This Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield do only rarely. The resulting confusion and the undependable reference of the concept are unfortunate in a work as carefully written as *Experiments on Mass Communication.*

The specific criticisms given here are not intended to detract from the merits of *Experiments on Mass Communication.* The major contribution of this volume is not so much the findings reported as the manner in which the report is made. The findings are limited by the nature of the material, gathered for immediate practical purposes; the methods, techniques, and thoughtful critical evaluations by the authors have general interest and application.

ETHEL SHANAS

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[1] A number of suggestive comments are made by the authors which warrant further consideration. For example, there is a discussion of the relation of interest to the effects of a film, with the observation of "an extreme example" when ". . . typically a significant number of the soldier trainee audience would sleep through an entire session of training films" (p. 95). There are some indications of the limitations of the use of the program analyzer, the authors reporting ". . . the tendency for the subjects to become so engrossed in the film when it was particularly interesting that they forgot about their push buttons" (p. 106).

The Culture of Industrial Man. By PAUL MEADOWS. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1950. Pp. 216. $3.75.

Unlike most of the published products of persons loosely labeled "industrial sociologists," this short book is very little concerned with the

startling fact that people in continuous face-to-face contact in the factories form informal groups. Meadows is concerned with the nature of industrial society. In company with a number of other recent works, and notably Peter F. Drucker's *The New Society*, this book deals with some common and intrinsic features of industrialism rather than liberal capitalism, although the latter is also discussed as a variation on the theme.

Meadows says in his Foreword that the book is written "in the contemplative spirit and mood of social philosophy" (p. 8). This statement, together with the rather explicit value-focus on human personality in the industrial society, rather disarms the critic who seeks a thorough scientific analysis of conditions, relations, events, and processes. The author discusses the "essential features" of industrialism, the place of the worker in the system, sources of industrial tensions, mass communication, population policies, urban problems, and the crisis of political liberalism and offers some suggestions for solution by means of decentralization. Many of these subjects are dropped, or a part of the analysis is cut short, just when the question gets interesting in terms of basic sociological dissection and derivation of principles. Were it not for the author's explicit statement that the arena of discussion is not primarily that of sociological analysis, the critic might be justified in feeling that the author had found good subjects and partially spoiled them by the use of dull or inappropriate tools.

One or two examples of the limited character of the exposition must suffice here. The author correctly draws from the establishment of collective bargaining and joint determination the inference that these give rise to a kind of industrial jurisprudence in which workers' interests are represented. He does not note the limits on management-union co-operation if the union is to retain its central function of protest and leverage on the system. With respect to the pervasive problem of combining technical efficiency and maximum production with social organization and individual motivation, the author commonly condemns industrial organization on the basis of personality values or suggests organizational tinkering, such as decentralization. He overlooks the most fundamental sociological principle in this connection, namely, that it is impossible for efficient and maximum production to be the sole or primary function of any social order if it is to survive.

The book is written in a style that intermixes a considerable use of technical terms with epigrammatic summaries. Most of the chapters were originally published as essays, and that circumstance undoubtedly contributes to the impression that each subject has been cut to a rather exact length and that the chapters could be read in almost any order without damage to the organization. It does not follow that they should not be read at all; on the contrary, the book is recommended as a series of forays into largely unexplored territory.

WILBERT E. MOORE

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Good Will and Ill Will: A Study of Moral Judgments. By FRANK CHAPMAN SHARP. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xi+248. $5.00.

To those who are familiar with Sharp's earlier book, *Ethics*, this volume will bring no surprises. The analysis of right is essentially the same as that contained in the previous volume. Indeed, many paragraphs are quoted verbatim from the *Ethics*. Other parts of the book review data and conclusions published as a bulletin by the University of Wisconsin in 1908. Perhaps if Sharp had lived to see his manuscript through the press, he would have quoted less extensively from his earlier publications and introduced more fresh material. Nevertheless, we can be glad that this book has been published because it clarifies and elaborates a very important analysis of the meaning of right. It does not, however, restate Sharp's hedonistic theory of ultimate good, which was set forth in his *Ethics*.

One of the distinguishing marks of his books is the skilful use of empirical data gathered by written and oral questioning of students. In this respect he is a pioneer. As long ago as 1906 he had worked out a very searching technique of questioning students about their ethical attitudes. He discovered that there is often a great difference between what a person really believes and what he thinks he believes; and he found that very painstaking interviews were frequently required in order to discover this difference. Modern social scientists might make a substantial contribution by continuing this type of research. Certainly, the ethical attitudes and judgments of human beings constitute a very important subject matter; and Sharp has

proved that they are amenable to scientific study.

As Malcolm Sharp, in an Introduction to *Good Will and Ill Will*, warns the reader, the extent of his father's researches was far too limited to reveal the character and distribution of ethical opinions in American society. But it would seem to be significant that even the least sophisticated of the young men and women questioned were prone to accept utilitarian standards of right and to reject custom, mere authority, or "self-evident intuitions" as the basis of moral judgments. Sharp's data, inconclusive as they are, strongly suggest that the "common man" is more reflective and teleological in his ethical judgments than most philosophers or social scientists have supposed.

It would be a mistake to suppose that Sharp's ethical theory rests almost exclusively upon his empirical data. Actually, in main outline his interpretation of right is a rephrasing of the theories of David Hume, with some influence from Bentham and Mill. Unfortunately, in *Good Will and Ill Will*, he did not reveal the historical sources of his doctrines, but in his *Ethics* he discussed these sources. The most original part of his analysis is probably his study of malevolence and its relation to benevolence, as the psychological root of moral attitudes. Also subtle and original is his treatment of the relation between moral and aesthetic judgments (using "aesthetic" in a somewhat wide sense).

Very briefly, his interpretation of right is as follows. Conduct is right if it would be approved by an impartial and benevolent judge who would be able fully to understand the consequences to each and every person who would be affected by the choice. Judgments thus based upon an accurate and complete view of the moral situation would not be distorted by callousness toward some and favoritism toward others. They would not be determined by egoistic considerations; by group bias, such as racism; by the temporal or spatial nearness of some goods in comparison with others; by the *aesthetic* attractiveness, as distinguished from the *ethical* worth, of certain types of conduct; or by any other ethically irrelevant consideration or form of bias. Such judgments would treat identical cases identically and similar cases similarly. Moreover, they would be based upon benevolence, the desire to help, rather than upon malevolence, the desire to harm.

So far so good. Sharp has clearly defined the nature of an objective teleological ethics. But why accept such an ethics? Here I find the author's views less clear and consistent. For example, he declares that right moral judgment "has universal validity, that is to say, validity for every human being, in that it represents what he implicitly means when he applies the predicates right and wrong to conduct." If this means that every human being implicitly approves the standard of right as Sharp has formulated it—an objective teleological standard based upon benevolence—this is an exceedingly dubious statement. Indeed, Sharp's own empirical data show a very wide prevalence of the bias and malevolence which his theory would condemn. Even after being questioned very closely, many of the students whom he interviewed insisted that "bad men" should be made to suffer simply because they "deserve" it.

In another passage he admits that "utilitarianism can be saved, if at all, only by the recognition of a distinction between *Allgemeinheit* and *Allgemeingültigheit*, between actual universality of judgment and the universal validity of certain judgments; with the consequent rejection of the correctness, or validity, of other judgments." This sentence apparently means that *ethical* universality should be distinguished from *psychological* universality—that what men *ought* to approve cannot be determined by what they *do* approve. Hence no empirical study of men's ethical attitudes can provide an adequate basis for determining the ethical rightness of conduct. Ethical judgments are *elicited* by experience, but they cannot be *proved* by experience, because they involve what ought to be and not merely what is.

Does this mean that there are some unavoidable a priori factors in objective ethical judgments? Or does it mean, as the ethical subjectivists contend, that the "ought" is only an expression of our subjective attitudes and that no objective basis for ethics is valid? Or can we find some interpretation of the "ought" that would be naturalistic and a posteriori, yet not subjectivist? I sympathize with Sharp's reaction against ethical subjectivism, but I do not believe he has sufficiently dealt with the difficulties and perplexities involved in his objective teleological ethics.

A minor criticism is that the book contains no index of topics and only an incomplete index of names. This is no reflection on the author, who died when his work was still in incomplete manuscript form.

Despite these shortcomings, the volume is one of the most important discussions of right that have so far appeared in America. It will repay study by both philosophers and sociologists.

MELVIN RADER
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The Social Structure of Values. By RADHAKAMAL MUKERJEE. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1950. Pp. xx+418. 18*s*.

In recent years the problem of values has come to the forefront in the social sciences with increasing frequency. This problem has taken two forms—that of its philosophy and that of its subject matter and content. The philosophical argument raises the question of the purpose of the social scientist in value analysis—Is it merely to record and dissect existent values in a given society, or does he have the obligation of evaluating those values, of suggesting their retainment if good or of setting up new ones and of modifying the prevailing ones if bad? Ever since Rickert's *Die Grenzen der naturwissenschaftlichen Begriffsbildung* a real crisis has emerged in the philosophy of social science. Schools and camps aligning themselves with the extreme of positivism or teleology—or shades of either—have called forth a great rate of discussion—and frequently with heat—*in extremis*. Mukerjee in *The Social Structure of Values* definitely aligns himself with the teleological group, who believe that social science has an obligation to fix the good and determine the values of the society. He sees the good society as dependent on religion as the dominant and supreme value in society. Taking this datum of social life, which he obtains by tracing the predominance of religion from primitive to Western contemporary times and places, he then seeks to set up a trans-social, religious system of ideal values as the solution for our "disturbed ways." This consists of a sort of mystical orientation of the self with an all-universal group, the "Commonalty." The commonalty represents the perfection of "we-feeling," as the "acme of identification of individual consciousness with the collective consciousness." This identification comes about with "deepening of the self" marking the supremacy of universal over individual values. At this point Mukerjee explicitly invokes the agent of mysticism—which to him is real and realizable—for the effectuation and attainment of this identification. He says:

> Mysticism which is the core of religion can, indeed, properly reorient the scale of values and redefine the relationships between invisible and anonymous fellow-humans in the secondary groups by the creation of new, significant symbols and gestures of full and moving human communion and solidarity in the Great Commonalty. Man as a member of the primary groups obeyed the omnipresent, omniscient and omnipotent patriarch, magician, hero or king. His conception of the Personal God was an expansion and elevation of the Father, the Mother, the Patriarch, the Hero, the Sage, the Guardian, the Good Shepherd, the Leader of the Caravan, or the Lord. He aspired after these human values and ideals that religion provided and charged with deep emotions and intentions of the depths of life. This not only wove the pattern of social integration, but also provided the ethical development of mankind in the primary-group world. *It is a non-theistic mysticism that cannot make the principle of the neighborhood relationships and loyalties the principle of extensive large-scale organization through its comprehension of one Cosmic Life and Mind as a vast continuum embracing all men and groups, feelings and concepts, spaces and times, events and lives* [p. 240; italics are the reviewer's].

One can hardly take issue with the desirability of this ideal, utopian society, although it is conceivable that some might. The crucial problem for social science is, of course, to know how to implement the wish with the way, the rhetoric with the ritual. Alas! the good man frequently does not know—assuming that he wants to—how to obtain the good, and Mukerjee does not tell us.

In addition, many may take issue with Mukerjee in preferring and seeing much good in our urbanized, secularized, industrialized, stratified type of society. Certainly it has brought many desirable things. How important are these "goods" is, of course, a question for the axiologists—and would that they were able to tell us!

Mukerjee, in addition, identifies moral power with social intelligence. It is the means, as he sees it, of achieving an equitable status arrangement in society. It is "the only hope of the weak against the all-powerful, the solace of the vanquished against the victors, the pride of the outcasts against the elite" (p. 285).

One wonders what all this means. Is Mukerjee involving himself in a *petitio principii?* Do we know that moral power can do all that he says it can do? Is not that which he assumes to be true that which is to be proved?

The second problem of values concerning the social scientist consists of apprehending and comprehending the *data* of social phenomena

which to many constitute the core of human-social behavior, viz., values. Mukerjee considers values as the prime mover in the social universe. Values he also considers as the substantive core of sociological discipline. Given these starting points, Mukerjee then proceeds with keen insight to correlate value patterns with four ideal types of human association, ranging from crowd to interest groups to society to commonalty. The analysis he makes of the hierarchy of values and norms deserves serious attention.

Mukerjee's book appears to the reviewer to be a combination of sociological analysis and social philosophy of values, a combination of delineation and predilection. Throughout the book there runs an assault on the modern industrialized, technological, special-interest type of society and its values, with a definite preference for the familistic, sacred, relatively unchanging folk type of social relations. This preference of societal type outweighs his attempt at systematic analysis. Here and there real attempts to establish testable propositions are made. The author's treatment of status, social change, and law as social control are worthy of every sociologist's attention.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

Iowa State College

Ideological Differences and World Order: Studies in the Philosophy and Science of the World's Cultures. Edited by F. S. C. NORTHROP. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949. Pp. xi+486. $4.50.

The works of F. S. C. Northrop, professor of philosophy at Yale, probably have more significance to sociology than the writings of any other contemporary philosopher. Sociologists who are familiar with *The Meeting of East and West* (Macmillan, 1946) will remember his investigation of the interaction of the various cultures' own ideological assumptions with different ones of other cultures. In *The Logic of the Sciences and Humanities* (Macmillan, 1947) Northrop discusses in a series of essays many scientifically crucial questions. In *Ideological Differences and World Order* (1949) he undertakes to study the problems of world order by a scientific and philosophical investigation of ideological differences.

Northrop has asked twenty representatives in the fields of the sciences, the humanities, philosophy, and law to analyze the "quite different economic, political, legal, moral, religious, and artistic doctrines and cultural values of people of other cultures" (p. iii) and to suggest methods for removal of obstacles blocking "the need for world order" (p. i). Many of the essays are of interest to the sociologist, in that they deal with experimental research in the area of communication, with anthropological data, and with theoretical discussions of the relationship of ideologies to institutions.

Those of the essays that have special value for sociologists will be discussed here. In "Ideological Man in His Relation to Scientifically Known Man" Northrop contends that human beings react not only to immediate and momentary situations but also to "socially-conditioned symbols, which keep their meanings constant during the period of decades" (p. 412). Ideological factors are more than "verbal pseudo-rationalizations after the fact" (p. 407). They often tend to determine "social behavior and cultural institutions" (p. 412). Unfortunately, Northrop and many of the other authors rarely transcend these familiar generalizations. Only occasionally is reference made to specific studies which attempt to investigate the relationship between ideologies and institutions. Yet these vistas of ignorance do not prevent the writers from speaking with sophisticated optimism of "solutions."

In support of his thesis, Northrop refers to the experiments conducted by Warren S. McCulloch and Walter Pitts (1947). Their neurologically grounded theory of knowledge and communication accounts, he states,

> for the manner in which the knower distinguishes the public, indirectly verified, postulationally designated stuctures and entities of natural science from the immediately sensed ones [p. 417]. . . . Clearly, human nervous systems have the formal properties necessary to know universals and to construct deductive theories in natural science and in factual normative social science which can causally determine particular human behavior and, through that human behavior, the character of cultural institutions [p. 418].

The findings of McCulloch and Pitts await critical evaluation by sociologists and psychologists. If their validity can be established, the widely accepted theory of total relationism of Karl Mannheim in the sociology of knowledge will have to be reformulated.

In "The Concept of Meta-anthropology and Its Significance for Contemporary Anthropological Science," David Bidney advances the

thesis that the mind has an inherent capacity for self-determination and creative invention. He says:

> Thus the social scientist [i.e., who follows the Mannheimian theory of total relationism] tends to outdo the natural scientist in so far as the latter is content to postulate determinism for physical phenomena but is prepared to acknowledge the mind's freedom in constructing postulates and theories for the understanding of nature. . . . The scientific intellect is capable of reflecting upon the phenomena of nature precisely because it transcends or stands outside of, or apart from, the phenomena it comprehends, since otherwise the process of observation and verification would have no meaning [pp. 349, 350].

Clyde Kluckhohn's essay, "The Philosophy of the Navaho Indians," illustrates how action and thought derive, in the case of one small cultural group, from a "common set of assumptions" despite the absence of a written body of philosophy. Quoting Robert K. Merton, Kluckhohn concludes, in essence, that *one* dominating system of ideas determines choices between alternatives of action.

Pitirim A. Sorokin, in his chapter "Lasting and Dying Factors in the World's Cultures," emphasizes the similarity among the theories of dominating systems of ideas propounded by Toynbee, Northrop, and himself. These similarities in the conclusions of scholars who began with varying premises suggest to Sorokin that cultural supersystems actually exist and function in the sociocultural universe.

The many essays of lesser sociological significance but of broad general interest cannot be included within the space of a book review. So broad, in fact, is the definition of the problem with which the various authors struggle that the reader is repeatedly left with the feeling that an author has raised more issues than he has settled. On the other hand, the reader is richly compensated by the diversity of approaches to bridge the many different doctrines and values of people of the world's cultures.

RICHARD CONRAD

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Sociology: An Introduction to the Study of Social Relations. By THOMAS C. MCCORMICK. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. xii+570. $4.50.

With the plethora of new books in introductory sociology, one frequently wonders whether there is a need for yet another one. McCormick's new text, however, is a welcome addition. It is a text in sociology rather than a general collection of social science facts and fancies. The author in his Preface states that he is seeking to narrow "the subject matter of sociology more than is usually done, to a study of the structure and dynamics of the more important social relations" in our society.

Upon first reading this statement, one becomes rather uneasy as to the author's selection of problems based on the term "more important social relationships"—surely, a purely subjective, personal value-judgment phrase. But again McCormick has proved himself a thorough scholar of sociology. This reviewer was especially pleased by the chapters on the group. There is one on "The Pair Relation," one on "Relations within a Group," and one on "Relations between Groups." The group as a focus of sociological analysis, a major axis of inquiry in our discipline, has not received adequate treatment in many introductory texts.

The book is made up of seven parts: (1) the social conditioning of personality; (2) social organization; (3) social stratification; (4) social segregation and deviation; (5) culture; (6) social institutions; (7) social change. Each section is both lucidly and succinctly written, with pertinent case material and empirical studies to illustrate a given principle.

In addition, the book is replete with quotations from numerous writers in the field. The reviewer has found this procedure a doubtful pedagogical instrument in introductory courses. It frequently impairs smooth receptivity of the contents by the student. Nevertheless, McCormick has done a skilful job of selecting his materials and weaving them into the book. In this reviewer's opinion, this text is a job well done.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

Iowa State College

The Progressive Party in Canada. By W. L. MORTON. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1950. Pp. xiii+331. $4.75.

This book is the first of a series of studies dealing with the background and development of social credit in Alberta. It is an account of one of the many protest movements that have played a part in Canada's history—the political revolt of western farmers in the 1910's and

1920's. The movement was the last to spring from the agricultural frontiers of North America and prepared the way not only for Social Credit but also for the Cooperative Commonwealth Federation movement.

Progressivism was the political aspect of a general western revolt against eastern domination and was directed against the old national parties, whose policies, particularly concerning the tariff, seemed to disregard the prairie farmers' interests. The more moderate progressives, whom Morton calls "Manitoban," were insurgent liberals, whose aim was to force the Liberal party to resume the role of a party of reform. The more radical, chiefly from "the frontier of frontiers," the province of Alberta, repudiated party government altogether and sought to substitute "group government" based on occupational representation. The movement made itself felt in provincial politics soon after the defeat of reciprocity in 1911; and in 1921, having enlisted Ontario and even Maritime farmers because of war and postwar grievances, it won sixty-five seats in the federal house, thus becoming the second largest group. Coalition with the Liberals, the party in power, was considered but was not effected. Even the right to become the official opposition was surrendered, the Manitobans being reluctant to oppose the Liberals and the Albertans unwilling to accept the party system. The refusal to assume responsibility led to disintegration. By 1926 the progressive movement was at an end. The reformers returned to the old parties; the revolutionaries continued to exist as a sectional movement until the early thirties, when they joined with labor to form a new national party, the C.C.F., and were replaced in Alberta by Social Credit, a new sectional movement.

Sociologists have found the Canadian political situation a fruitful area for research. In particular, the rise and fall of new parties has offered opportunities for studying political behavior which cannot be matched in the United States. Morton's perspective is that of a political historian rather than a sociologist, and he has dealt more briefly than could be desired with the social background and the mechanisms of operation of the progressive movement. But his clear and scholarly study ably points up the conflict between separatist and accommodative tendencies characteristic of frontier social movements and the role of that conflict in bringing about the rapid fall of progressivism. For sociologists interested in social movements, especially movements of political reform, it will be a most useful book.

JEAN BURNET
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The United States and Japan. By EDWIN O. REISCHAUER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+357. $4.00.

This is an enlargement and rewriting of the theme of the author's former small volume, *Japan, Past and Present* (Knopf, 1947), and a part of a series on American foreign policy, edited by Sumner Welles and published by Harvard University Press. On the whole, it is ably and carefully done, but it inevitably falls victim to the limitations of brevity in its attempt to cover a civilization in one small volume. Sometimes it adheres a little too closely to the Western tradition as to what books on Japan should say.

In the historical background given in Part I, "The Problem," Japan's first repudiation of the West in the seventeenth century is explained chiefly as a desire of the Tokugawa shogunate to stabilize Japan as a means of consolidating the family's power. There was a cultural and political conflict with the West that should be more fully recognized, but the author omits this, perhaps for diplomatic reasons. He never seriously questions the superiority of Western culture and points out how Japan retarded her progress when she closed her doors.

Part II, "The Physical Setting," is an excellent digest of overpopulation in Japan, the superiority of her intensive agriculture, the necessary reliance on night soil for fertilizer, and the remarkably intelligent way in which she industrialized, resulting in too great control over business enterprise by too few powerful families. This was an outcome that could not very well be predicted by those to whom Western civilization was new.

In Part III, "The Japanese Character," the author's description is perhaps most typically American. Although written with understanding and restraint by one who has lived many years in Japan, this section falls back on devices that other writers have used to explain to Americans how the Japanese are culturally different from us. This difficult task results in a stilted impression of the Japanese people, who actually behave much more naturally than the books say they do.

Generalizations about Japanese character make one feel as uncomfortable as do similar generalizations about the Americans. It is only to the outsiders that all Japanese look and behave alike, for Japan is really a complex civilization, containing a wide diversity of class, occupational, personal, and even cultural behavior. Few generalizations even approximate all Japanese. One should not say unqualifiedly, as the author does, that "the Japanese are" this or that, but should limit himself to "some Japanese—"or "many Japanese—." It is not universal, for instance, that the "individual Japanese is a very self-conscious person" (p. 143), for there are many who grow up with relatively little self-consciousness, so interested are they in what goes on about them.

It may be largely a Western myth that in Japan "laughing at a man is such a terrible thing" (p. 145). Under some circumstances this is terrible in most societies, but in Japan one can see the urge to laugh at someone rising uncontrollably on many occasions. When this happens, the upper-class Japanese may try to laugh *with* and not *at* the object of his mirth. Failing in this, he may turn away or conceal his face while his shoulders shake with silent, heart-warming chuckles. Well-bred Americans may act this way too. Lower-class Japanese may simply stare directly while they guffaw, and in labor gangs they may banter one another all day long or pick out one man as the good-natured butt of their jokes, leaving it to him to control his temper as best he can.

"Face" is used as an explanation of behavior in chapter viii. This to the reviewer seems unfortunate. "Oriental face" should be consigned to the same limbo to which has gone the "mysterious and inscrutable East." Just as there is nothing especially mysterious about the Orient, so there is nothing particularly unique about oriental "face." The term is often used as a cover-up for cultural patterns which Westerners do not understand. Such terms as "self-respect," "social status," "etiquette," "cultural ideals," and "good breeding" produce less misunderstanding and confusion. "Face" is for the most part the product of fine family discipline in courtesy and good manners, the kind of behavior that is expected of an upper-class American family when guests are being entertained. In both Japan and the United States one does not laugh at or ridicule or belittle a guest. His opinions, no matter how absurd, should be treated with interest and respect. His courtesies should be reciprocated. In fact, obligations to all social acquaintances should be met with dignity and mutual respect. Japanese upper-class social relations are roughly as formal as American upper-class behavior, with strong deviations in the cultural forms used; and Japanese lower-class social relations tend to parallel our own. To the stranger most Japanese are as courteous as their abilities permit, but in their relations with one another they often complain of receiving rude treatment, of having to adjust to what they get, just as the Americans do. Japanese and American behavior is fundamentally similar, but "face," no matter how carefully defined, implies the opposite.

In Part IV, "The Occupation," the author presents, in general, an excellent evaluation of American occupation policy and achievements. He uses careful judgment. He points out that some of the phenomenal successes of the occupation have occurred as the result of trends that have been growing in Japan for several decades. After a political résumé he hazards no guess as to the extent to which the Japanese people will rely on democratic processes for the form of their government, although he does imply that democracy has been used to some extent for nearly a hundred years. In economics the position of Japan is at least as grim—if not more so—as that of other world areas where population has outgrown food resources and is continuing to increase.

With regard to the question of rearming Japan, Reischauer does not mention the historic role that Germany and Bismarck played in the organization of prewar Japanese militarism and the possibility that the Japanese will insist that any new armament must be placed directly under the control of parliament, where it has not been but should be.

On the whole, Reischauer's book is interesting and good.

THEODORE K. NOSS
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The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama. By LORD RAGLAN. New York: British Book Centre, Inc., 1949. Pp. ix+310. $0.95.

This book is an attempt to understand hero legends not merely as stories but as symbols functioning within a social context. While written primarily from a folklorist point of view, it is of interest to sociologists because it deals with

the question of the reason for the typicality of hero myths and legends of various cultures.

The study centers around the analysis of a number of hero myths, such as those of Oedipus, Theseus, Perseus, Sigurd, Cuchulainn, and Robin Hood, with the isolation of a standard saga-pattern very similar to that previously described by Otto Rank (to which the present study makes no reference): the hero is born of a virgin under mysterious circumstances; an attempt is made on his life; he is spirited away and reared by obscure people; he returns to perform a feat, overthrow a usurper, and claim his throne; he is driven from his kingdom and put to death; etc. The typicality of hero myths is the basis for the conclusion that the hero is unhistorical in origin and must be understood as a representation of social ritual.

There are three principal theses. First, the legends of heroes are found upon analysis to have no historical basis and are not to be understood as attempts to chronicle the past. Robin Hood, for instance, is not, as represented in fable, a real figure but a conglomerate of ancient and widely prevalent themes. In regard to sagas, such as those of the Norse, of Arthur, or of the Greeks, "there is no justification for believing that any of these heroes were real persons, or that any of the stories of their exploits had any historical foundation" (p. 177). Second, the pattern of the hero myth is determined by its role and function in ritual. Robin Hood, for instance, is the "name given to the principal actor in the May-day dramatic performances and revels" (p. 54). Or, again, the tales of Homer are an attempt "to make available for large audiences, the myths which were periodically enacted or otherwise handed on at the myriad temples and shrines of Greece" (p. 160). Raglan sees the hero myth, therefore, not as a representation of even supposed fact but of ritual. Third, the great mythical heroes are really narrative versions of gods celebrated in rituals: "The god is the hero as he appears in ritual, and the hero is the god as he appears in myth" (p. 207). Descriptions of Cuchulainn in legend, for instance, are taken to indicate that he was really not a man but "a very sacred and very monstrous idol," once carried in state around among the Irish people like a Juggernaut, to whom sacrifices were made for victory, fertility, and prosperity (pp. 99–101). Or, again, Dionysos was worshiped as a god at Athens, but in legend he takes the form of a hero. All traditional narratives, the writer implies, even folk tales and ballads, can probably be traced to ritual dramas in which they originated, the story telling in words what people have been enacting in rites. The myth is "nothing but the form of words which is associated with a rite" (p. 130). Raglan, in other words, by his identification of legend with myth and rite and hero with god, is interpreting hero legends as representations of social facts. He is denying the view that they can be understood either as stories told to amuse and edify or as attempts to commemorate historical deeds, such as Washington's crossing of the Delaware. Is it not naïve, he implies, to assume that we are interested in historical events because they actually happened?

> The idea of history is meaningless to the ritualist, who is concerned only with things that are done again and again. Myth is ritual projected back into the past, not an historical past of time, but a ritual past of eternity. It is a description of what should be done by a king (priest, chief, or magician) in order to secure and maintain the prosperity of his people, told in the form of a narrative of what a hero, that is an ideal king, etc., once did [p. 150].

Readers will, no doubt, find themselves able to agree with the first of Raglan's conclusions, that stories of heroes (even like Lincoln and Washington) tend to be unhistorical. The typicality of hero legends suggests this, although the writer does not deal with enough cases to establish satisfactorily just what the universal patterns of the hero are (only twenty-one, from a few cultures). They will have greater difficulty in following Raglan in his assertion that all hero myths and, in fact, all traditional narratives have ritual counterparts. Putting this into another context, stories such as those of Paul Bunyan or Davy Crockett would have to be traced to ritual dramas acted out in some parts of America. This would not gainsay the fact that many heroes, e.g., St. Patrick, clearly are figures of ritual. The book is devoted to the rather unprofitable study of origins: there is doubt whether it will convince readers that many hero legends do not arise historically by the process the writer denies, i.e., eulogy of real characters such as Billy the Kid; even more dubious is the hypothesis that heroes are really gods. Other studies, such as those of Farnell and Czarnowski, indicate that the hero can be a cult figure in his own right, worshiped as a man, not as a divine being.

The main value of the study is that it points to an area of needed research: the social functions of legends of different kinds as symbols.

In regard to the hero, the question is, If hero myths are shaped by factors other than those of history, what are the human and social needs to which he corresponds as a symbol? The significance of generic patterns of heroes can be only that they are connected with the fundamental sociology of groups. Raglan's answer that heroic narratives arise as rituals is not enough; we should want to know, if so: Why these rituals? What do they mean to the societies in which performed? Why do they take the particular form that they do?

ORRIN E. KLAPP

San Diego State College

The Racial Thinking of Richard Wagner. By LEON STEIN. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. xiv+252. $4.75.

This book by the director of the De Paul University School of Music is another proof that some of the most informative books on sociological topics may be written by nonsociologists. Indeed, we have a voluminous sociological library on questions of race and race relations, recording innumerable interviews with "typical" individuals, charting and tabulating the results of the interviews, and drawing far-reaching conclusions from these materials. Similarly, we have an increasing literature, chiefly by psychoanalytically minded social anthropologists, dealing with national character, particularly with German and Japanese national character, and based on the exploration of everyday traits of individuals. Yet all these studies, valuable as a number of them may be, describe merely minor symptoms. The present book on the racial thinking of Richard Wagner goes to the roots. It shows that exploring the predilections and prejudices of one single key individual may yield a richer harvest than tabulating the opinions of many, if only this individual is judiciously selected. There is little doubt that Richard Wagner is such a key individual, if it comes to the study of ethnocentrism, nationalism, and racism. In this respect his "Judaism in Music" is a basic text. It is so basic that the strength of a particular racial attitude may well be gauged in comparison with the attitude revealed in this text. On the other hand, Stein's book wisely avoids "explaining" the phenomenon Wagner in psychoanalytical terms, as if it were nothing but a case in abnormal psychology. Rather, Wagner is considered as the focus of the prevailing cultural uneasiness and, again, as the generator of the cultural decomposition which was to follow. Wagner stands out as the representative of a type and of an epoch.

Unfortunately, from the point of view of the social scientist, the task is not completed. As it seems, the book was written too quickly. Wagner's operatic texts are not nearly so fully exploited for their racialist content as they could have been. The cultural uneasiness of nineteenth-century Germany is indicated, but the question of origins is not asked. If the author had only used more extensively Paul Joachimsen's penetrating analysis of *The Historical Psychology of the German Idea of the State* (which he quotes merely from another quotation found in Kolnai) or if he had read Veblen's analysis of imperial Germany, he could have reached into deeper layers of cultural consciousness without too much additional effort. Also, a more extensive quotation from subsequent National Socialist writings and public utterances, to prove Wagner's central position in the Valhalla of racist fame, would have been in order. A chapter on the outstanding role which Richard Wagner's family played in the promotion of nationalism in general and national socialism in particular is entirely lacking. Instead, we find an uncritical summary of prevailing American notions about race and racialism and a rather superficial treatment of the complex phenomenon of German-Jewish relations in the field of cultural enterprise. Even the actual, not Wagner's imagined, problem of Judaism and orientalism in music, about which the author knows much, is treated too cavalierly. Finally, the numerous misprints of German idiomatic expressions are deplorable.

However, all this does not do away with the fact that we have in this study a stimulating contribution to the understanding of racialism, as well as to the understanding of modern Germany. It would be interesting to test the remaining strength of national socialism in Germany today on the strength of pro- and anti-Wagnerian attitudes among the younger generation of Germans.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

New York

The Meaning of Anxiety. By ROLLO MAY. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. xv+376. $4.50.

"Anxiety" is a term often used to characterize this contemporary period. It has been the theme of artistic creations and of sociological analyses. It has been a crucial concept for understanding and for treating neurotic disorders. As such, the book under discussion is quite timely. This book attempts to assess and to organize the varied reflections and researches on anxiety and to demonstrate the workings of anxiety by empirically studying fourteen individuals who experienced anxiety-creating crisis situations.

After reviewing the philosophical versions of anxiety, especially the insightful observations of Kierkegaard, who anticipated many of the findings of later thinkers and researchers, the author describes the dynamics of anxiety from biological, psychological, social psychological, and cultural points of view. He differentiates the presymbolic startle pattern and the conditioned fear of animals from human anxiety, which, he believes, is essentially a symbolic experience with a temporal dimension, namely, a capacity for future anticipation and past retrospection.

In its neurotic form, anxiety is that peculiar human helplessness which arises from inner contradictions and conflicts. It is the inadequate and defenseless response to danger which cannot be located and which frequently no longer exists in the external situation. It inevitably leads to repression and to defensive behavior. Anxiety differs from fear, which is object-bound, and it differs from normal worry, which can be consciously faced and which does not lead to repression.

If we pursue the development of the interpersonal aspects of the concept of anxiety, we find the following: Although Freud viewed anxiety as an intra-psychic conflict with a libidinal source, he also saw anxiety as emerging from the individual's futile attempt to cope with dangerous environments. The interpersonal source of anxiety, according to Freud, was vested in the child's separation from his mother, an idea that Rank stressed in his conception of the separation anxiety. This notion of anxiety was recognized by Adler, although he emphasized the inferiority feelings as basic to anxiety and pointed to the compensatory advantages of the anxiety—e.g., the neurotic child's domination over the family. These theories concerning the feelings of isolation as basic to anxiety were elaborated further by Horney's conception of contradictory personality trends which arose when the individual became defenseless in a menacing social environment and by Sullivan's hypothesis of anxiety as the apprehension of disapproval from significant figures in the person's milieu.

With personal isolation as indicative of helplessness, the patterns of social relations in the present era become especially pertinent to the development of anxiety. In this cultural interpretation of anxiety, the author expounds the views of Fromm, Tawney, and Kardiner. Personal isolation becomes accentuated by competitive individualism and by striving for success and prestige goals. The whole phenomenon of success as essential to self-realization has confronted the person with a ubiquitous competitive process in the market place and in other spheres of social life. The individual competitor finds that other persons, as potential or actual competitors, threaten his own success and social prestige. In this competitive situation the individual is continually being threatened by, and estranged from, other persons; this social atmosphere provides the background for a pervasive type of anxiety. The escape from this anxiety, according to Fromm, is "automaton conformity," and, according to Kardiner, it is the striving for new successes.

After having described and evaluated these personal and cultural bases of anxiety, the author analyzed fourteen subjects who experienced anxiety-creating situations; thirteen of the subjects were unwed mothers. Since the anxiety experiences were viewed as involving the total personality in a series of life-situations, quantitative techniques were not used, except for an "anxiety check-list." Instead, materials were gathered from interviews with the subjects and relatives and from the Rorschach inkblot test. Each case was presented as a unit, including a history and critical summary; then the cases were compared and commonalities established.

In essence, the author found that when the subjects during childhood accepted parental rejection and did not internalize this rejection, they did not become predisposed to anxiety. When the subjects, however, combined parental rejection with "idealized expectations" about the parents, they did become predisposed to anxiety. In other words, early predispositions to anxiety resulted from ambivalent parent-child relationships. The anxietous subjects were unable to appraise their parents realistically and always confused the real behavior of the parents "with expectations of what the parents should have been or might have become" (p. 339).

Although the author gives a rather thorough analysis, the relationship between anxiety and the class structure might have been elaborated, in view of the fact that the subjects in the lower classes did not become predisposed to anxiety. Also the effects of anxiety upon the self as an auto-reference dynamism could have been elaborated. It seems, too, that the author dismisses somewhat lightly objective parental rejection. Though this aspect of behavior was not within the domain of his problem, it appears that children who accept parental rejection can become acting-out, antisocial types in extreme cases and very emotionally cold in less extreme cases unless they cultivate other relationships in which they are accepted. The character of paternal rejection in case 7 (Bessie, pp. 294–99) might be questioned. This girl became pregnant as a result of incestuous relationships with the father. Although the father seemingly rejected her, this attitude at best was external. Usually fathers who have incestuous relations with their daughters have ambivalent attitudes toward them—a desire coupled with intense guilt. But these are minor points. In general, the book is clearly written, informative, and sound; and it provides illuminating reading for social scientists and other students of human behavior.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt College

Problems and Emotional Difficulties of Negro Children. By REGINA M. GOFF. New York: Teachers College, Columbia University, 1949. Pp. 93. $2.10.

Rejection and unpleasant experiences of Negro children with whites are categorized as types of difficulties: ridicule, physical ill treatment, aggressive behavior, rude treatment, discrimination, and indirect disparagement. The study is implemented by the interview method and is limited to Negro children and their environment. The actual reports of children's difficulties are documented, and the children's internal and external reactions (subjective feelings and impulses) and the reactions of the Negro parents, as shown in instruction and guidance of the children, are reported and analyzed statistically.

In the Introduction the following problems were proposed: What are the emotional difficulties which Negro children have because of their group identity? Do these difficulties vary in terms of factors such as geographical section, socio-economic level, sex, and skin color? What inner feelings are associated with these problems, and do these feelings vary in relation to factors such as geographical section, socio-economic level, and sex? What impulses are directed toward the environment? What types of responses are made to these difficulties? According to the reports of children, are the overt responses indicative of what they felt like doing? What forms of guidance do parents give? Is the guidance effective, as judged by children? Which racial difficulties appear to produce the greatest effect on personality development?

The author recognizes frankly the limitations of the interview method, and, in validating the material, caution was exercised in ruling out sources of error. All the way the author is aware of dynamic factors influencing motivation.

Geographically, two contrasting sections were chosen—St. Louis, Missouri, and New York City. The upper and lower classes in each region were treated individually and studied in contrast. A rich analysis of several social differentials, such as differences in skin color of children and parents, exposure to mixed schools, etc., was made. One hundred and fifty children, ranging in age from ten to twelve years, were studied. Ninety lived in New York City and sixty in St. Louis.

The dominant emotional reaction to difficulties as reported by boys was resentment; these attitudes held by boys towards majority group members have negative emotional weighting, and such attitudes will tend to persist unless the nature of subsequent life contacts is such as to offest the emotional weighting.

Fear and inferiority feelings, mentioned least, and expressed more by girls than boys, occurred most often in response to aggression. Seen dynamically, it is possible that fear was a component of both inferiority feelings and resentment, but was not introspectively differentiated by the subjects. Overt responses to difficulties were influenced in some measure by socio-economic level and by geographical locale: upper-income children in New York City did more fighting than those in St. Louis. Protective civil rights measures in New York widen the opportunities for participation, which in turn affects the thinking of the Negro about himself. These children may attempt to seek advantages in the total community offerings and retaliate when participation is threatened. Absence of such civil

rights measures in St. Louis may be a factor in the greater amount of restraint witnessed there. Statistical details are available in the book, but the general conclusions, significant in terms of the over-all problems in race relations, are presented in the summary.

The desire to fight in response to ridicule and to argue in answer to rude treatment and discrimination was often felt, but fighting was rare, and there was, in practice, mainly withdrawal. If, however, a group had been involved rather than an individual when children were provoked, fighting rather than withdrawal might have occurred. The author reports that in the setting of a low-income district in St. Louis in which children had reported inhibiting their anger episodes, a near-riot was precipitated when there was a conversion of a "white" playground into one to be used by colored children. The degree of influence of social controls varies with time and circumstances, and the type of group behavior cannot be predicted with certainty. One cannot arbitrarily label groups as aggressive or nonaggressive. It makes more sense to predict behavior of an individual in a particular setting than generally to label groups as aggressive or nonaggressive.

There is a paradoxical discrepancy between the overwhelming desire to strike back and the equally strong degree of withdrawal. Such withdrawal is obviously not mere passive acceptance. Strong internal rejection, through the mechanism of suppression and repression, lies beneath the external acceptance, and the apparent acceptance is based on a desire for personal security.

"It appears that social controls reflecting caste have been internalized by children of this age." Through suppression and repression, such controls operate in a manner to interfere with the satisfactory adjustment of Negro children. The resulting inferiority feelings, resentments, and fears may warp the personality, interfere with its wholesome development, and create ineffective functioning in the total society.

> The strength of these pressures in influencing personality development depends, of course, on the makeup of the particular person, and on the strength and effectiveness of other factors in the child's life development. Satisfactions may offset these difficulties. Children who expressed indifference to situations may have actually felt that way. It is true that negative adaptation to pressures could have developed.

This is a sociological study of Negro-white relations which will be helpful to workers in the fields of civic progress and in the general treatment of social problems. For the educator, the difficulties of some Negro students who have been thrown in competition with white children (the tendency of the emotionally blocked Negro child to inhibition, withdrawal, leading to retarded progress) may be better understood in terms of their past conditioning in Negro-white relationships. The findings in the study are also a guide to clearer psychiatric and social casework understanding.

The author recommends an acceleration of social reforms, which are naturally slow. Experiences which include firsthand contact with white children under wise guidance would make meaningful contributions. Much help and understanding could be gained from direct verbal approaches by competent adults. The Negro child needs an enrichment in training programs which emphasizes the building of better self-esteem, self-respect, and self-confidence. There is an urgent need for better parent-education, a relatively neglected area among Negroes. Negro adults might educate themselves toward making some initial approaches in friendly intergroup relations and might show a greater responsibility in attending more seriously to the complete growth of children of their group.

WALTER A. ADAMS, M.D.

Chicago

Human Ecology. By JAMES A. QUINN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. Pp. xii+561. $5.00.

The publication of the present text, along with that of the almost simultaneous work by Amos Hawley, brings closer to maturity a modern development of considerable importance to American sociology. Over a quarter of a century ago, Robert E. Park and some of his associates and students became enthusiastic about a trend of investigation which became known as "human ecology." The term was employed because of the close analogy between processes of ecology among lower forms of animal and plant life and certain aspects of human interaction. The developing enthusiasm among naturalists had for some time been building up some impressive knowledge of a tendency for all living forms to become involved in certain stable systems of relations with other species, in cooperating pairs, in predatory pyramids, in food

chains, and in elaborate biotic communities and systems of succession. Here is complex organization without consciousness or intention—no social contract is suspected among butterflies and flowering plants or among termites and trychonympha.

Biologists and ecologists had for some time been pointing out that man also is a part of the web of life, a dominant species but not entirely independent of the systems that bind all living things into a grand unity. Park and his colleagues wished to pursue this investigation in sociology. People struggle for survival against one another, as they struggle against, and with the aid of, various kinds of animals and plants. Do there occur, as a result of such struggles, systems of relations, organized, stable, unplanned, and unrecognized? The sociologists, as well as geographers and other scientists, investigated this question in various areas but found the metropolis a particularly promising object of investigation, not only because it was at hand, but also because here, in the great market place, the competitive struggle is most intense and is least governed by noncompetitive considerations. There is, of course, no such thing as an "economic man" or any set of human relations which can be characterized as pure symbiosis, but in the market place men make their closest approach to the mythical or ideal type and the symbiotic relations here clearly dominate the patterns of interaction. In the city, men compete in markets, and they compete for the space in which to carry on the competition. Space relations make a convenient beginning for investigation, and much of the early research in human ecology began with the mapping of certain space relations in the metropolis—much of it, in fact, in Chicago, a city with little tradition to interfere with the unplanned processes of competition and with the rapid industrial growth which makes planning and control unwelcome to the hopeful promoters of the great boom. The relative simplicity of the local topography—absence of hills or large rivers—permitted the natural growth pattern to take its shape in an easily recognizable form.

An impressive and valuable amount of research, only a part of which has been published, has been carried out in Chicago, making this city the most thoroughly known from any scientific point of view. The research was not all detached from theory; in fact, certain of the studies made in the course of this general stream of investigation contain examples of some of the most successfully interconnected general theory and empirical research in sociology. Contributions of much value have, of course, also come from other universities, bearing on other cities. The result of the whole effort is a well-organized body of general knowledge about how the large, expanding, industrial metropolis draws populations, industries, and business functions, assigns them to certain places in its spatial system, and produces certain complexes of functions in the "natural areas" (characteristic areas whose main features are not the result of planning or intention) which tend to occur in about the same place in each city of the type. Characteristic behavior of populations was discovered to be firmly associated with certain of the natural areas; the uniformity of location, institutional characteristics, population types, and behavior of hobo areas, rooming-house areas, and first-settlement foreign areas are, in fact, some of the best-known general achievements of sociology. They are so well known, in fact, that many tend to forget the quality and magnitude of this achievement.

Cities of other types have been studied and found to have their own ecological patterns. A governmental city does not behave as does an industrial city, nor does an old city that has long ceased to grow. There is no need to be surprised that New Haven does not have the same pattern as Chicago or that the arrangement differs in the shore resorts, such as Atlantic City, Asbury Park, Ocean City, and other board-walk strips. There will be characteristic ecological features of different types of cities, and all these will change with future developments. Even a climax vegetation of a forest is not eternal; an urban pattern is less likely to be so.

Examination of a series of cities, towns, and villages will show that the smaller the settlement, in general, the less dominant is the process of competition, so that there is less ecological dominance in the crossroads village and more influence of sentiment and tradition. But, while the church may have one of the corners, the chances are that stores and filling stations will have the other three, and, if the village grows, the church will feel the pressure and possibly be squeezed out. A few churches, like Trinity in Wall Street, resist to the end, but, as the researches of Kincheloe and others have shown, churches are not immune to the symbiotic processes of city life.

Not all space relations are the results of

ecology—to put information on a map is not necessarily research in ecology. Nor are all environmental relations human ecology. As will happen to any word which carries useful discrimination of meaning, the escape into general currency among persons who do not make careful distinctions blunts the utility of the word. "Ecology" has been so mishandled, even within the circle of professional sociologists. Quinn presents seven conceptions of human ecology which are only weakly interrelated, some of which are of little use to sociology. He nevertheless chooses to keep a wide coverage throughout his text, being fair to as many conceptions as possible, with the result that the present confusion is accepted and to some extent may even be standardized by the influence of the book. This effect he recognizes, leaving it to others, if they desire, to make out of human ecology a more unified field.

The book thus covers, in addition to the literature on location, size, spatial patterns, and population characteristics of towns and cities, a representative amount of related literature from human geography, from the literature on regionalism, and from the literature on planning. It is not possible, of course, in one volume of moderate size, to present more than a sample of some of these fields.

The presentation is effective and is characterized by direct and unaffected writing, aided by a number of useful tables and by attractive maps and charts. The book functions well in undergraduate classes.

In view of the abundance of sound knowledge that appears within the covers, it would appear that nothing but author's "blues" could account for the final sentence of the book, which says: "Up to the present time such studies [ecological studies of spatial distribution] have failed to produce much of value concerning the etiology of problem phenomena."

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

University of Washington

Human Ecology: A Theory of Community Structure. By AMOS H. HAWLEY. New York: Ronald Press, 1950. Pp. xvi+456. $5.00.

Originally, this volume was planned to be a joint work with the late R. D. McKenzie, whose death interrupted its completion. The informed reader, however, will recognize McKenzie's influence throughout the present work, as the author himself has indicated.

Since human ecology is still a fledgling discipline, various writers tend to concentrate on different points in the field. Hawley believes that the central problem is the "nature and development of community structure." He recognizes that this is a "deliberate limitation of the subject" but thinks it essential to limit himself "if the student is not to expend himself in the extension of his reach." The question arises, however, whether it is not both logically and pedagogically necessary to place at least equal emphasis on ecological processes. Structure and function cannot be separated even for purposes of analysis, since they are mutually dependent and each determines the other. To treat ecological processes incidentally and casually, as the author frequently does, is to shift attention from many of the central problems of this field. For example, invasion is given only passing mention, and reference to centralization occurs only twice, while decentralization does not appear at all in the Index.

The student will appreciate the full use the author makes of data, concepts, and methods from cognate disciplines—plant and animal ecology, human geography, demography, and economics. Also noteworthy is the use of world-wide data and the breaking-away from the local community and regional confines which long characterized ecological studies. The emergence of one world is a basic fact of which ecology needs to take full account.

Within the limits the writer has imposed upon his subject, he has thoroughly canvassed the field and has successfully integrated a wide range of material. However, one misses discussion of the methods and findings of such students as Shaw, Schmid, Mowrer, Eubank, Dunham, Thrasher, Zorbaugh, Zipf, and others who have made worth-while methodological contributions. There is no reference to cartographic analysis or to the problems and methods of the human ecologist-in-the-field or in the laboratory. Rather, the author has concerned himself with the ecologist-in-the-library and at his desk and fireside.

ERLE F. YOUNG

University of Southern California

Small Town Renaissance: A Story of the Montana Study. By RICHARD WAVERLY POSTON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. x+231. $3.00.

Communities for Better Living: Citizen Achievement in Organization, Design, and Development. By JAMES DAHIR. New York: Harper & Bros., 1950. Pp. xiv+321. $4.00.

City or Community: Patterns of Community Organisation in Urban Areas with Special Reference to Citizen Participation. By ELIZABETH HANDASYDE. London: National Council of Social Service, 1949. Pp. 103.

These three volumes are all concerned with the same general set of problems: the social pathologies that characterize modern community life, whether at the village or at the metropolitan level. They all propose the development of local social resources, the organization and utilization of indigenous leadership, and the release of local energies—in short, the development of democratic processes at the local community level, at which they appear to function most poorly in American life. However, the three volumes represent three distinctly different approaches and foci of attention and three different techniques of community organization.

Small Town Renaissance is the story of the "Montana Study" sponsored by the University of Montana under the leadership of its chancellor, Ernest O. Melby. Through local community study groups, guided by the university, a number of communities were led to discover and understand their economic and social problems and to take effective measures to deal with them. Some of these small communities were literally reborn and carved out new ways of life. Sociologists will be especially interested in the use of self-surveys and social dramas as means of initiating dramatic changes in local culture. The university leadership shortly became aware of the role of state-wide conditions in local disorganization and challenged the dominant corporation chieftains, who promptly took up the gauntlet. Unfortunately, in the end the university lost the battle. The present study is then a post mortem examination on a youthful victim of the powers-that-be and a lesson to sociologists who are too ready to undertake social action. The book is very well written and is a well-balanced account of the pros and cons. It has an excellent Bibliography and a condensation of the famous "Study Guide."

Communities for Better Living is at first glance just another book on city planning. It does focus its attention on the physical arrangements of city life and their bearing on wholesome social life. It reviews practically all significant efforts in the United States to regenerate local community life. On the other hand, the author at every turn relates his materials to urban social problems, particularly to the problem of developing effective local leadership and organization. He is also concerned with finding effective ways for dealing with the more serious urban pathologies developing from anonymity, mass-mindedness, social isolation, and political ineffectiveness. How much community planning can contribute to the solution of urban pathologies is not certain, since it has proved wholly impossible to foresee—let alone forestall—the effects of new engineering methods, new social arrangements, and shifting conceptions of what constitutes "the good life." A well-classified Bibliography of over four hundred titles is appended.

City or Community is a report for the National Federation of Settlements of America written by a visiting British social settlement worker who spent nearly seven months in a guided tour of settlements throughout the United States. The author is a very intelligent observer, with a broad background for judgment of social work in the field of community organization. Although she is aware of wider implications of settlement work, her attention is drawn to organizational issues, with little emphasis on the social factors involved. There are inaccuracies in reporting details, an uncritical acceptance of agency reports, and, in general, a failure to step outside the settlement frame of reference to secure a more critical view of the situation. Social settlements are no longer the social experiment centers, seeking new ways to come to grips with urban local problems, but are simply a group of agencies with a professional personnel, a standardized program to administer, and a budget to meet. The fire and vision, the adventure and daring, of the pioneer social prophets have gone as the reins have dropped into the hands of efficient administrators.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

Los Angeles, California

The Daytime Population of the Central Business District of Chicago. By GERALD WILLIAM BREESE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1949. Pp. xxiii+267. $6.00.

Dr. Breese's study, the publication of which was sponsored by the Chicago Community In-

ventory, is a challenging attempt to shed light on a difficult subject. As the author states, "It consists of a descriptive-analytical case study of the daytime population of the central business district of Chicago on a typical week day in May, 1940, together with a description of trends in the daytime population from 1926 through 1946." Particular emphasis is placed on transportation as the principal factor in the growth and organization of the central business district.

The population of the central business district of Chicago increases from about six thousand residents at night to almost one million persons at certain times of the day. The important and far-reaching consequences of this daily ebb and flow of population, not only in Chicago but in other urban centers, is recognized not only by students of sociology but also by those charged with the administration and planning of cities. Since the United States Census is a dormitory census, it is necessary to resort to other sources of data to measure and describe this phenomenon. Breese has left no possible source of data unexplored in his search for facts. His main sources were "cordon counts, and traffic surveys, and constant recourse to the experience of numerous transportation, real estate, business and other personnel." The study has analyzed the central business district and its relationship to the metropolitan region; a survey of the functions of the central business district; a study of the origin, size, and distribution—within the central business district—of the daytime population of the central business district. Breese has found that the central business district of Chicago is the focal point and center of dominance of the surrounding seven-state region. This is particularly true of the transportation lines and equally true for all forms of transportation.

As indicated by the preliminary returns of the Seventeenth Census, decentralization has accelerated during the last decade, making more vital than ever the acquisition of factual, detailed knowledge concerning the ebb and flow of population to and from the central business district. Breese's study, although it is restricted to just one city, makes a start in this direction.

ALBERT MAYER

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This Is Race: An Anthology Selected from the International Literature on the Races of Man. Selected, edited, and with an Introduction by EARL W. COUNT. New York: Henry Schuman, 1950. Pp. xxviii+747. $7.50.

This is a collection of extracts from the writings of sixty authors who have discussed the subject of race. They cover a time span from 1749 to 1950. As many as ten disconnected passages are printed from the larger books, while the fugitive material from journals is usually printed entire. The selections vary in length and in merit, but the reader will learn how difficult is the task of classifying the races of man. The word "anthology" suggests a collection of short poems and seems out of place here. But the editor may have had in mind the highly imaginative character of some of his authors.

At the end of the volume there are brief biographical and bibliographical notes on each of the sixty writers, which add interest to the book, since many of the authors are little known and a number of the selections have been made available by translations first appearing here. The book will be of interest as revealing the history of efforts at classification, though it leaves unanswered the inquiry as to the number and names of the races of men either extinct or extant. It does not provide a substitute for a course in physical anthropology.

For the most part, a system of classification is relative to a purpose. The Dewey system of library classification makes ten classes of books, using Arabic digits. The Library of Congress system has twenty-six classes, using the letters of the roman alphabet. Neither can be said to be "wrong," for every book can be listed under one of the classes in each. The only question is which is the more useful.

Zoölogists have brought their classification of all the animal forms to relative completion. With their dual nomenclature and their international society to arbitrate differences, every species can be designated in a manner intelligible to any other scholar. With their apparatus of phylum, class, subclass, order, suborder, genus, and species, every living thing can be put in its proper pigeonhole. Thus man is located as vertebrate, mammal, placental, anthropoid, *Homo, sapiens*.

But there the zoölogist ceases, for his work is done. The varieties, breeds, stocks, and races of domestic animals and of man are of no interest, and the task is taken over by the physical anthropologist. It is often taken over by those who have no competence in anthropology.

Conflicts between races and groups have brought it about that the subject of race is often discussed in an atmosphere of emotion. Boas wrote a pamphlet advocating the boycott of any book that contained the word "race," and he gave a list of some of the books in question. To the sociologist this attitude is not surprising. Words do sometimes acquire powerful emotional content. In polite discourse we are forbidden to call a female dog by her name.

The book under review does not attempt to go into the literature of race psychology or racial attitudes. A few incidental passages do appear, but, for the most part, it is the classification into races which is the subject of the book.

ELLSWORTH FARIS

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The Individual and His Religion: A Psychological Interpretation. By GORDON W. ALLPORT. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. x+147. $2.50.

The objective of this small but significant volume is clearly stated in both title and subtitle. The word "his" excludes from our consideration any existential relationship that may or may not exist between the individual's subjective experience and some objective reality beyond this experience. The term "psychological" refers to empirical psychology, understood in a naturalistic manner. This excludes any question about possible causal factors, such as divine grace or communion between man and god, about which empirical science cannot conceivably make any assertion, either in the negative or in the affirmative. Since the author does not claim that psychology thus understood is capable of giving all the answers about the problem of man and religion, his position seems to provide a broad basis for discussion.

The descriptive and factual material treated in this volume is unfortunately rather limited and refers mainly to the behavior of children, college students, and war veterans. This is probably due to the relative lack of adequate observational studies. Thus most of the book consists of theory. Now, within the system of an empirical science, theoretical propositions are legitimate either in so far as they "fit" all hitherto known facts which are relevant to the subject under consideration, or as hypotheses to be tested by further observation. Other theoretical propositions will have to be regarded as "speculative" or "nonscientific," thus lying outside the framework of empirical science. The merits of Allport's book and its contribution to the understanding of one of the most important, yet controversial, aspects of human nature will have to be judged on the basis of these methodological principles, lest they be lost in the philosophical and theological argument which the subject suggests.

Allport points out that subjective religious experience cannot be reduced to any one type of psychic factors, such as organic desires, temperament, mental capacity, psychogenic interests and values, the pursuit of meaning, or conformity with the cultural heritage. On the contrary, he holds that this experience is fed from many different sources, is variable to a high degree, and that, in the last analysis, "there are as many varieties of religious experience as there are religiously inclined mortals upon earth." Only in respect to certain basic biological functions, he explains, do men closely resemble one another. The higher and more complex the aspects of personality are, the greater becomes individualization, until in the field of religious sentiment it reaches "ultimate divergences." While the conclusion conforms with the author's pervasive religious subjectivism, it represents essentially the same kind of metaphysical non sequitur which he himself so brilliantly chastises in other scientists. Although the personal experience of some reality may be, and probably always is, "unique," it does not follow that there is no common element in all these personal experiences, for otherwise any kind of knowledge would have to be considered "subjective." Yet this touches upon a philosophical question which cannot be solved within the frame of empirical psychology.

Another point made by the author, though not new, is nevertheless important because both psychologists and social scientists have a way of neglecting the pitfalls of the "genetic fallacy." As Allport puts it, "origins can tell nothing about the validity of a belief." He has, altogether, a keen eye for the inconsistencies in the reasoning of many of his colleagues who, while upholding sound principles of scientific methodology, are only too ready to present certain philosophical doctrines as the logical consequence of their empirical findings, although nothing of the kind can ever be concluded on merely empirical grounds. Thus the author demonstrates that "scientific disbelief" is actually

something entirely different from the heuristic principle of "systematic doubt." While one might be in heartfelt agreement with many of Allport's arguments, there is some doubt whether this kind of apologetics should have a place within the rigorously defined and thus quite narrow scope of a "psychological interpretation."

The key concept of the present study is that of "religious sentiment." The choice of the term seems to be not particularly happy, for it suggests feeling and emotion rather than reason and intention and thus is heavily loaded in favor of a particular theology. Yet Allport himself declares that it could equally well be replaced by "interest," "outlook," or "system of beliefs," calling attention to the "relatively stable units of personality" which are the product of motivation and organization. "This unit," he adds, "is a system of readiness, a mainspring of conduct, preparing the person for adaptive behavior whenever the appropriate stimulus or associations are presented." Now if such a system "represents an organization of feeling and *thought directed* toward some definable object of *value*" (italics ours), then it is clear that this kind of "sentiment" does not denote simply emotions and feelings but a rather undifferentiated mental state or process in which emotions play some role, though not necessarily a major or decisive one. Thus it is apparently identical with "attitude," a term more familiar to sociologists.

While during the greater part of his discussion the author interprets religious experience in terms of religious sentiment, he feels compelled to introduce a different concept, that of intention, once he approaches, toward the end of the book, the difficult subject of religious faith. With this he seems to revert, in part at least, to the position of a "faculty psychology," which he elsewhere disclaims, not without some good reason; for it is admittedly borrowed from Franz Brentano and thereby from a tradition of philosophical psychology which has ever been an object of scorn to contemporary "scientific" psychologists. Although Brentano designated his system as "psychology from the empirical standpoint" (that is, excluding a priori deductions drawn from ontological and dogmatic premises), this "experience" is, according to him, achieved primarily by introspection and careful self-analysis of the conscious mind, a source which a "naturalistic psychology" will probably be inclined to reject. Allport finds the element common to all religious acts of the mind in the attempt "to close the gap that exists between the actual state of one's values and the possibility of their fuller realization." This possibility is immanent in religious faith, which, according to him, refers to "man's belief in the validity and attainability of some goal [value]." Since the goal is set by intention, "the rational ideational component in all productive striving," the author concludes that "it is this inseparability of the idea of the end from the course of the striving which we call faith."

The potentially most fruitful contribution of the book to the psychology of religion, however, is the theory of the "religion of maturity." Allport defines "the mature religious sentiment as a disposition, built up through experience, to respond favorably, and in certain habitual ways, to conceptual objects and principles that the individual regards as of ultimate importance in his own life, and as having to do with what he regards as permanent or central in the nature of things." As compared with immature sentiment, which is characteristic of earlier stages of personality growth, mature sentiment has the following characteristics: (1) It is well differentiated, which implies not only critical tendencies but an articulation and ordering of parts. (2) Though derivative in its origins, it has autonomous motivational power and thus "may constitute the mainspring of life," without being either fanatical or compulsive. (3) It is productive of consistent morality. (4) It provides a comprehensive philosophy of life. "Religion, like philosophy," says the author, "must answer questions that science dares not frame but, unlike philosophy, must also infuse all of life with motive." (5) Mature sentiment is integral, that is, it provides a homogeneous pattern and harmony. It thus seeks to co-ordinate the scientific outlook of the modern world with the theology of the Hebraic-Christian tradition and "fights through" such baffling problems as those of freedom and evil. (6) It is essentially heuristic in character, holding a belief "tentatively until it can be confirmed or until it helps us discover a more valid belief . . . the mature mind . . . can act wholeheartedly even without absolute certainty . . . it has decided that theoretical skepticism is not incompatible with practical absolutism."

These and similar remarks by the author will have great personal appeal to many of his readers, yet the question remains whether they are really relevant to empirical psychology. Allport

would probably be the first to admit that, for most of his contentions, no empirical proof is as yet available, or that most of his arguments are, at best, plausible. Nevertheless, this would not necessarily impair their scientific value if they were formulated in such a way that they could be verified by strictly empirical methods. In many respects, however, the author's theoretical propositions appear more suggestive and stimulating than immediately applicable for the purpose of empirical and "naturalistic" psychology. In particular, the idea of "mature religion," upon which, in the last analysis, the theory presented in this book rests, seems to imply less than the term would suggest. It is formulated deductively on the basis of the author's previously presented theory of the mature personality. No proof is given that this is really the final stage of growth open to the individual's religious attitudes and beliefs which has to be considered, implicitly at least, as superior to any other, perhaps less "heuristic" and less individualistic, form of religion. Despite Allport's own protestations and his earnest effort to attain complete scientific objectivity, the concept still seems to contain too much of his own personal experiences and convictions—though the convictions of a truly admirable personality, honest in its religious search—to make it fully acceptable as a standard for psychological generalization. Yet another possible use of this idea of the religion of maturity comes to the mind, which may turn out to be no less valuable despite its historical-cultural limitations; for, as described by Allport, mature religious sentiment strikes us as an excellent formulation of a particular "ideal type" which, though no universal norm, nevertheless appears to be representative of the time spirit which has succeeded that of the "Protestant ethic" analyzed by Max Weber and his school.

As far as sociologists are concerned, the exceedingly readable book should find much interest among those who, brought up in the naturalistic tradition, have come to doubt the validity of its many metaphysical non sequiturs. It is also one of those books which the college teacher who is concerned not only with the transmission of knowledge and professional training but with the education of young people will like his students to read. Moreover, sociology of religion is still stymied by the reluctance of one section of the profession to see more in religion than illusions, superstitions, and rationalizations, which, at best, have a useful place in the maintenance of the social order. More promising have been the efforts of the neo-Weberian school in this country. Yet Max Weber himself, though thoroughly convinced of the psychological foundation of social action, knew only of a type of academic psychology which had nothing to contribute to its understanding. While some of Weber's disciples have, in the meantime, adopted many recent, and seemingly more satisfactory, concepts and theories of empirical psychology and particularly of psychoanalysis, these have so far not proved to be very helpful for the purposes of a sociology of religion. Thus considerations along the line suggested by an eminent psychologist like Allport should find undivided attention on the part of those who feel that the study of religious institutions alone, or of overt behavior and verbal reactions to questionnaires, does not exhaust this field but that its future depends largely on the adequate development of psychological theory.

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CURRENT BOOKS

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ates and Related Aspects of Education and Income. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xvi+207. $4.00. Detailed study of supply and demand for junior college graduates, B.A.'s, and professionally trained people; of changes therein through time; of special problems of women and Negroes of college training. Data presented in tables and charts, gathered from census and other existing sources. Ample Bibliography and use of references. Intended for both professional and lay readers.

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ROLE CONFLICT AND PERSONALITY[1]

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores operational procedures for linking the study of social norms with the study of personality. A social norm can be inferred from respondents' reports as to role obligations in a specific social situation. To the extent that an individual is consistent, in varying types of situations, in reporting one type of role obligation rather than another, this tendency is considered a personality predisposition. Data, based on a questionnaire to students on hypothetical situations, show that people can be ordered along a continuum involving the relative priority of personal and impersonal considerations in social obligations. New scaling techniques are applied, and certain kinds of discrepancies are exhibited as deserving further study.

A convenient way to examine the informal social controls operating in a given institution is through the study of role conflict. In an earlier statistical analysis of an example of role conflict, stress was laid on the concept of variability and implications for the theory of role of different classes of variability.[2]

The present paper also is concerned with role conflict. But it seeks to provide a link between the study of social norms, with which the former paper was primarily concerned, and the study of personality. Specifically, when there is a lack of consensus in a group as to the "proper thing to do" in a morally conflicting situation, is there a tendency for some individuals to have a predisposition or a personality bias toward one type of solution and for other individuals to have a predisposition toward another type of solution? If such a predisposition exists, there should be a tendency to carry over certain types of behavior from one role conflict to another with some consistency.

An especially common role conflict is that between one's institutionalized obligations of friendship and one's institutionalized obligations to a society. The obligations of friendship in Western culture, to use the terminology of Parsons, are particularistic rather than universalistic, affectively toned rather than affectively neutral, and diffuse rather than specific.[3] A universalistic obliga-

[1] The research here reported was conducted with the assistance of the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University. Special acknowledgment is due to Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Talcott Parsons, and Gordon W. Allport. Professor Lazarsfeld proposed the applicability of a new form of latent distance structure and himself carried out the computations reported in the note appended to this paper. A pretest of the present study was the subject of a paper by the authors at the American Sociological Society in December, 1949, at which the paper's discussion by Professor Leonard S. Cottrell contributed to the present formulation.

[2] Samuel A. Stouffer, "An Analysis of Conflicting Social Norms," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (December, 1949), 707–17.

[3] See, e.g., Talcott Parsons, *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), chap. viii.

tion is applicable to dealings with anybody (e.g., obligation to fulfil a contract); a particularistic obligation is limited to persons who stand in some special relationship to one (e.g., the obligation to help a relative or a close friend or neighbor). Diffuseness of particularistic obligations provides flexibility in the definition of these roles. That is, the content of an individual's particularistic obligations (toward a friend, a brother, a grandchild) depends in part on the intimacy of the relationship itself. The greater the affection, the greater the sense of obligation. On the other hand, universalistic obligations are defined more rigidly, for they regulate behavior toward all human beings—regardless of affective involvement. Hence, in any specific situation involving conflict between duty to a friend and duty to society, we would expect that some individuals are more prone to regard the particularistic obligation as taking precedence than others because there is variability from individual to individual in the intimacy of friendships. That is, respondents tend to project into the hypothetical situations *reference* friendships drawn from their own experience. A description of an institutionalized social norm not only must take into account, then, the beliefs and behavior of a modal member of the group but must also observe the individual variability in the perception of obligations. This variability—or "social slippage"—was a major concern in the paper previously cited.

In the present paper we shall deal with several situations involving conflicts between obligations to a friend and more general social obligations. If, as our conception of the intrinsic variability of particularistic obligations would lead us to expect, some people are more likely than others to choose the particularistic horn of the dilemma rather than the universalistic in a variety of situations, we should be able to devise a scale to measure such a tendency. With such a scale people should be ranked along a single dimension according to their probability of possessing the attribute or predisposition of choosing one type of solution rather than the other.

What we have to present here is only a crude beginning; indeed, only a classroom example. Yet it should prove instructive in a number of respects to those who may wish to carry on further research with needed refinements. Our data are based on a short pencil-and-paper questionnaire completed by 648 undergraduate students at Harvard and Radcliffe in February, 1950. No claim is made for the representativeness of the sample, since almost all were members of a single class, "Social Relations 1A."

Four little stories were presented, as follows:

1

You are riding in a car driven by a close friend, and he hits a pedestrian. You know he was going at least 35 miles an hour in a 20-mile-an-hour speed zone. There are no other witnesses. His lawyer says that if you testify under oath that the speed was only 20 miles an hour, it may save him from serious consequences.

What right has your friend to expect you to protect him?

Check one:

- ☐ My friend has a definite right as a friend to expect me to testify to the lower figure.
- ☐ He has some right as a friend to expect me to testify to the lower figure.
- ☐ He has no right as a friend to expect me to testify to the lower figure.

What do you think you'd probably do in view of the obligations of a sworn witness and the obligation to your friend?

Check one:

- ☐ Testify that he was going 20 miles an hour.
- ☐ Not testify that he was going 20 miles an hour.

2

You are a New York drama critic. A close friend of yours has sunk all his savings in a new Broadway play. You really think the play is no good.

What right does your friend have to expect you to go easy on his play in your review?

Check one:
- ☐ He has a definite right as a friend to expect me to go easy on his play in my review.
- ☐ He has some right as a friend to expect me to do this for him.
- ☐ He has no right as a friend to expect me to do this for him.

Would you go easy on his play in your review in view of your obligations to your readers and your obligation to your friend?

Check one:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

3

You are a doctor for an insurance company. You examine a close friend who needs more insurance. You find that he is in pretty good shape, but you are doubtful on one or two minor points which are difficult to diagnose.

What right does your friend have to expect you to shade the doubts in his favor?

Check one:
- ☐ My friend would have a definite right as a friend to expect me to shade the doubts in his favor.
- ☐ He would have some right as a friend to expect me to shade the doubts in his favor.
- ☐ He would have no right as a friend to expect me to shade the doubts in his favor.

Would you shade the doubts in his favor in view of your obligations to the insurance company and your obligation to your friend?

Check one:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

4

You have just come from a secret meeting of the board of directors of a company. You have a close friend who will be ruined unless he can get out of the market before the board's decision becomes known. You happen to be having dinner at that friend's home this same evening.

What right does your friend have to expect you to tip him off?

Check one:
- ☐ He has a definite right as a friend to expect me to tip him off.
- ☐ He has some right as a friend to expect me to tip him off.
- ☐ He has no right as a friend to expect me to to tip him off.

Would you tip him off in view of your obligations to the company and your obligation to your friend?

Check one:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

The problem is: Do the answers to these questions indicate the existence of a unidimensional scale, along which respondents can be ordered as to the degree to which they are likely to possess a trait or bias toward the particularistic solution of a dilemma? For simplicity, we label for a given item the response "My friend has a definite right . . ." as particularistic, the response "He has no right . . ." as universalistic. If he marks "He has some right . . ." we label the response particularistic if in the second part of the question he says he would favor the friend in action; universalistic if he says he would not favor the friend.

There was a considerable spread among the four items in the percentage giving particularistic responses:

Item 1 (car accident)	26
Item 2 (drama critic)	45
Item 3 (insurance doctor)	51
Item 4 (board of directors)	70

Such frequencies suggest the hypothesis of a distance or cumulative scale.

Following Louis Guttman's scalogram method, the responses to all the items were cross-tabulated and scale patterns arranged according to nearest scale type, as shown in Table 1. While the reproducibility (.91) and the distribution of cutting points suggest the admissibility of the hypothesis that these items form a Guttman scale, the items are too few in number for us to speak with confidence, especially in the presence of two sets of rather numerous nonscale responses (+ − + + and − + − +). Rigor would require ten or more items to start with, in order to determine scalability, although we might in the end select fewer items for subsequent use.

The pure Guttman model can be viewed

as the limiting case of a more general latent distance model which Paul F. Lazarsfeld has introduced.[4] It seems worth while, therefore, to examine the applicability to these data of the Lazarsfeld latent distance model, which postulates a latent continuum with as many ordered classes as there are items, plus one. The model assigns to each item a probability that a positive (e.g., particularistic) response to that item assigns the respondent to a particular segment of the hypothetical latent continuum.[5]

For reasons of space, the arithmetic in testing the applicability of the latent distance model to our data will not be exhibited here. However, a brief technical summary of the results appears as an appendix to this paper. Although the procedure used is still too new to have developed wholly satisfactory acceptance standards, the outcome was quite encouraging.

Actually, an additional precaution was taken. Experience with projective material has taught us to expect considerable differences when we ask, "What do you think about something?" from results if we asked, "What do you think somebody else would think about something?" Especially, when we are seeking by crude question-and-answer procedures to learn something about social norms, it is very important to know

TABLE 1

SCALOGRAM PATTERN FOR RESPONDENTS TO FOUR ITEMS ON ROLE CONFLICT

Scale Type	Scale Pattern (1 2 3 4)	Particularistic Response to Item No. 1	2	3	4	Universalistic Response to Item No. 1	2	3	4	"Errors"
5	++++	66	66	66	66	.....	.....	.....	.....	0
	+−++	52	.....	52	52	.....	52	.....	.....	52
	++−+	15	15	.....	15	.....	.....	15	.....	15
	+++−	8	8	8	.....	.....	.....	.....	8	8
	+−+−	5	.....	5	.....	.....	5	.....	5	10
	++−−	6	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	12
4	−+++	.....	95	95	95	95	.....	.....	.....	0
	−++−	.....	16	16	.....	16	.....	.....	16	16
3	−−++	.....	.....	80	80	80	80	.....	.....	0
	−−+−	.....	.....	14	.....	14	14	.....	14	14
2	−−−+	.....	.....	.....	71	71	71	71	.....	0
	−+−+	.....	66	.....	66	66	.....	66	.....	66
	+−−+	13	.....	.....	13	.....	13	13	.....	13
1	−+−−	.....	21	.....	.....	21	.....	21	21	21
	+−−−	6	.....	.....	.....	.....	6	6	6	6
	−−−−	.....	.....	.....	.....	114	114	114	114	0
Total	.....	171	293	336	458	477	355	312	190	233

Reproducibility = $1 - [233/(4 \times 648)] = .91$.

[4] Stouffer, Guttman, Suchman, Lazarsfeld, Star, and Clausen, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Vol. IV: *Measurement and Prediction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950). Guttman's theory and procedures are described in chaps. ii–ix, Lazarsfeld's in chaps. x and xi. Chapter i provides an introduction to both methods.

[5] Latent structure theory postulates that all the relationship between any two manifest items can be accounted for by the joint correlation of the items with the latent structure. In other words, within any segment of the latent structure the correlation between two manifest items is zero.

what, if any, differences are produced by such shifts imposed on the point of view of the respondents. Hence, only a third of our 648 respondents were asked questions in the form exhibited above.

For a third of the subjects the stories were rewritten so that the friend of the respondent, not the respondent himself, faced the role conflict. To illustrate with the motorcar example:

Your close friend is riding in a car which you are driving, and you hit a pedestrian. He knows that you were going at least 35 miles an hour in a 20-mile-an-hour zone. There are no other witnesses. Your lawyer says that if your friend testifies under oath that the speed was only 20 miles an hour, it may save you from serious consequences.

What right do you have to expect him to protect you?

Check one:

- ☐ I have a definite right as a friend to expect him to testify to the lower figure.
- ☐ I have some right as a friend to expect him to testify to the lower figure.
- ☐ I have no right as a friend to expect him to testify to the lower figure.

What do you think he would probably do in view of his obligations as a sworn witness and his obligation as your friend?

Check one:

- ☐ Testify that you were going 20 miles an hour.
- ☐ Not testify that you were going 20 miles an hour.

For still another third of the respondents, a third version was presented. In this case neither the respondent nor his friend faced the dilemma but two hypothetical people, Smith and Smith's friend, Johnson. Again to illustrate with the motorcar example:

Smith is riding in a car driven by his close friend, Johnson, and Johnson hits a pedestrian. Smith knows that his friend was going at least 35 miles an hour in a 20-mile-an-hour zone. There are no other witnesses. Johnson's lawyer says that if he testifies under oath that the speed was only 20 miles an hour, it may save Johnson from serious consequences.

What right does Johnson have to expect Smith to protect him?

Check one:

- ☐ Johnson has a definite right as a friend to expect Smith to testify to the lower figure.
- ☐ He has some right as a friend to expect Smith to testify to the lower figure.
- ☐ He has no right as a friend to expect Smith to testify to the lower figure.

If Smith were an average person, what do you think he would probably do in view of his obligations as a sworn witness and his obligation to his friend?

Check one:

- ☐ Testify that Johnson was going 20 miles an hour.
- ☐ Not testify that Johnson was going 20 miles an hour.

The different forms of the questionnaires were interleaved and handed out at random. In testing for the goodness of fit of the latent distance scale, separate tests were applied to each of the three types of items. The model seemed to fit about equally well in all three cases, and the rank order assigned to particular scale patterns was very much the same, except for a few scale types containing a negligible number of cases. As would be expected, the rank-order grouping derived from the latent distance model is very close to the rank-order grouping obtained by scoring to nearest scale type in scalogram analysis.[6] For purposes of subsequent analysis the rank groupings for each of the three forms were constituted as in Table 1. The extent to which the three forms agreed with one another can be seen from Table 2. The

[6] In scoring to nearest scale type by scalogram procedure, the objective is to arrange the scale patterns to minimize "error." Thus + + − + is grouped with + + + +, on the assumption that the response to the third item only is an error. If it were grouped with − + + +, we should have to assume two errors, in the first and third items, respectively. However, there are some items which might be grouped in different ways with the same amount of error. For example, − + − + would be grouped with − + + + if we assumed that the third item was an error, but would be grouped with − − − + if we assumed that the second item was an error. Such doubtful cases are resolved by the latent distance analysis, which in the present example usually gave clear and consistent information.

TABLE 2

SCALE PATTERN GROUPINGS SHOWN SEPARATELY FOR THREE FORMS OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Scale Type	Scale Pattern 1 2 3 4	Form A (Ego Faces Dilemma)	Form B (Ego's Friend Faces Dilemma)	Form C (Smith Faces Dilemma)
5	++++	20	20	26
	+−++	9	23	20
	++−+	6	4	5
	+++−	2	3	3
	+−+−	2	3	0
	++−−	1	3	2
4	−+++	38	25	32
	−++−	7	6	3
3	−−++	24	29	27
	−−+−	6	5	3
2	−−−+	23	31	17
	−+−+	25	15	26
	+−−+	4	4	5
1	−+−−	6	6	9
	+−−−	1	2	3
	−−−−	42	37	35
Total	.....	216	216	216
Reproducibility	.....	.92	.91	.90
Totals				
5		40	56	56
4		45	31	35
3		30	34	30
2		52	50	48
1		49	45	47
		216	216	216

principal discrepancies are due to differences in frequency of responses to Items 2 and 3, respectively, but the groupings shown at the bottom of Table 2 do not differ from one form to another more than would be expected by chance, according to the chi-square test. Incidentally, it is of some interest to note that the reproducibility of each form is in the neighborhood of .90.

This is, of course, much too small a set of items about which to make any serious claims either to rigorous scalability or to generality, but the results encourage one to believe that we can develop good measures of individual predisposition to a bias in a particularistic or universalistic direction. We must note that a scale such as this is not an unequivocal measure of *particularism-universalism*. Since friendship obligations are diffuse and affectively toned as well as particularistic, and societal obligations are specific and affectively neutral as well as universalistic, we have scaled a predisposition for diffuse, affectively toned over specific, affectively neutral obligations as well as a predisposition for particularistic over universalistic obligations. But this fusion of variables in our situations *does* seem to generate a unidimensional scale, the dimension involved being the degree of strength of a latent tendency to be loyal to a friend even at the cost of other principles. The rank groupings would represent ordered degrees of probability of taking the friend's side in a role conflict.[7]

Ideally, having assigned each of the 648 individuals to one of five scale types or rank groupings, we would like to see how these groupings relate to behavior in a new, nonverbal situation of role conflict. Such a design would be very costly and complicated but must be carried out sooner or later if we are to have full confidence that our scale is not an artifact—for example, that it does not arise merely from differences in imaginative ability, a possibility which was suggested by Leonard S. Cottrell in his discussion of the first draft of our paper. As a simple but decidedly inferior procedure, we investigated the relationship between the scale and other verbal responses relative to role conflict.

We selected some academic situations not too far removed from the experience of college students. The problem was to see whether respondents who were near the particularistic end of the scale, for example,

[7] Of course, we shall eventually be interested in finding out whether a more abstract scale—for example, one of universalism-particularism alone—would stand up and, if it did, more about its genesis.

tended to have a higher probability of giving particularistic responses in these academic situations than other respondents. (The scale itself involved no academic situations.)

You are employed by Professor X to mark examination books in his course. Your close friend makes somewhat under a passing grade. If you give him a special break, you can boost him over the passing line. He needs the grade badly.

What right does your friend have to expect you to give him a special break?

Check one:
- ☐ He has a definite right as a friend to expect me to do this for him.
- ☐ He has some right as a friend to expect me to do this for him.
- ☐ He has no right as a friend to expect me to do this for him.

Would you give him this special break in view of your obligations to the university and your obligation to your friend?

Check one:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

The same scoring system was used as in the scale items. Among those with Scale Type 1, only 7 per cent responded particularistically in this situation, the percentage rising to 49 among those in Scale Type 5:

Scale Type	Per Cent
5	49
4	25
3	31
2	30
1	7

Another situation presented was the following, scored similarly to the others:

You are in charge of the reserve desk at a library. A certain reserve book is in heavy demand. A close friend is pressed for time and can use the book only at a certain hour. He has suggested that you hide the book for a while before his arrival so that he will be sure to get it. He needs it badly.

What right does your friend have to expect you to hide the book?

Check one:
- ☐ He has a definite right as a friend to expect me to hide the book for him.
- ☐ He has some right as a friend to expect me to do this for him.
- ☐ He has no right as a friend to expect me to do this for him.

Would you hide the book for him in view of your obligations to the library and your obligation to your friend?

Check one:
- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

Variation in proportions responding particularistically was from 16 to 70 per cent:

Scale Type	Per Cent
5	70
4	55
3	58
2	46
1	16

The following story, almost identical with that used in the paper previously cited in the *Review*, also was presented and scored as were the other items quoted in the present paper.

You are proctoring an examination in a middle-group course. *You are the only proctor in the room.* About halfway through the exam you see a fellow-student, who is also your close friend, openly cheating. He is copying his answers from previously prepared crib notes. When he sees that you have seen the notes as you walked down the aisle and stopped near the seat, he whispers quietly to you, "O.K., I'm caught. That's all there is to it."

Under these circumstances, what right does he have to expect you not to turn him in?

Check one:
- ☐ He has a definite right as a friend to expect me not to turn him in.
- ☐ He has some right as a friend to expect me not to turn him in.
- ☐ He has no right as a friend to expect me not to turn him in.

Under these circumstances, what would you probably do in view of your obligations as a proctor and your obligation to your friend?

Check one:
☐ Report him.
☐ Not report him.

Variation was from 6 to 50 per cent, in proportions responding particularistically:

Scale Type	Per Cent
5	50
4	35
3	28
2	25
1	6

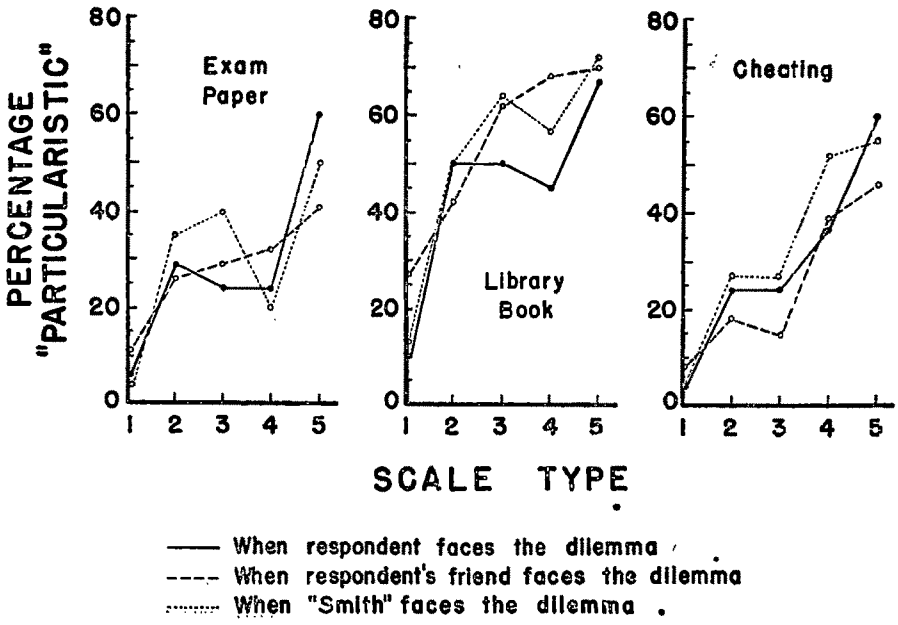
These items, like the items included in the scale, were asked in three alternate forms. A respondent, for example, who had the "Smith-Johnson" form of the scale items also had a "Smith-Johnson" form of the new academic items. There was considerable variability in patterns of relationship, but the upward progression was present on all forms on each item, as is shown in Chart I.

An important element of a friendship relationship is what Parsons calls an "other-orientation" rather than a self-orientation, such as is institutionalized in our society in a business transaction. Though other-orientation is institutionalized, it is probably not an absolute value. While the individual is supposed to subordinate his own interests to those of his friends under many circumstances, there are limits to the sacrifices which one may legitimately expect of a friend. These limits tend to be vague and undefined, perhaps so that they may vary with the intimacy of the friendship. This introduces another source of behavioral variability: The respondent's perception of the risk to himself by defying universalistic norms and coming to the friend's aid. It was of interest, therefore, to vary the cheating situation by asking the respondent to imagine an analogous setting with much greater risk to the proctor:

Consider the same cheating situation as above, with an *additional* element. Suppose now *there is another proctor (an extremely conscientious fellow!) in the examination room with you* and that you would be running a fifty-fifty risk of personal exposure by him to the

CHART I

SCALE SCORES AS RELATED TO THE PROPORTION "PARTICULARISTIC" IN CERTAIN ACADEMIC SITUATIONS



authorities for failing as proctor to turn in a cheater.

(Check list the same as before)

How the increase in risk reduced the particularistic responses is shown in Table 3.

We hoped to make a further study of high and low risk to see how differences in predispositions might be related to other factors in this specific cheating situation, such as students' perceptions of the severity of penalties, of fellow-students' attitudes, and of the cheater's own probable reactions.

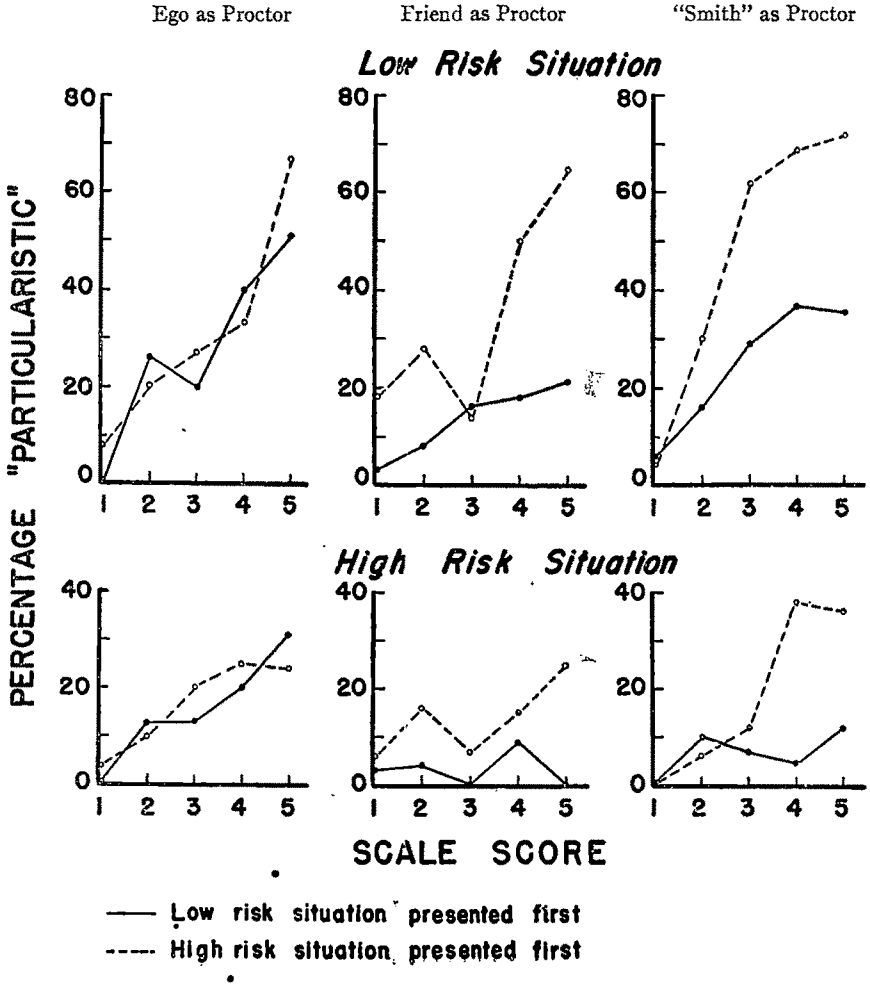
TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE "PARTICULARISTIC" WHEN RISK VARIES

Scale Type	In Both Situations	In Situation of Low Risk Only	In Neither Situation	Total
5	20	30	50	100
4	16	19	65	100
3	10	18	72	100
2	11	14	75	100
1	2	4	94	100

CHART II

SCALE SCORES AS RELATED TO THE PROPORTION "PARTICULARISTIC" IN THE CHEATING SITUATIONS, SHOWING VARIATIONS RELATED TO DIFFERENT FORMS OF QUESTIONNAIRES



Questions were designed on these points, but they were not satisfactory. The main problem which emerged, however, and which negated much further intensive cross-tabulation, was that sizable differences in response occurred depending on whether we asked the cheating question involving little risk to the proctor *prior to* or *after* the cheating question involving risk to the proctor. Actually, in a random half of the cases the little-risk situation was presented first; in the other half the risk situation was presented first.

For each form (ego as proctor, ego's friend as proctor, Smith as proctor) we have, then, two reports. There are six replications in all. Results are graphed in Chart II. The reader will observe that the form in which ego is proctor stands up well. We get about the same picture, irrespective of the order of presentation of the low-risk and high-risk situations, respectively. But the results are chaotic for the forms in which ego is the cheater or in which the actors are third persons.

The reasons for this result are not immediately obvious. Further trials and study are required before reaching a conclusion. One plausible suggestion is that a paper-and-pencil test like this requires a good deal of imagination on the part of a respondent and that the act of imagination is made easiest when ego himself is pictured as confronting the dilemma. By increasing the salience, one reduces the temptation for casual or careless checking. However, this speculation is inadequate to explain why, on the two aberrant forms, the prior presentation of the high-risk situation produced a *higher* particularistic response to the two items than did the prior presentation of the low-risk situation.

The systematic study of the extent to which identification, salience, ego defenses, etc., modify questionnaire responses is still in its infancy. Hence, the superior results shown in Chart II on the form in which ego himself faced the dilemma should not tempt us to hasty conclusions. After all, (1) as Table 2 shows, all three forms yielded about the same pattern of distribution of scale types, and (2), as Chart I shows, all three scales showed about the same general relationship in the specific academic situations, including the cheating situation.[8]

Our study suggests that it is possible to classify people according to a predisposition to select one or the other horn of a dilemma in role conflict. As more studies are made—not only with pencil-and-paper tests, but also with role-playing in experimental and real-life situations and with other procedures—information exceedingly important to social science can be derived. We must anticipate the possibility, as Edward A. Suchman of Cornell has suggested in a letter to the writers, that tendencies of a respondent to adopt more stereotyped roles in hypothetical than in real-life situations will complicate prediction.

Studies in this field will help sociologists in developing theories of institutionalization and social psychologists in developing theories of personality and, indeed, can serve as a crucial link between the two bodies of theory. The importance of such a link, employing such variables as particularism-universalism, affectivity-neutrality, specificity-diffuseness, self-other, has been in the forefront of the thinking of Talcott Parsons and associates, who have been working on a new schema looking toward unification of social science theory.[9] The immensity of the technical task involved in making such concepts amenable to measurement in the years of patient work which lie ahead is at least suggested by the experience of our present study. Indeed, one of the most important values of this paper should be its service as a brake on the enthusiasm of those who may anticipate quick and easy progress in moving from highly abstract concepts in social science to empirical operations.

[8] In the high-risk cheating situation (not shown in Chart I), when the two sequences of presentation are combined, there is also relatively little difference among the three forms, all showing a definite correlation with the scale types.

[9] Talcott Parsons *et al.*, *Toward a General Theory of Action*, to be published early in 1951 by the Harvard University Press.

Such studies as ours can also be applied in practical research if sustained effort is devoted to technical developments. Leadership, for example, involves skill in the solution of role conflicts. Classic examples are the foreman in industry or the noncommissioned officer in the army. If such thoughtful observers as Chester I. Barnard are correct, skill in handling role conflicts is also a *sine qua non* at the high executive levels.[10] Eventually, we may have role-playing situational tests, involving nonverbal as well as verbal behavior, which will be useful in the selection and training of leaders. The present study represents only a primitive effort to formulate some of the problems of definition and measurement.

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[10] Chester I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), esp. chap. xvii.

NOTE ON LAZARSFELD'S LATENT DISTANCE SCALE AS APPLIED TO ROLE-CONFLICT DATA

In *Measurement and Prediction*, chapter xi, pages 441–47, the reader will find a numerical example of a latent distance analysis carried out in full, on Research Branch data on psychoneurotic symptoms. That analysis used only one computed parameter for each item. In the present example on role-conflict data, Lazarsfeld, who kindly made the analysis, introduced more flexibility by computing two parameters for each item. The latent structure is set up as follows:

Latent Class	Item			
	1	2	3	4
I.....	a_1	a_2	a_3	a_4
II.....	b_1	a_2	a_3	a_4
III.....	b_1	b_2	a_3	a_4
IV.....	b_1	b_2	b_3	a_4
V.....	b_1	b_2	b_3	b_4

Each value of a tends to be a large fraction, and each value of b tends to be small. (The example in chapter xi added the restriction that $a_i = 1 - b_i$. In the perfect Guttman scale each $a = 1$ and each $b = 0$.) The algebra and arithmetical routine involved will be presented by Lazarsfeld in a separate paper. Final results, however, are shown here as Table 4, using as illustration, for reasons of space, only the form in which ego faces the dilemma. In this table the scale patterns are ordered as in Table 2 and do not follow precisely the rank order they would have in Lazarsfeld's schema. The most serious discrepancy between the ordering indicated by the Lazarsfeld model and by the scalogram procedure of scoring to the nearest scale type is with respect to pattern + − − + based on only four cases (see Table 4). The Lazarsfeld procedure would place this pattern within the top group. By scalogram procedure, to assign this pattern to the top group would be to imply that respondents made two "errors," in both Items 2 and 3, which, indeed, may have been the case. The present assignment implies only one error, on Item 1. The reader will note that two-error patterns + − + − and + + − −, with two cases and one case, respectively, which could have been assigned variously by scalogram methods, belong, by the Lazarsfeld model, just where they have been put.

The picture presented in Table 4 is analogous to the picture presented in *Measurement and Prediction*, chapter xi, Table 13, but it must be remembered that it has involved a more flexible basic design.

The last two columns of Table 4 show good agreement between the fitted and actual totals. Approximately as good a fit was obtained with the other two forms of the questionnaire, and the rank ordering of the scale patterns on the basis of the percentage of a given pattern in each latent class is not markedly different. Much further study is needed of the latent distance model used here, especially with respect to reliability of small frequencies and, as has been mentioned earlier, to the testing of acceptance standards. The concept of a latent structure is theoretically quite appropriate to data of the type we are likely to assemble in subsequent investigations of role, and of informal social norms generally.

TABLE 4

ILLUSTRATIVE RESULTS OF FITTING LATENT DISTANCE STRUCTURE
(Data for Form in Which Ego Faced Role Conflict)

Items 1 2 3 4	Percentage of Each Pattern in Each Latent Class					Totals		
	I	II	III	IV	V	Total	Fitted	Actual
++++	95.9	4.0	0.1	.....	.....	100	19.1	20
+−++	94.8	3.9	0.2	0.2	0.9	100	10.0	9
++−+	91.7	3.7	3.0	0.3	1.3	100	6.5	6
+++−	95.7	4.3	.....	.....	.....	100	2.5	2
+−+−	96.7	3.3	.....	.....	.....	100	1.3	2
++−−	92.3	5.1	2.6	.....	.....	100	0.8	1
−+++	0.9	95.6	3.0	0.3	0.2	100	39.9	38
−++−	0.8	87.7	2.7	0.4	8.4	100	5.7	7
−−++	0.9	88.9	2.7	4.8	2.7	100	22.2	24
−−+−	0.3	34.8	1.2	1.7	62.0	100	7.4	6
−−−+	0.3	25.3	19.9	34.7	19.8	100	25.4	23
−+−+	0.5	52.3	41.2	3.8	2.2	100	23.7	25
+−−+	86.2	3.6	2.4	4.8	3.0	100	3.6	4
−+−−	0.3	23.1	18.4	1.6	56.6	100	6.9	6
+−−−	33.9	1.8	.....	1.8	62.5	100	1.2	1
−−−−	.....	2.1	1.6	2.8	93.5	100	41.0	42

INFORMAL FACTORS IN CAREER ACHIEVEMENT

MELVILLE DALTON

ABSTRACT

Study of 226 careers in a managerial hierarchy revealed no formal pattern of selection and promotion in terms of age at entry, rate of advancement, occupational experience, or type of educational training. But informal processes of selection appeared to function significantly through the use of such criteria as religion, ethnic composition, political belief, and participation in accepted organizations.

The means by which individuals rise to higher positions in the organizations in which they work out their careers has long been a matter of dispute.[1] At least in the United States the belief is common that personal relations are important in occupational promotion.

Some students of business and industry have stated that "pull," "connections," "family contacts," etc., are important in success.[2] At least one high industrial executive has echoed this with emotion,[3] and another declares that such factors as "race, nationality, faith, politics, sectional antecedents, . . . etc.," are important criteria of selection in all organizations, probably less so in industry than in political, church, and academic bodies.[4]

However, there is a dearth of objective evidence to support the view either that measurable attributes believed essential for functioning in given organizations are not used in the selection of candidates or that specific informal criteria, not necessarily related to the attributes presumably desired, are used to a significant degree.

The problem here is to learn what factors were at work in the selection and advancement of individuals through the managerial hierarchy of a factory and to evaluate, as objectively as possible, the relative influence of these criteria in the careers of the managers. The plant itself was one of the three on which other behavioral topics were earlier presented.[5] The single plant is discussed here not because career lines in the other two plants were necessarily different—for informal behavior was similar—but because complete statistical data were available only for the one plant.

The sample included all salaried managers,[6] numbering 226, of the organization. These officers were divided into the following functional groups: 93 first-line foremen, 61 general foremen, 36 superintendents and assistants, and 36 staff heads, assistants, and specialists. The first three of these groups formed the line hierarchy from the lowest to the highest stratum, respectively.[7]

[1] Pitirim Sorokin (*Social Mobility* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1927], esp. chap. ix) analyzes "social testing" as a force in ascent through organizational strata. In his *Kritik des Erfolges* (Leipzig: C. L. Hirschfeld, 1930), Gustav Ichheiser discusses the importance of "Machiavellian" behavior in success. See also Karl Mannheim, "Über das Wesen und die Bedeutung des wirtschaftlichen Erfolgsstrebens," *Archiv für Sozialwissenschaft und Sozialpolitik*, LXIII (1930), 449–512.

[2] R. A. Brady, *Business as a System of Power* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1943), pp. 301–2.

[3] H. Frederick Willkie, *A Rebel Yells* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1946), pp. 186–88.

[4] C. I. Barnard, *The Functions of the Executive* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938), p. 224.

[5] See "Conflicts between Managerial Staff and Line Officers," *American Sociological Review*, XV (June, 1950), 342–51; and "Unofficial Union-Management Relations," *ibid.*, October, 1950, pp. 611–19.

[6] Excluded from the sample were about 90 hourly-paid foremen and assistants who were not unequivocally part of management.

[7] The line strata were more numerous than indicated, e.g., the 36 superintendents (grouped together for analytical convenience) included departmental heads; their superiors, the divisional heads;

The problem of how individuals were selected and advanced through the hierarchy was first attacked by study of formal statements in the managerial handbooks. These manuals gave no pertinent information on this subject. They merely indicated that "ability,"[8] "honesty," "co-operation," and "industry" were the qualities essential for promotion. Formal statements from high responsible officers were similar. But these official expressions were confidentially challenged by numerous informed, reliable officers throughout the hierarchy who declared that other factors were often of much greater importance in achieving success.

Ascertaining the truth of these reports was very difficult, though the writer was a participant-observer, because of the secrecy covering such matters. Hence the problem was next approached (*a*) by examining such objective factors as age, occupational experience, years of service, amount and character of education, etc., on the assumption that these factors would be of importance in a bureaucracy in which position in the structure might be thought to correlate fairly high with training, experience, and related factors; (*b*) by getting confidential information and judgments from trustworthy intimates among the managers; and (*c*) by showing objectively, as far as possible, the significance of the designated informal factors, such as being a member of specific organizations, having a certain religion, ethnic makeup, etc.

The data on age, service, and education will be presented first, followed by examination of informal criteria.

OCCUPATIONAL DATA ON MANAGERS

Age at time of appointment.—The age at which personnel enter given strata in a hierarchy is a possible criterion of regularity in the selection and advancement of incumbents. Data in the present case, however, suggested the absence of a pattern based on age criteria.

As shown in Table 1, the range of ages at the time of selection was too great in all the managerial categories to say that a narrow age span was important as a criterion.

Years of service at appointment.—In some organizations years of service have sufficient weight in promotion for at least rough limits to be set up, minimum service being required before advancement to higher positions and promotion being unlikely after a maximum of so many years in a given office. The incumbent is free to leave the organization or understand that he has reached his "ceiling."

But in the present plant the minimum variation for a managerial category, the general foremen, showed (Table 1) a range of 31 years. And the relations between service and age at appointment for both superintendents[9] and the staff group defied pre-

and the general, or plant, superintendent, thus forming three strata. And at each stratum of the line there were "assistants," resulting in a total of about ten strata. In the staff, or research and advisory organizations, the total strata varied from three to five, depending on the particular staff.

[8] The term "ability" was used glibly and was not defined in the manuals. However, it seemed that, in general, ability was understood to mean capacity to forward plant goals; i.e., (*a*) to maintain a low operating cost record, a low accident record, a low grievance record (with no "wildcat strikes"), and a high production record; (*b*) to make "good contributions" (helpful ideas, suggestions, etc.) toward the solution of critical issues; (*c*) to achieve "good relations" in the department and between departments; and (*d*) to place organizational loyalty above personal aims. Though some of these factors admit of measurement, no complete record of such indexes in relation to a promotional scheme existed for even a small majority of the officers. (However, some of the staff groups made periodic "appraisals" of their members with possible promotions in mind.) Reference will be made later to cases of individuals who were advanced but obviously did not meet the above tacitly formal criteria.

[9] Because of the small numbers, this category includes all officers in the line organization with "superintendent" in their titles, regardless of the stratum they were in, or whether they were "full" superintendents or only "assistants" or "assistants to." Regrouped under these three latter titles the superintendents on entering their offices had, respectively, mean ages of 43.4 (Md. 45) years, 41.3 (Md. 41) years, and 48.9 (Md. 46) years. That the "assistants to superintendents," the lowest office of the three in terms of status and salary, were on the

cise classification. Among the former, for example, 16 starting as production workers required from 8 to 30 years (M. 19.3, Md. 20.5) to reach superintendencies. Six of the 16 had never been general foremen. The 10 who had were in that office from 1 to 8 years (M. 5.6, Md. 5.5). Nine superintendents came from staff organizations where they had been employed from 3 to 35 years[10] (M. 15.2, Md. 14). Six entered the plant as first-line foremen, spent from 3 to 12 years (M. 7.5, Md. 7) in that position, and moved directly into superintendencies. The remaining 5 served as clerks or secretaries in the line organization from 14 to 33 years (M. 21.8, Md. 21) before promotion to superintendencies.

The staff group was sharply bimodal with respect to the occupational experiences of its members in the plant. Twenty-three of the officers entered the plant as staff employees and rose to their positions in from 3 to 11 years (M. 7.4, Md. 7). The other 13 officers, who were markedly older, originated in the line organization, where, apparently for personal reasons (see below), they were tolerated for many years as near-failures (in terms of their capacity to forward plant goals) before passing to the less influential staff organizations. On taking the latter positions, the span of their total plant service varied from 17 to 35 years (M. 24.1, Md. 22).

TABLE 1

OCCUPATIONAL DATA

Category	Data	Mean	Median	Range
First-line foremen (N=93)	Age at appointment	36	37	16–58
	Years service at appointment	12	11	1–38
	Years education	11	11	6–20
	Current age	48.5	48	31–65
General foremen (N=61)	Age at appointment	44.4	44.5	26–62
	Years service at appointment	16.2	17	0–31
	Years education	11.8	12	8–16
	Current age	50	50	35–65
Superintendents (N=36)	Age at appointment	41.4	41.5	25–58
	Years service at appointment	19.8	19	3–35
	Years education	13.8	14	9–19
	Current age	48.7	49	35–65
Staff group (N=36)	Age at appointment	36.6	33	24–54
	Years service at appointment	13	10	3–35
	Years education	15.2	16	9–19
	Current age	42.9	41	29–61

At first glance the occupational experiences of the 190 line officers (in terms of a group statistic) might suggest that a pattern of promotion based on years of service existed. That is, a relation appeared to exist between status in the hierarchy and years of service. In terms of median values, current personnel had become foremen after 11 years of service, general foremen after 17, and superintendents after about 20 years.

Obviously, disproportionate numbers would automatically prevent most foremen from becoming superintendents. But, ignor-

average older was due to the frequent use of that office as a sinecure (see below) for (*a*) officers who after prolonged trial in various posts were generally acknowledged as unfit for continuance in more responsible positions, and for (*b*) officers who had "served long" with little formal status and were thought "due for a reward."

[10] Dispersion of the data was so great in some cases that the mean values, having coefficients of variation in excess of 50 per cent, were deficient as measures of central tendency (see T. C. McCormick, *Elementary Social Statistics* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1941], p. 130).

ing this limitation, it must be noted that few of the first-line foremen could hope to become superintendents, because fewer superintendents were being recruited from personnel with experience at the bottom, and the rate of progression of first-line foremen was falling rapidly.

With respect to the first point, as noted above, only about 44 per cent (16) of current superintendents had ever been first-line foremen. Study of current ages of the 190 line officers (Table 1) reveals that current first-line foremen were advancing less rapidly than had earlier personnel in that stratum. For example, current foremen had already held their positions 12.5 years,[11] which was 5.2 years longer than current general foremen had served as first-line foremen. It will also be seen that the mean age of current first-line officers was only 1.5 years less than that of the general foremen and only 0.2 years less than that of the superintendents. If current first-line foremen had immediately become general foremen and held that office for only the time that current general foremen had served (M. 5.6 years) and had then become superintendents, they would have had a mean age of 54.1 years and would have been employed 30.1 years as compared with the current superintendents, who were employed 19.8 years before taking their offices and who, after 7.3 years[12] in office, were only 0.2 years older than current first-line foremen.

It would seem, then, that no fixed lines of selection and promotion, in terms of age and years of experience, were functioning criteria in the plant.

Education.—Rank in the strata appeared to correlate with education expressed as a group mean. Education (Table 1) included time of attendance in grade school, high school, accredited college, trade schools, night schools, and years of study by correspondence.

The differences between educational means[13] of the line strata, as well as between all the latter and the staff group, were statistically significant at better than the 1 per cent level in all but one case, which barely missed that level.

This tie between education and rank in the line suggests that training was related to managerial skills and was, therefore, probably a criterion for advancement. However, the data showed that only a minority of the managers were in positions relevant to their schooling, while at least 62 per cent were engaged in duties not related to their formal training. For example, the industrial relations department was headed by officers with degrees in aeronautical and chemical engineering; a divisional superintendent had specialized in medicine; a superintendent who majored in law was in charge of mechanical processes; etc.

In some cases mere quantity of schooling may have been a rough criterion for advancement. If so, it became obscured in the play of personal relations. A more realistic hypothesis might be that greater schooling contributed to increased desire for status and a higher style of life as a result of growing knowledge and association during college years with those of higher socioeconomic status. At the same time, the psychological mobility of education probably weakened the group-centered values acquired in childhood and strengthened the readiness with which many of the managers seized advan-

[11] "Current" mean age minus mean age at appointment.

[12] See n. 11 above.

[13] When the means of only the grade, high-school, and college totals were considered, the differential by stratum persisted: first-line foremen, 10.5 years; general foremen, 11.2 years; superintendents, 13.1 years. There was also, it will be noted, an increase in the amount of trade and night schooling for each ascending stratum: first-line foremen, 0.5 years; general foremen, 0.6 years; superintendents, 0.7 years. Breakdown of the 36 superintendents into strata of lowest to highest status showed a similar increase in mean education (grade, high school, and academic college only): departmental superintendents, 12.5 years; divisional superintendents, 13.7 years; general superintendent and assistants, 15.3 years. In being secondary to the line in terms of income, status, and authority, the staff group with a mean of 15.2 years of schooling could be viewed as a paradox.

tages and created impressions favorable to their personal success.[14]

An alternative hypothesis, that family origin gave both education and stimulus to upward mobility, may be offered. But if family status is judged solely by the fathers' occupation,[15] on which data were incomplete, such influence was probably not dominant.

Thus age, service, and schooling all showed such irregularities that neither the maximum nor the minimum of any were criteria of promotion.

This is not to deny that vague, unformulated criteria of "ability," such as those earlier noted, were used with varying degrees of effectiveness to assure minimum performance in office, but to say that the precise nature of such criteria and the extent of their application was uncertain and was intermingled with the functioning of other more objective factors that were clearly important as selective criteria.

INFORMAL CRITERIA OF SUCCESS

Covert charges are made in the plant among lower and middle officers that higher officers advance because of conforming to unofficial and irrelevant requirements rather than by "ability." Undoubtedly personal jealousies and failures had a part in these charges, but major attention here will be given to the designated factors instead of attitudes toward them.

The alleged influences were (*a*) being a member of the Masonic Order; (*b*) not being a Roman Catholic;[16] (*c*) having an ethnic background largely Anglo-Saxon and Germanic; (*d*) being a member of a local yacht club; and (*e*) being affiliated with the Republican party.

Masonic membership.—Most Protestant non-Masons and Catholics alike declared that being a Mason was a prerequisite to advancement in the plant.

Some non-Masonic Protestants praised the organization but declared that the local Masonic lodges contained "too many social climbers who are ruining things by getting in just to get a good job instead of helping the organization."

The younger Catholics complained that "95 per cent of management belong to the Masons" and that Catholics, who are a majority in the community,[17] were not properly represented. An older Catholic staff officer expressed the belief that the Masons were "getting too strong in the plant." He declared, however, that in recent decades there had been two Catholic general managers who "appointed Catholics to good jobs when it was convenient, but not as much as

[14] Sorokin (*op. cit.*, p. 201) long ago hypothesized that college-trained individuals, in a society making a virtue of education, are strongly oriented toward status achievement and, if denied status, are disposed to chafe under prevailing rules. The problem of what personality characteristics are most likely to make for managerial promotion is too large for inclusion in this paper. Apropos of this point are the remarks of Willkie (*op. cit.*, esp. p. 237), who, though not a social scientist, draws on insights acquired from long experience in industry. Comments of R. Michels on the "bureaucratic spirit" and the "mania for promotion" are also significant in this connection (see *Political Parties* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949], p. 189).

[15] Among 31 of the 72 staff officers and superintendents on whom these data were available, the fathers were: 4 small farmers, 2 grocers, 9 skilled workers, 2 schoolteachers, 1 telegrapher, 1 police officer, 1 barber, 2 sales clerks, 1 insurance agent, 4 industrial foremen, 1 streetcar motorman, 1 locomotive engineer, 1 real estate agent, and 1 consulting engineer.

[16] This dichotomy of Catholic-Mason is introduced because Catholics considered themselves ineligible for Masonic membership in view of church restrictions on the taking of certain oaths required of Masons. The latter declared that no individual was barred from the organization because of being a Catholic.

[17] Four senior priests of the community professed awareness that the number of Roman Catholics among the plant managers had been declining in number "for years." Their estimates (gathered by parish members) of the number of Catholics in the community varied from 59 to 85 per cent. If we assume that the religion of political candidates may be an issue in elections and that voters frequently accept or reject candidates on that basis instead of political affiliation, then these estimates of a Catholic majority might be supported by the fact that the two latest mayors of the community, as well as the district congressman, were Catholics.

the Masons do now." He also alleged that officials of the central office were aware of this Catholic-Masonic struggle and nullified its effects by replacing a retiring general manager with one lacking the pertinent characteristics of the majority group of then current subordinates. Data were lacking to support or refute this statement.

Even intimates among the Masons in higher positions would say no more than that "being a member doesn't hurt" and that "you always know you can get service and help from each other."

Since the objective checking on these statements was to determine the number of Masons, Catholics, and those of the neutral group, successive intimates of the various groups were interviewed until unanimity on membership was reached. The results are shown in Table 2.

TABLE 2

MASONS AND CATHOLICS IN MANAGEMENT

Managerial Group	Masons		Catholics		Neither		Total Officers
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Staff	19	52.8	5	13.9	12	33.3	36
Superintendents	28	77.8	3	8.3	5	13.9	36
General foremen	39	64.0	12	19.7	10	16.4	61
First-line foremen	70	75.0	10	10.9	13	14.1	93
Total	156	69.0	30	13.3	40	17.7	226

Here it will be seen that together the Catholics and the neutral group were only 31 per cent of the managers against the 69 per cent who were Masons. By chi-square this would be a chance difference about 7.5 times in 100. And if the Catholics (regarding themselves ineligible for Masonic membership) are omitted from the computation, 79.6 per cent of the eligible managers were Masons. This gives a highly significant difference, suggesting, with the other data, that participation in Masonry was, indeed, an informal criterion of success.

It will be noted that the managers of highest status, the superintendents, were 78 per cent Masons. One might expect the next highest concentration of Masons to be among the general foremen rather than the first-line foremen. That the reverse was true may have been in part due to frustration among first-line foremen,[18] who recognized the symbol and pursued it in the same way that some of their members changed their names to escape rejected ethnic categories (see below) or dropped Catholicism as they groped to find the avenues to advancement.

That the staff group had the fewest Masons may have resulted from functional and other antipathies between staff and line that rendered staff personnel less acceptable.[19]

Ethnic composition.—The name-changing just referred to, caustic remarks among lower managers of Central and South European extraction that "you've got to have the right complexion to get anywhere around here," and the general use of opprobrious epithets all indicated a high level of ethnic consciousness among the managers.

Respective ethnic origins of the 226 managers were determined by personal knowledge, by checking with intimates concerning others, by free interviewing, and by reference to personnel files.

The total members of each ethnic group and their proportions in each managerial category are presented in Table 3.

It will be observed that Anglo-Saxons

[18] From having lost status and authority to the union and the invading staff organizations (see n. 5 above).

[19] See "Conflicts between Staff and Line Managerial Officers," *op. cit.*

constituted at least half of each managerial group, that Germans were next in number, and that the superintendents were entirely Anglo-Saxon and German. The proportion of this ethnic combination will be seen to vary inversely with rank in the line hierarchy. That is, the general foremen, second in rank, were 93.5 per cent, and the first-line foremen 74.1 per cent, Anglo-Saxon and German.

TABLE 3

ETHNIC CHARACTER OF MANAGEMENT

Ethnicity	Staff Officers		Superintendents		General Foremen		First Line Foremen		Total Per Cent in Sample
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	
Anglo-Saxon	18	50.0	26	72.2	41	67.2	47	50.5	58.4
German	12	33.4	10	27.8	16	26.3	22	23.6	26.5
Scandinavian	5	13.9	.....	.....	.....	.....	10	10.8	6.6
Italian	1	2.7	.....	.....	2	3.3	3	3.2	2.6
Polish	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	4	4.3	1.8
French	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.6	3	3.2	1.8
Croatian-Serbian	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.6	2	2.2	1.3
Negro	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.1	0.5
Spanish	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1	1.1	0.5
Total	36	100.0	36	100.0	61	100.0	93	100.0	100.0

The staff group, unique in having the lowest percentage of Anglo-Saxons and the highest percentage of Germans, lay between the two lower line strata with 83.4 per cent.

Some of the interstrata differences are supported statistically and leave little doubt concerning the selective force of ethnic condition. For example, the different proportions of Anglo-Saxons between first-line foremen and general foremen, and between superintendents and first-line foremen, were significant at the 5 per cent level. Between general foremen and superintendents, however, the difference could have been due to chance nearly three times in ten.

The significance of ethnic selection among the managers was sharpened by examination of the community's ethnic pattern. Using the city directory, and employing surnames[20] as a criterion of ethnicity, a random sample showed that Anglo-Saxon ethnics constituted about 26 per cent, and German ethnics about 12 per cent, of the total population. Data from the 1940 Census indicated that the community had a large foreign-born population, of which those from Germany and the British Isles together were less than 15 per cent.

Membership in a yacht club.—Gossip in the many offices of the plant suggested that social activities and friendships in the local yacht club, in connection with other criteria, might be important in the selection and promotion, or at least the continuance in office, of numerous individuals.

A survey showed that 114 officers of the plant were members. This figure included 14 superintendents (one of whom was president of the club), 24 general foremen, 29 first-line foremen, and 47 staff officers. Among the latter were 33 lower supervisory and non-supervisory personnel not included in the sample, and 14 officers from the sample.

While these proportions are smaller than those of the two preceding items, interviews among members, together with casual but revealing comments, indicated that activity

[20] This device of course overlooked the extent to which names may have been changed and the fact that migration weakens the criterion. Since nearly all the Negro population of the community had Anglo-Saxon surnames, all such names from the area of the city in which Negroes resided were counted with the non-Anglo-Saxon and non-Germanic ethnics.

in the club and freely given effort to increase and maintain its physical plant and accessories won favor with higher officers that was probably very helpful when candidates for promotions were being considered.

Political affiliation.—Presumably all the managers were members of the Republican party. This was suggested (*a*) by statements by men of all strata; (*b*) by the apparently universal practice among the managers of reading only an avowedly Republican newspaper in the plant; (*c*) by the fact that discussion favorable to policies of the Democratic party was in all detectable cases covert and occurred chiefly among first-line foremen; and (*d*) by the fact that in the few cases in which officers had earlier served as public political incumbents they did so as members of the Republican party.

In presenting these data, the aim is not to imply that the managers needed only to meet the indicated criteria in order to rise and that "natural" capacity was negligible in success. It is assumed that an aspirant meeting the unofficial criteria but lacking minimal aptitude to function would almost never be deliberately selected for advancement. Rather the point to be stressed is that managerial aptitude might or might not be encompassed by the process of informal selection. Absence of a sharply defined mode of ascent encouraged the managers to search for more subtle means of elevating themselves. As is probably true in most organizations, and even to some extent where promotional processes are well formulated, the managerial search for mobility ladders sharpened their sensitivity to the attitudes and attributes of superiors and induced competition to please. Functional requirements frequently became secondary in the concern to adopt currently acceptable social attributes and to meet the personal wishes and tacit expectations of superiors (themselves often concerned to have subordinates of like traits) with the hope of making a good impression.

Such skill in pleasing appeared frequently to cause superiors not to see, or to overlook, other qualities among aspirants and in some cases to appoint individuals who later failed to perform as expected. Once such persons attained office, their superiors could not admit errors in judgment or renounce the personal claims that had been built up. Hence failures were usually protected by creating new offices (sinecures) for them, or appointing them "assistants to," which were often inconstant positions of little responsibility from which they could be dropped, as convenient. Officially, "changing conditions" or "production demands" required the new appointments. While holders of these offices[21] were usually referred to in gossip as having "fouled out," the positions were also sometimes given to very aggressive and capable officers (who approximately met the unofficial criteria) as a reward when higher posts were unavailable.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The data on occupational experience showed no definitive formal procedure for selection of the managers. In the absence of such a method, selection to a large extent was carried on informally, with personnel rising from lower strata by conforming to social characteristics of personnel in upper strata, the chief criteria (varying as dominant groups of personnel changed through time) being ethnicity, religion, participation in specific out-plant social activities, political affiliation, and membership in accepted secret societies. Evidence showed no necessary relation between these criteria and capacity to forward plant goals.

The data suggested that unrestricted informal behavior may in some cases initiate and perpetuate conditions termed by the

[21] The existence of such offices suggested either that whatever formal criteria were used for selection were frequently invalid or that if valid formal criteria existed they were often overlooked in the play of personal relations involving informal criteria. Informants estimated that the number of "good" sinecures varies from fifteen to twenty-five, while those of lesser value might fluctuate to forty-five or more.

larger society as "discriminatory" and "undemocratic."

There appears to be a growing gap between career practices and our insistence that status may be earned by adhering to formal procedures, that vocational training will prepare an individual for executive positions,[22] etc. Drives for career success seem inevitably to color the carrying-out of official duties, so that neither, as was indicated in earlier papers, can follow specific lines. Hence it appears more realistic in most cases to regard status achievement in a hierarchy as subject to many influences and earnable only to a degree. This appears due largely to (*a*) our valuation of personal success—and the consequent struggle to attain it; (*b*) the limited number of positions; (*c*) the loose and shifting character of our society which makes difficult the formation of fixed lines of ascent and inclines personnel to evade such lines as do arise; (*d*) the almost unavoidable intrusion of personal sentiments into the professional functioning of interacting officers; and (*e*) the conflict, in most large organizations, of individual and group interests which further reduces the weight of formal techniques in career perfection and allows increasing opportunity for the rise of nonfunctional criteria of selection.

[22] P. F. Drucker discusses this point in "The Graduate Business School," *Fortune*, August, 1950, pp. 92–94 ff.

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RACE RELATIONS AND ANTIDISCRIMINATORY LEGISLATION

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ABSTRACT

During the past decade legislation has become one of the major weapons in the battle against discrimination. Dozens of states now have antidiscrimination laws, most of them of recent origin. Experience and analysis indicate that this is a useful technique, although not a perfect one, for reducing discrimination; and the indications are that the success of the present laws will result in more such legislation in the future.

Activity in the last few sessions of Congress and of the various state legislatures has brought into sharp focus the need for a re-examination and re-evaluation of the relationship between enacted law, public demand, and both mass and individual behavior. It is the purpose of this paper to make such a re-examination within the narrow limits of minority-group relationships as well as to indicate the extent to which legislation, as of the beginning of 1950, is currently being used to prevent discrimination against minority groups.

The vast majority of thinking persons in America today would agree that "something should be done" to improve current racial and cultural relationships. There is, however, no unanimity as to what that something should be. In the past efforts have generally been of an accommodating and conciliatory nature, emphasizing "understanding," "proper education," "co-operation," and "good will." There has been a shift on the part of minority-group leaders to the more direct action of legislation and the courts. That this has been a major change in policy is evidenced by the fact that in state legislatures alone, between January 1 and September 1, 1949, one hundred and forty-nine bills opposing discrimination were introduced.[1] The latest Republican platform promised an antilynching law, a federal fair employment practices act, an antipoll-tax law, and a law abolishing segregation in the armed forces. The latest Democratic platform promised the right to full and equal political participation, to equal opportunity of employment, to security of person, and to equal treatment in the armed forces. The Progressive platform went even further. Here is concrete proof of the belief of a considerable number of persons in the value and efficacy of antidiscriminatory legislation. That such laws were not enacted is concrete proof of the disbelief of another considerable body of persons that they are either undesirable or ineffective.

Accepting as a working hypothesis the idea that equal opportunity and equal treatment of all is both useful and necessary in a democracy with many minorities, we come to the area of major interest to the sociologist: to describe, analyze, and evaluate the technique of legislation as a method of achieving those goals.

It is, in fact, toward the evaluation of such legislation as a technique that much of the layman's interest and concern is directed. Many persons aver that they do not disagree with the ultimate goals of antidiscriminatory legislation but that they believe legislation to be ineffective or even harmful as a technique of achieving those goals: "You cannot remove prejudice by legislation." When presented in good faith, this analysis is based on a complete misunderstanding of both the laws in question and the concepts of "prejudice" and "discrimination"; on a failure to distinguish between a state of mind and an overt act. As a matter of fact, the word "prejudice" is rarely found in antidiscriminatory legislation, for such legislation makes no attempt to control feeling—only action.[2] In the same way, laws

[1] American Council on Race Relations, Supplement to *Report*, Vol. IV, No. 8 (August, 1949).

[2] Cf. John H. Burma, "Can the FEPC Work?" *American Mercury*, June, 1950, pp. 654–60.

against theft and murder do not try to root out the desire to steal or to kill; they do attempt to prevent such desires from being translated into overt acts. Prejudice cannot very well be legislated for or against, directly, but legislation can attempt to control the practices which are the overt manifestations of prejudice. It is doubtful if in a democracy any man has the right to translate his prejudices into action which infringes on the rights and liberties of others. The 1949 New York law prohibiting questions concerning race on college application blanks is no attempt to legislate either faculty or students into liking Negroes. It is an attempt to prevent the denying of admittance to a college because a youth is a Negro.

It is sometimes said that the right to discriminate is a natural, personal right and that legislation to prevent discrimination is thus in itself illegal. The United States Supreme Court has upheld legislation to prevent all manner of discrimination in both domestic and international commerce, in retail and wholesale trade, in the transportation of both persons and goods, and in labor relations.[3] In fact, the analogy between labor relations and civil rights legislation is almost perfect. Not only were employers prejudiced against unions and against employees actively engaged in unionization but they actively discriminated in a variety of ways against both. Subsequent legislation has presumably left the prejudice untouched, but it has prevented overt discriminatory treatment on the basis of such prejudice. So is it with the new antilynching law of Texas and with New York's fair employment practices act; they seek to prevent, not prejudices, but overt actions frowned upon by society.

No question seems to exist as to the general constitutionality of antidiscrimination legislation, but much question does exist as to the constitutionality of legislation requiring discrimination. The Supreme Court has not ruled against any important antidiscriminatory legislation, but in the recent past it has handed down decisions abolishing the white primary, forbidding the enforcement of restrictive covenants, and holding illegal racial discrimination within unions and in interstate transportation. Furthermore, it has ruled that teachers' salaries must be equal and that a state must provide equal educational facilities for Negro and white students; it has ruled against an alien land law and against the exclusion of Negroes from juries or from the rights of counsel, subpoena, or appeal; it has ruled that Nisei may collect damages for their forced removal and relocation during the war. According to current interpretation, at least, the Constitution is color-blind.[4]

Probably the greatest source of strength for the above attitude—that laws should not regulate personal, noncriminal behavior—comes from the weight of custom. In the United States the emphasis historically has been on a good life for the individual rather than on a good society as such. Social ills were considered individually, to be alleviated by individual action, rather than as a collective responsibility to be remedied by collective means. That this customary attitude has been common is true, but it should not be invested with the myth of universality. We have had, on the contrary, many legislative attempts to control individual, noncriminal behavior: the historic Black Codes, legislation against miscegenation, alien land laws, oriental exclusion laws, legislation disfranchising the Negro and the Indian, and laws enforcing segregation in a dozen situations. Logically, if laws have been widely used to enforce discrimination, they can also be used to enforce equality. They not only can be but actually are being so used. Just as the 1870's and 1880's were a period in which legislation was a major tool in enforcing inequality, the 1940's and 1950's may well be a period in which legislation is the major tool for fighting inequality.

Certainly there never has been a time in

[3] Cf. Committee on Employment Discrimination, *FEPC Reference Manual* (New York: National Community Relations Advisory Council, 1948).

[4] Mark Harris, "The Supreme Court Catches Up with the Times," *Negro Digest*, March, 1949, pp. 68–72.

United States history in which so much emphasis has been placed on antidiscriminatory legislation as in that between 1941 and 1951. Since 1941, antidefamation laws, prohibiting written or spoken material advocating hatred because of race, color, or religion, have been passed by six states.[5] The 1949 legislative session saw such a bill introduced in New York, and California had a bill to strengthen the existing statutes; both bills failed.[6]

There has been much legislation in the field of segregation in education. Fifteen southern and border states and the District of Columbia have laws requiring segregated schools; prior to 1941 eight states[7] had laws prohibiting such segregation; Nebraska's law applies only to the state university system, and New Mexico's protects only the Spanish-Americans. Since 1941, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, and Wisconsin have passed such laws, and New York has broadened its to apply to all nondenominational schools within the state. In 1949 the Arizona legislature introduced such a bill, New Mexico introduced one to include Negroes, and Missouri introduced one to apply to graduate and professional schools only; California, Connecticut, Michigan, and Pennsylvania legislatures introduced bills to abolish segregation in all educational institutions, but all these bills failed to pass. In 1950 Kentucky repealed the May Amendment (1903) making separate schools mandatory. At the same time seven southern states passed laws permitting participation in a program of regional education for Negroes desiring professional school training.

Legislation to enforce equality of educational opportunity has been prominent of late, being matched only by legislation in the field of equality of economic opportunity. Legislation to prohibit discrimination in employment on the grounds of race, creed, color, or national origin is quite new. No such laws existed prior to 1941, but since then nine states[8] have enacted such laws, of varying strictness. Such legislation was introduced in 1949 in seventeen other states,[9] but it failed to pass. Since 1941 fifteen states[10] have passed such legislation concerning the hiring of public or state employees.

Only a handful of southern states have not yet voted out the poll tax. Of the few remaining, six states took some step in that direction in 1949: Tennessee abolished it for the blind, for veterans, and in primary elections; South Carolina's legislature adopted a resolution proposing a referendum which has not yet occurred at the date of writing. Virginia and Texas voters defeated constitutional amendments submitted to them in 1949 which would have abolished the tax; and Alabama and Arkansas legislatures initiated but failed to pass such bills.

Since 1941 laws prohibiting discrimination in public housing projects have been passed by Connecticut, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New York,[11] Pennsylvania, and

[5] California, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Massachusetts, and Oregon. In this and the following cases, if a state had an old law and then amended it, put teeth in it, etc., since 1941, it is listed as if it had passed such a law for the first time during that period. Most of this material is drawn from the American Jewish Congress, *Check List of State Anti-discrimination and Anti-bias Laws* (New York, 1948), and "Civil Rights Legislation in the States," Supplement to ACCR *Report*, Vol. IV, No. 8 (August, 1949).

[6] Statements are included on legislation which was introduced but failed to pass, because the introduction of a bill is in itself a significant expression of public opinion. That it was introduced is evidence of some support both within and without the legislative bodies and of some concern and demand for action. Then, too, there are cases like the 1949 Minnesota FEPC bill, which failed by a vote of 33 to 31, which show significant strength even in failure.

[7] Colorado, Connecticut, Idaho, Kansas, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, and Rhode Island.

[8] Connecticut, Indiana, Massachusetts, New Mexico, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, and Washington.

[9] Arizona, California, Colorado, Delaware, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Utah, and West Virginia.

[10] California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, New York, and Oregon; and, for religion only, Iowa, Kansas, Montana, Maine, Missouri, and Pennsylvania.

[11] New York City now prohibits discrimination in private housing projects, too.

Wisconsin. A 1941 Illinois statute prohibits displacement of a predominant racial group from an area of redevelopment. Bills calling for slum clearance in minority-group areas were introduced in 1949 in the legislatures of California and Colorado but failed to pass. The same occurred in regard to laws prohibiting restrictive covenants in California, New York, and Pennsylvania. Such legislation has become of somewhat less significance since the Federal Housing Authority and the Veterans Administration announced late in 1949 that they would no longer lend money on property covered by restrictive covenants.

Since 1941 nine states[12] have passed laws prohibiting segregation in the National Guard. About twenty states have had civil rights statutes, of varying strictness, for from fifteen to seventy-five years. Six states[13] have revised such laws since 1941. Civil rights legislation failed to pass in the 1949 session of eleven states.[14]

A number of other antidiscrimination statutes have recently been passed. Texas passed an antilynching law in its 1949 legislature. Massachusetts passed a law in 1949 prohibiting discrimination in public benefits or relief, joining eight other states[15] which passed such laws between 1933 and 1941. During World War II four states[16] enacted legislation preventing discrimination in war-contract work. Oregon repealed its Alien Land Law in 1949, and such a bill before the California legislature failed to pass, although the state had to drop all escheat cases under its present law after adverse federal court ruling. Alabama in its last legislative session outlawed the wearing of masks, and such legislation was unsuccessfully sought in Florida and Georgia. During the Eighty-first Congress an antipoll-tax bill was passed by the House; national FEPC bills were introduced in both the House and the Senate, as were antilynching bills; an omnibus civil rights bill was introduced in the House and the Senate; a bill to reduce southern representation because of disfranchisement of the Negro was introduced in the House; a bill to prohibit segregation in interstate travel was introduced in both the House and the Senate; the House introduced an antisegregation bill for Washington, D.C., and one to prohibit segregation in the Spars; an amendment to a bill was introduced in the Senate to prohibit segregation in public housing.

While presidential executive orders do not have the status of law, it might be mentioned that in 1948 President Truman issued Executive Order 9980 forbidding discrimination because of race, color, religion, or national origin in any federal department or agency. Executive Order 9981 requires that "there shall be equality of treatment and opportunity for all persons in the armed services without regard to race, color, creed or national origin." It was permitted that the latter be done in a gradual and orderly fashion, but within a year the Air Force and the Navy were considered to have complied. The Army, two years later, was still in the process of formulating and implementing plans and policy.

Although the above listing is a fairly imposing array, it must be remembered that it still represents minority opinion. Only 10–15 per cent of such legislation potentially possible has actually been passed. Moreover, it is matched by an even greater number of statutes which either require, permit, or tacitly sanction discrimination. Such laws are those found in southern and border states concerning segregation in housing areas, education, amusements, public buildings, libraries, restrooms, eating and drinking establishments, parks, transportation facilities, National Guard, sports, and recreation facilities; and statutes forbidding intermarriage or passing, the sanctioning of

[12] California, Connecticut, Illinois, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

[13] Connecticut, Illinois, Iowa, Maine, Minnesota, and New Jersey.

[14] Arizona, California, Delaware, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, New Mexico, New York, Pennsylvania, Utah, and Wisconsin.

[15] California, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

[16] Nebraska, Illinois, New Jersey, and New York.

unequal pay scales of many types, restriction of franchise, and a score of less significant acts.

No one studying either discriminatory or antidiscriminatory legislation can fail to observe that its distribution varies widely and tends to follow the mores. There is no question but that such a tendency exists; this, however, does not prove the occasional contention that antidiscriminatory legislation represents the efforts of a small group of fanatics, while discriminatory laws in the South represent "public opinion" and were passed as a result of mass concern. There is, rather, an equal likelihood that either may represent mass concern and that either may represent a narrow special interest. There is much legislation now which is not and never has been representative of mass concern. Fair trades practices acts, setting prices below which the retailer may not sell goods, certainly did not arise from spontaneous public demand any more than did legislation prorating oil production to favor large companies, the law requiring one to break the tax seal when opening a package of cigarettes, or our legislation barring Nepalese immigrants from citizenship. Carey McWilliams points out that when the first oriental educational segregation ordinance was passed in San Francisco there had not been one objection by white parents, and it was openly and unanimously denounced by the teachers. It was conceived—and passed by the school board—as a smoke screen to distract public attention from the fact that the incumbent mayor was about to be indicted for sundry felonies of which he was subsequently convicted.[17]

It is unfortunately true that antidiscrimination legislation often is passed or rejected on party lines. In voting on California's FEPC bill in 1949, thirty-four of the thirty-five Democrats voted in favor of it on all three test votes; only seventeen of the forty-five Republicans voted for it all three times. In Illinois in 1949 a bipartisan FEPC bill passed the House. In the Senate it was considered a party measure and killed, 25–23. Of the twenty-five adverse votes, twenty-four were Republican. In Ohio two bills were introduced. The weaker bill was defeated in the House by Democrats voting on party lines, and the stronger bill was passed the same way. In the Senate the weak bill was passed 17–15 and the strong bill defeated by the same vote; in each case the seventeen votes were Republican, the fifteen votes Democratic. When the Michigan FEPC bill lost in the House, eighty-eight Democrats and only one Republican voted in favor of it.[18]

It cannot safely be assumed that either discriminatory legislation or lack of antidiscriminatory legislation necessarily represents popular thinking on the subject. Much of the southern legislation segregating Negroes is defended on "social" grounds when the actual basis is a real, direct, and rather accurately measurable financial gain of one group at the expense of another. The alien land laws, discrimination in occupation, employment, and wage scales, and the short terms, poor buildings, and highly unequal per capita expenditures in Negro schools are concrete illustrations. The new Texas State University for Negroes, forced by Supreme Court decision, is costing the state of Texas ten million dollars now and may cost it another five million within a decade. Equalizing teachers' salaries has cost the southern states millions of dollars already and will cost many millions more. These sums previously had been saved or diverted through discriminatory legislation.

In considering "social" legislation of any type there is always the problem of how well the law will be obeyed. Laws which any considerable portion of the population dislike are not so easily enforced as others. This there is no gainsaying; yet the argument that antidiscriminatory laws "don't work" because they do not eliminate discrimination is not a valid one. The fact that there

[17] Carey McWilliams, "Race Discrimination and the Law," *Science and Society*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (winter, 1945).

[18] Arnold Aronson and Samuel Spiegler, "Does the Republican Party Want the Negro Vote?" *Crisis*, December, 1949, pp. 364 ff.

has not yet been any law of any kind which eliminated the evil against which it was arrayed makes this argument against antidiscriminatory legislation somewhat specious. The laws against rape do not "work"—in fact, the number of such cases has steadily increased for nearly twenty years[19]—yet such evidence is a rather weak argument against having no legislation prohibiting rape. Our income-tax laws and our speeding and parking ordinances seem honored more in the breach than in the observance, yet few persons believe that such laws should never have been passed. It is perfectly correct that a given law, disliked by many persons and poorly enforced and implemented, may be a failure—prohibition is a case in point. But because a Treasury Department official in Alabama refused to obey President Truman's executive order against discrimination—and was discharged—is hardly proof that such an order is "unworkable." To date such laws actually have worked as well as, for example, our laws against car theft.

A survey of large employers in FEPC states, reported in 1950 by *Business Week*, revealed that "employers agree that FEPC laws haven't caused near the fuss that opponents predicted. Disgruntled jobseekers haven't swamped commissions with complaints. Personal friction hasn't been at all serious . . . even those who opposed an FEPC aren't actively hostile now."[20] Rarely was it necessary to take cases to court. New York's commission, which handles the largest volume of business, averages less than one court case a year. Connecticut's commission took only one case to court during the 1948–49 reporting period. New Jersey in 1948 received 749 complaints; 40 per cent were closed amicably, 40 per cent were dismissed for lack of evidence, and 20 per cent were dropped when the complainant withdrew. In a survey made by this commission, seventy-nine employers indicated that there were no new difficulties or problems in business policy; that there was no interference with their "basic right to select the most competent workers"; and that the law was being fairly and effectively administered. The commission further reported no complaints of FEPC-bred racial tension or of anyone refusing or vacating a job because of minority-group employment.[21]

One of the best explanations of why FEPC's do work is implicit in Robert K. Merton's analysis of prejudice and discrimination.[22] His paradigm indicates four types of persons: (1) the all-weather liberal, (2) the fair-weather liberal, (3) the fair-weather illiberal, and (4) the all-weather illiberal. The all-weather liberal is unprejudiced and does not discriminate. No legislation is needed for this group to offer equal opportunity, but they do not oppose such laws and usually are in the forefront seeking such legislation. The fair-weather liberal is not prejudiced, but he discriminates because of custom, fear of losing status, because it is easier to do so, or because he feels it is economically advantageous. This type of person usually does not oppose antidiscriminatory legislation and is very susceptible to the pressure of such laws. He conforms to the new laws easily and, occasionally, with a feeling of relief at being forced to bring his beliefs and his practices into harmony. The fair-weather illiberal is prejudiced, but he does not discriminate much. He fears that much discrimination may hurt him economically or in terms of status. Like the fair-weather liberal, he conforms in terms of pressures; when there is no pressure, he discriminates. This type does not vote for antidiscriminatory legislation, but, once such legislation is in existence, he creates no major problem of enforcement. The all-weather illiberal is prejudiced and discriminates on principle.

[19] In 1948 rape cases were 50 per cent greater than the prewar average (see Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Uniform Crime Reports*, Vol. XIX, No. 2 [1948]).

[20] "Does State FEPC Hamper You?" *Business Week*, February 25, 1950, pp. 114–17.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] In Robert M. MacIver (ed.), *Discrimination and National Welfare* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), chap. x: "Discrimination and the American Creed."

He violently opposes antidiscriminatory legislation. If such laws exist, he strives to circumvent them and is completely unco-operative. This type usually exists in a social climate favorable to him, so that he is supported by community mores and practices.

It is obvious from this classification where and why antidiscriminatory legislation is effective. In areas where there are large numbers of Types 1, 2, and 3 and few of Type 4 persons, such legislation is successfully and rather easily passed and enforced. Where populations include higher percentages of Type 4 and lower of Type 1, antidiscriminatory legislation usually is not passed; or, if it is in existence, enforcement is difficult or not even attempted. One logical conclusion is that in states where there are enough persons of Types 1 and 2 to secure passage of antidiscriminatory legislation, such legislation has a good chance of being rather easily enforcible for the majority. In states where Types 3 and 4 predominate, such legislation would not be passed on a state level; but, if passed on a national level, it would by no means be completely unenforcible. Type 1 would abide by the law; it could be enforced reasonably well for Types 2 and 3; and it would be systematically avoided only by Type 4.

This paradigm also indicates the need for education-propaganda processes to parallel or even to antecede legal ones. Types 1 and 4 are not very susceptible to such education propaganda, but both Types 2 and 3 are, and they make up a very significant proportion of any population. The riots in St. Louis during the summer of 1949 seem to have resulted primarily from legislation having been passed at the instigation of Type 1, without adequate attempts being made to prepare Types 2, 3, and 4 for the practical eventualities. This is not to say that legislation must be withheld until everyone agrees on it but rather that these population types and their roles must be recognized and the practical program planned to create as much acceptance as possible from Types 2 and 3. Legislation without teeth is seen in true perspective, too, when one realizes that its coercive effect operates only on Type 1, whereas if it had teeth it would have large effect on Types 2 and 3 and some effect on Type 4.

One major area of consideration yet remains: What are the attitudinal effects of such laws? It is sometimes stated that the passage of civil rights or antidiscrimination laws causes or intensifies ill will; that with each "gain" by minority groups through force of law comes a corresponding "loss" in good will and co-operation; and that thus antidiscrimination legislation in the long run defeats its own goals and is its own worst enemy. This argument, at first glance, is not illogical, but it is not supported by the facts. Experience under state fair-employment practices laws and civil rights laws has been uniform; ill feeling and misunderstanding have decreased, not increased; and, while there have sometimes been repercussions of a semiviolent nature, they have been of negligible importance in the beginning and then declined. Strife, conflict, and ill feeling are more closely related to tension and feelings of injustice and resentment than to efforts at equality, fairness, and justice.[23]

More easily provable is the attitudinal effect of discriminatory legislation. As McWilliams explains, more than one observer has pointed out that the groups most active in anti-oriental agitation in California have created more sentiment than they reflected. Anti-oriental prejudice grew and acquired a place in the mores to a considerable extent as a result of the incessant propaganda, agitation, and claims put forth in the attempt to pass such legislation. Moreover, much of the anti-oriental prejudice which now exists stems from the legislative pattern of discrimination which tends to keep alive and

[23] Cf. Malcolm Ross, *All Manner of Men* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948); E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), pp. 613–22; "Tolerance in Industry: The Record," *New York Times*, August 24, 1947; Kings Ransom, "Anti-discrimination Gets Results: A Study of New Fair Employment Laws' Operation in Four Eastern States," *New York Herald Tribune*, August 6, 1948; R. M. MacIver, *The More Perfect Union* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), chap. vii.

even increase such attitudes. Discriminatory legislation, such as segregation, has the effect of creating an ever widening gulf, for the lack of contact brings ignorance, suspicion, and distrust and acts as a bar to understanding, co-operation, and the acquisition of common goals and values. The unique features of each group may grow and be intensified at the same time they are being derogatorily caricatured by the other group.[24] Lee and Humphrey have indicated how significant they felt it was that, when the bloody riots occurred in Detroit in 1943, the rioting occurred only in areas of segregation; that is, when Negroes and whites either lived or worked together on an unsegregated basis, there was no rioting.[25] All this indicates that the existence of statutorily sanctioned behavior patterns may be a force in perpetuating existing attitudes or even increasing them. Northern whites who move to the Deep South without strong prejudices and then gradually acquire the whole attitudinal paraphernalia of discrimination and finally "out-southern the southerners" are a case in point.

Since such influencing of attitudes does occur in the case of discriminatory legislation, there is reason to assume that anti-discrimination legislation will have the reverse effect; and already evidence to support such a hypothesis is being found in the states with the most such legislation. Laws, of themselves, do not automatically end the abuses they are designed to correct. Laws do establish criteria by which actions can be judged. Passage of civil rights legislation does establish the fact that certain behavior has been judged to be inimical to the public welfare and contrary to public policy, and such legislation does establish a frame of reference within which other necessary processes can be systematized and accelerated. These are the most significant long-term values to be derived from such legislation.

No one genuinely believes that legislation is the one cure for the nation's ills, educational, economic, or racial; no many-faceted problem with multiple causative factors and with roots deep in history can be solved by a single mode of action. Nothing short of a completely multiple approach will result in success. But it seems clear that one of these approaches should be legislative, and it is already clear that such an approach is being more actively made now than ever before. The weight of evidence supports the report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights that "we have seen nothing to shake our conviction that the civil rights of the American people—all of them—can be strengthened quickly and effectively by the normal process of democratic constitutional government."

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[24] McWilliams, *op. cit.*

[25] Alfred McClung Lee and Norman D. Humphrey, *Race Riot* (New York: Dryden Press, 1943).

SOME ASPECTS OF SOVIET FAMILY POLICY

LEWIS A. COSER

ABSTRACT

Soviet family institutions have undergone significant changes in the last fifteen years. Unanticipated consequences of present-day family legislation in the Soviet Union in other institutional areas are subjecting the system to stresses and strains. Recent changes in family legislation are seen as an outgrowth of increasing stratification and restriction of mobility in Russian society.

Present-day family legislation in Russia reveals a purposeful attempt on the part of the Russian policy-makers to strengthen the family as a social institution. This paper purports to outline a few of the social consequences of this legislation for various strata in the population and for the total societal system. Research in this area will provide considerably more useful information on the Russian social structure than some of the current attempts to explain the Russian regime in terms of the child-rearing practices of its citizens.[1]

The family as an institution is being strengthened in the Soviet Union because of three factors.

1. The decision-makers desire an increase in the birth rate. Russian industry is still very imperfectly mechanized, and the sheer quantity of labor must make up for low productivity of the individual worker. Productivity is so low, indeed, that even forced labor yields economical results, so that squandering of labor power brings about ever present hunger for more labor.[2] Military demands are also compelling in this respect.

2. The family can act as an effective counterweight against social mobility, as a stabilizer of status. The family, through transmission of skills, connections, and wealth, serves to insure inheritance of social status from parents to children.

3. The Russian policy-makers now realize that the authoritarian family acts as a "transmission belt" for the inculcation of the authoritarian norms of the total society. They apparently feel that this task was not sufficiently well performed by the extra-familial institutions for socialization.

These purposeful actions on the part of the policy-makers serve to strengthen the ruling strata while simultaneously they create strains and stresses in the social system which they did not foresee. At the same time the functional consequences of many recent policy decisions create new areas of conflict within the system.

I. THE BIRTH RATE, WOMANPOWER, AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Official Nazi ideology in the early years of the Hitler regime stressed the need to rebuild the traditional paternalistic structure of the German family. The ideology of the "three K's" (*Kueche, Kinder, Kirche*), which relegated the woman to the household and made her a good breeder, could in part be implemented in practice during the first

[1] Soviet society exhibits a continual shift toward more rigid stratification and the solidification of a ruling class which disposes collectively of the means of production and tends increasingly to erect social barriers between itself and the underlying population; vertical social mobility decreases, and ascent into the ruling class becomes more and more difficult (see Alex Inkeles, "Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union," *American Sociological Review*, XV [1950], 465–79; N. S. Timasheff, "Vertical Social Mobility in a Communist Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, L [July, 1944], 9–21; David Dallin, *The Real Soviet Russia* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944]; Leon Trotsky, *The Revolution Betrayed* [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1937]).

[2] See David J. Dallin and Boris Nicolaevsky, *Forced Labor in Soviet Russia* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944).

years of absorption of unemployment.[3] In later years the demands of war production led to the gradual disappearance of this slogan, owing to a conflict between the needs of production and the subservient role of the woman in the household. Some Nazis then argued very logically that the family should be broken up completely. Furthermore, the Nazis also experienced great difficulty in reconciling their official family policy with the overriding aim of total control of the individual by the state. As Max Horkheimer states very well: "Although [the National Socialists] exalted the family in ideology as indispensable to a society based on the 'blood' principle, in reality they suspected and attacked the family as a shelter against mass society. They looked on it as a virtual conspiracy against the totalitarian state."[4] The attempt of the Nazi state to claim a monopoly of loyalty conflicted with official family ideology. As a rapid increase in the birth rate was one of the key objectives of Nazi policy, the state attempted to remove the taboo on illegitimate children, thus contradicting the officially stressed sanctity of the family which was supposed to serve the same end. Reichsminister Frank revealed this contradictory attitude in one and the same speech, when he first defended the illegitimate child by stating that "everything is legal that is beneficent for the German people," only to continue: "National Socialism will surround the primary cell of the community of the people with all kinds of guarantees and legal protections."[5]

The situation faced by the Russian decision-makers is in many respects similar to that of the Nazis. Breeding is highly encouraged. Taxes for spinsters, bachelors, and families with less than three children are exceedingly steep, whereas mothers receive a nonrecurring government payment of 400 rubles upon the birth of the third child, 1,300 upon the birth of the fourth, with the premium gradually increasing to a premium of 5,000 upon the birth of the eleventh child. Furthermore, monthly allowances of 80 rubles for the fourth child to 300 rubles for the eleventh and subsequent children are paid by the government. There are also various decorations for "good breeders"—the "Motherhood Medal" for mothers with five to six children, The "Order of Motherhood Glory" for mothers of seven to nine children, and the title of "Heroine Mother" for mothers who have given birth to ten children.[6]

Yet Russia cannot permit the labor power of half the population to be "wasted." Every conceivable effort is made, on the contrary, to use as much womanpower as possible within industry and agriculture. The curve of employment of women has been going up virtually without interruption since 1929. In 1934 almost 32 per cent of the Soviet labor force were women. During the war women comprised the majority of the labor force. More recent data indicate that 47 per cent of wage- and salary-earners in all spheres of labor in 1947 were women.[7]

The living standard of the Russian workers has considerably decreased since 1928. The simplest way to increase the family's total wage income so as to offset the effect of falling real wages was to have more members of the worker's family join the labor force. According to official Russian statistics, the number of dependents per gainful

[3] For Nazi family policies see, among others, Clifford Kirkpatrick, *Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life* (Indianapolis and New York: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1938); Alfred Meusel, "National Socialism and the Family," *Sociological Review* (British), XXVIII (1936), 166–86, 389–411; Max Horkheimer (ed.), *Autoritaet und Familie* (Paris: Librairie Alcan, 1936).

[4] In Ruth N. Anshen (ed.), *The Family, Its Function and Destiny* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 374.

[5] Quoted by Meusel, *op. cit.*, p. 186.

[6] Text of the Family Law of July 8, 1944, in Rudolf Schlesinger (ed.), *The Family in the USSR* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1949), pp. 367 ff.

[7] *Pravda*, March 8, 1948, quoted by Solomon M. Schwarz, "The Living Standard of the Soviet Worker," *Modern Review*, II (June, 1948), 285. Cf. Judith Grunfeld, "Women's Work in Russia's Planned Economy," *Social Research*, IX (1942), 22–45.

worker in workers' families decreased from 2.46 in 1927 to 2.05 in 1930, to 1.75 in 1932, and to 1.59 in 1935.[8] The legal working day, which was six to seven hours until 1940, is now considerably longer. Moreover, one to three hours of overtime are permitted; the standard work week is forty-eight hours; a working woman, therefore, stays away from her home for at least ten hours a day.[9]

While *Kueche, Kinder, Kirche,* are perfectly compatible ideals, the three K's plus *Fabrik* are not.[10] The attempt to reconcile the rival demands upon the woman's time by building crèches, day camps for children, etc., is not made to overcome the contradictions stemming from rival definitions of the woman's role. Public child care keeps the child away from the family and thus weakens traditional family ties.

The new emphasis on the family also clashes with general economic conditions within Russia. To establish a stable family life, housing conditions must be such that they make possible at least a minimum of family privacy. Yet, Russian housing conditions always have been appalling and have further deteriorated since the war. In spite of this, construction of houses has received a relatively low priority in all five-year plans because of the primary concern with a rapid expansion of a modern productive apparatus. In 1932 the average urban dweller had only 20 square feet of living space. In Moscow in the same year a family of five had, on the average, two rooms, with not over forty square feet. All recent reports stress that housing conditions have considerably deteriorated since.[11]

The objection that members of the Russian family spend more time outside the house—in clubs, cafeterias, etc.—may be valid, but this would be only an added reason why the Russian planners will find it difficult to legislate a stable family into existence. The Western urban family, though no longer a productive unit, has maintained—in part, at least—its character as a unit of common consumption.

Housekeeping also is a quite different affair for the Russian housewife than for her American sisters. Efficient cooking and housekeeping devices are almost completely lacking except in the small upper stratum. A Russian study of time required for housekeeping which was conducted in the thirties showed that a woman wage-earner can devote less than a quarter of the time to the care of children than a full-time housewife can. The former spent 470 hours in preparing food; the latter, 997. The former spends 110 hours mending the family clothes; the latter, 228.[12]

One arrives at the startling conclusion that the economic basis for a stable family life, such as is required by the new Soviet ideology, can be found only among the families of the upper strata. The top bureaucrat can allow himself the luxury of a stable family life and of a Victorian morality. He has enough housing space, his wife does not have to work full time, his household equipment is more adequate and modern, and he can engage domestic help. To maintain a family that comes up to the official standards is a leisure-class activity.[13]

Establishment of a stable family unit as required by the Russian decision-makers encounters difficulties within the social structure, arising from the contradictory pressures of other institutions. Since Soviet legislators, propagandists, and ideologists

[8] Schwarz, *op. cit.*, pp. 272–85.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 278; see also R. Maurer, "Recent Trends in the Soviet Family," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 242 ff.

[10] At least not in a society which is characterized by low productivity and low standard of living. For a suggestive statistical treatment of similar problems in the United States see John D. Durand, "Married Women in the Labor Force," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (November, 1946), 217–23.

[11] Mildred Fairchild, "The Family in the Soviet Union," in Bernhard J. Stern (ed.), *The Family, Past and Present* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1938).

[12] Dallin, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

[13] Data on domestic services in the occupational statistics would be a most revealing index of the newly acquired privileges of the upper strata—if they were published. But Russian statistics included these data only for very few years, and each year showed an increase in domestic workers, whereupon these records were discontinued (*ibid.*, p. 174).

generally belong to the upper socioeconomic strata, they tend to ignore the socioeconomic context in which the "common man," or, in this context, the "common woman," must move.

The Russian decision-makers seem to suffer from a contradictory attitude toward illegitimacy similar to that of the Nazis. Early legislation had done away with all legal distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children,[14] thereby departing from the almost universal habit of discrimination against illegitimate children. With the strengthening of the family, the attitude toward illegitimate children has changed. Children of unmarried adults must now carry the mother's, not the father's, name, and the unmarried mother can no longer hold the father responsible for the support of the child. The new Soviet code has adopted the principle of the Code Napoléon: "La recherche de la paternité est interdite."

On the other hand, in order to foster an increase in the birth rate, the Soviet state now assumes support of children of unmarried mothers until the age of twelve and, in addition, allocates to them the regular assistance granted mothers with three or more children. Thus, childbearing out of wedlock might become a regular "profession," and the unmarried mother will be, under certain circumstances, definitely better off economically than her married sister.[15] We have here another instance in which measures primarily designed to boost the birth rate actually contradict the aim of stabilizing family relations and also interfere with the supply of "womanpower." This case is all the more startling, since measures for support to unmarried mothers and measures to stabilize marriage were enacted in the same law of July 8, 1944. The "Heroines of Socialist Motherhood," even if their children are born out of wedlock, may make a significant contribution to the rise of the birth rate; but they will tend not to enter the labor force. If motherhood becomes a profession and if the legislator makes no discrimination between motherhood in or out of wedlock, one of the main props under the new family-strengthening legislation would seem to be removed at the same time as it was built.

The official explanation for the decree banning abortion in 1936[16] was that (*a*) it was to combat the "light-minded attitude toward the family and toward family obligations" and that (*b*) abortion was detrimental to the health of the women undergoing the operation. A Russian author defending the new law probably comes closer to the truth when he states: "Mass abortions resorted to for egoistic reasons are not to be tolerated. The Soviet state cannot countenance the fact that tens of thousands of women ruin their health and delay the growth of a new generation for socialist society."[17]

Apologists of the Russian regime suddenly discovered that the rate of abortions during the years when abortion was legal was such that it seriously threatened the birth rate. A few years before, they were diligently engaged in defending the then official attitude which legalized abortion and adduced facts to the contrary. They were right *then*. Legal abortions did not threaten to reduce the birth rate to the western European level,[18] but a further increase

[14] Fannina W. Halle, *Women in Soviet Russia* (New York: Viking Press, 1933), p. 154.

[15] Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 402 ff.

[16] This decree was the only law in the recent history of the Soviet Union that was submitted to public discussion before promulgation. Test votes were taken in factories and women's meetings, and the official press carried a number of letters pro and con. They showed heavy majorities against the law, at least in urban centers—whereupon the discussion was called off and the law promulgated by decree of December 27, 1936. For the text of the law, as well as the text of some of the published discussion, see Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 251–79; cf. Maurer, *op. cit.*

[17] S. Wolfson in an article in *Pod Znamenem Marxisma*, quoted by Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 310.

[18] The annual birth rate in those years was about 37 per thousand, while it was considerably lower in most European countries. In Moscow there were between 20 and 30 abortions to every 100 births in the early twenties, while the number in Berlin in those same years was estimated at 54 (see Halle, *op. cit.*, pp. 143–44; Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 175). The population of European Russia increased from 112 million in 1914 to 129 million in 1936, despite the exceedingly heavy losses during World War I, civil war, and the great famines.

would, of course, be realized if abortion was outlawed.

Abortion is the most uneconomical means of preventing birth. If it was so widely resorted to by Russian women, at least in the cities, this was probably because contraceptives were not easily available. We do indeed learn from various authors that this is the case.[19] No wonder, then, that abortion, when legal, was extensively practiced at least among urban women; no wonder either that after the imposition of the ban the number of registered births in nineteen sample cities increased from 33,796 for July–November, 1935, to 68,511 for the same period of the following year.[20]

In a totalitarian society in which mechanical means of contraception are scarce or unavailable, the birth rate will respond much more directly to the abolition of legal abortion than it will in a society in which contraceptives are accessible and where, moreover, the police system is less equipped to prevent illegal abortion on a mass scale.

The relatively high abortion rate in the cities during the twenties and thirties could easily be brought down by increased popularization of birth-control measures, if the aim had been the preservation of women's health. But Schuman is correct when he states: "Chronic labor shortage calls for more babies. Children are most numerous and most likely to grow into productive citizens where family life is stable."[21] He might have added that the upper strata are accustomed to the use of contraceptives and have the means to practice it; but the lower classes in this planned society are denied the means of planned parenthood. The law against abortion is indeed a rank example of what the Communists used to call "class legislation."

An American reporter overheard girls who were discussing the publication of the new family legislation say to each other: "Well, the new slogan means for women: children and not careers."[22] One wonders whether these girls and many like them are as loyally attached to the regime now as they may have been before.

II. THE SOCIAL POSITION OF SOVIET WOMEN

The Russian press still proclaims that the Soviet Union is the only country in which equality of the sexes has been realized. But such equality becomes a myth once a woman is called upon to become a breeder of as many children as possible without the means of restricting the number of births. Under such conditions, equality of opportunity in employment must also become a myth.

In this connection a far-reaching change in the system of education must be mentioned. Many observers have reported the great achievements of the Soviet educational system during the first years of the regime. This coeducational system was in great part responsible for helping millions of Soviet women to reach intellectual equality with men. But since 1943 coeducation no longer exists in the urban schools of the Soviet Union. Professor Eugene Medynsky of the Lenin Pedagogical Institute, writing in the *American Sociological Review*,[23] attempted a rather lame rationalization by stating that coeducation hinders the adaptation of the school program to the differences of physiological development of boys and girls; but he lets the cat out of the bag by adding that it also hinders the differentiation for the training of boys and girls for practical activity. As

[19] Halle (*op. cit.*, p. 134) states: "For the time being preventives are short in the Soviet Union; the demand for them considerably exceeds the supply." Milton Hindus, writing about a later period (in Anshen [ed.], *op. cit.*, p. 119), says: "Birth control remained legal but was frowned upon. Literature on the subject vanished. . . . Physicians were not forbidden to impart the necessary information to patients, but they were urged to use their influence to dissuade women from preventing childbirth."

[20] *Izvestia*, December 5, 1936, quoted by Frederick L. Schuman, *Soviet Politics at Home and Abroad* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1946), pp. 338–39.

[21] *Op. cit.*, pp. 338–39.

[22] Richard E. Lauterbach, *These Are the Russians* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1945), p. 249.

[23] IX (1944), 287–95.

Lauterbach points out, *Izvestia* is considerably more frank when it states that, though boys and girls must have access to all professions and should be trained for them, girls must be educated to be loving and capable mothers and rearers of children, and that schools for girls must also develop femininity, modesty, and a sense of the great worthiness and honor of women.

The abolition of coeducation may also be connected with the emphasis on military training for boys, but the main reason seems to be the desire to have "a system by which the school develops boys who will be good fathers and manly fighters . . . and girls who will be intelligent mothers competent to rear the new generation."[24]

Once women are regarded primarily as mothers of future Soviet fighters, it is indeed inevitable that the standard of girls' schools will gradually be lowered, so that women will be handicapped in their attempts to compete with men in professional and other better-paid careers. The state still needs womanpower in industry but seems to have decided that, while the upper-class woman does indeed belong in the home, the lower-class woman does not belong, at least, in the better-paid positions.

The abolition of coeducation is an attempt to strengthen the upper-class family by removing the element of competition for occupational status between husband and wife. The gradual introduction of clearly defined sex roles is intended to remove all "invidious comparison" between husband and wife and to make the wife subservient to the husband. The woman cannot be dispensed with in the labor force, but at least she seems no longer needed in the prestigeful and economically rewarding professions. In the lower classes, on the other hand, the difference in education for men and women gives the men a slight chance of social mobility, in a society in which upward mobility becomes increasingly difficult.[25]

Divorce legislation is a crucial index for evaluating the changing social position of women in Soviet society.

We can assume the facts of the case to be fairly well known. The earlier Soviet legislation, especially the Code of Laws on Marriage, Family, and Wardship, adopted in November, 1926,[26] established complete juridical equality between factual nonregistered marriage and registered marriage and made dissolution of the latter very easy. The state merely registered the dissolution of marriage, which was based on the free decision of the partners according to the decision of the supreme court that "for a court to concern itself with the conduct of either party in a divorce case would imply an utterly false interpretation of Soviet law." When no mutual agreement was reached, the fact of the dissolution was communicated to the other spouse within three days; if the address was unknown, notice in the pages of *Izvestia* at a nominal fee was all that was required.

The new Family Laws of July, 1944—published without any previous discussions—abolished the institution of *de facto* marriage and stated that thereafter only registered marriages would be recognized by the law. The new procedures for divorce are equivalent to the medieval pillory. The notice of divorce action must be advertised in a local newspaper at considerable expense. Compulsory entry of divorce is made in the home passports of man and woman. The proceedings take place in an open court, the People's Court, whose only task is to attempt to reconcile the couple, and where

[24] M. Tsulmer in *Soviet War News*, quoted by Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 393.

[25] It is certainly not accidental that in recent years such magazines as the *Soviet Woman*—a kind of Russian *Ladies' Home Journal*—have made their appearance. These magazines feature articles on such topics as "Wrinkles Are Appearing—How Can I Prevent Them?" This is evidently an appeal to upper-class women; but it would have been horribly unthinkable twenty years ago, when the ethos of work still completely dominated all appeals to women (Waclaw Solsky, "The Soviet Press," *Modern Review*, II [June, 1948], 288).

[26] For the text of the code and Russian discussions of its principles see Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–168; cf. Halle, *op. cit.*

both parties must appear before proceedings can begin. The claimant has the right of appeal to the next higher court, which may or may not dissolve the marriage; and subsequent appeals to still higher courts are possible. But the fees are such that a divorce has become a luxury which the average citizen cannot possibly afford. It varies from 600 to 2,100 rubles (the average monthly earnings of the Soviet wage-earner have been estimated around 500 rubles at the beginning of 1948,[27] and many unskilled workers earn considerably less).

In August, 1944, the Russian press reported that, during the first month following promulgation of the new law, not a single petition for divorce had been filed throughout the whole U.S.S.R.;[28] according to a Russian author quoted by Schlesinger, statistics "show a rapid fall in the number of divorces."[29] One can well understand Monsignor Fulton Sheen's appreciation that "the family is higher in Russia than in the United States, and God, looking from heaven, may be more pleased with Russia than with us."[30]

I know of no reports on the reception of the new divorce laws among the Russian population and especially among women; it would seem safe, however, to assume that the reaction of the Russian girls overheard by Lauterbach and quoted earlier is not untypical. It is superfluous to comment in detail on the consequences for the social position of women brought about by the practical impossibility of getting divorced. Any textbook on the family contains all the requisite arguments and data.[31]

Yet in this sphere also it seems that the Russian planners have been unaware of some of the consequences of their recent moves. The new laws will almost automatically lead to a significant increase in "free love" and concubinage, that is, the very things that the new legislation intended to combat. As divorce becomes almost impossible, many prospective couples will postpone marriage, preferring nonlegalized sex activities, especially since the state assumes the financial burden for illegitimate offspring. Had the Russian planners studied the sad experience of the Catholic church in Latin America, for example, they might have been wiser.

Moreover, in a country like the Soviet Union, where there is a high rate of enforced geographical mobility, where sudden transfers of workers from Moscow to the Urals are a frequent occurrence, easy divorce seems to be almost inescapable. If it is nevertheless impossible, the separation of partners will lead to customs which must conflict with the law. While such a conflict may have serious consequences even in a democratic society, it might lead to intolerable difficulties in a totalitarian society which is precisely built on the assumption that all activity of the individual must be controlled by the state. If the individual develops a "private sphere" outside of legislative and police control, this amounts to the weakening of one of the keystones of totalitarian structure.[32]

III. THE DISRUPTIVE EFFECTS OF SEX

Uncontrolled sex relations deprive the ruling strata of society of important means of social control. A society which moves toward rigid hierarchical organization will therefore be concerned seriously with regulating and channeling sex relations.

[27] Schwarz, *op. cit.*, p. 281.

[28] Arthur Koestler, "Soviet Myth and Reality," in *The Yogi and the Commissar* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1945), p. 169.

[29] Schlesinger, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

[30] Quoted by Lauterbach, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

[31] Hindus (*op. cit.*, p. 124) excellently summarizes the situation, at least as far as the legal norm is concerned: "For the present . . . freedom of action in sex and family life in Russia is as dead as the private ownership of the means of production."

[32] It is not true that easy divorce procedures before the 1944 law led to significantly higher divorce rates than in the United States today. William Henry Chamberlin reports in his *Soviet Russia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1931), pp. 381–82, that there was in 1927, e.g., a ratio of about 1:4 in the proportion of divorces granted to marriages registered; this is roughly the ratio in this country today.

The history of the Soviet state shows an uninterrupted line of development from a minimum of interference with sex relations to an almost puritanical horror of unregulated sexual activity. The parallelism between this changing attitude toward sex and the increasing concern with rigid stratification need be no further elaborated.

The theories on "free love" of the first years of the Russian revolution are sufficiently well known not to require special elaboration here.[33] Lenin himself was concerned over the disruptive effects of "free love" as it was then preached and practiced among the younger generation, especially during the civil war period; other Bolsheviks shared this concern. Thus Kalinin, addressing the Comsomol in 1928, says: "Is it really permissible . . . that a man should marry six or seven times in the course of ten years? Mustn't there be responsibility between man and woman?"[34] Yet William Henry Chamberlin reports in 1929: "Despite these occasional admonitions from comrades of the older generation, 'free love' is still the rule rather than the exception among the city youth. Sex in Russia is a matter-of-fact affair, equally removed from the traditional sanctities and inhibitions of monogamous marriage and from artificial voluptuousness."[35]

However, since the middle thirties all media of mass communication in Russia try to instill strict sex mores. Russian spokesmen stress that "love is an act very different from simple biological relationship. Free love is a revolting practice, unworthy of Soviet society. 'Variety' must be provided by the wife herself, not by changing partners. Promiscuity leads to degradation. The monogamous family has a better chance under socialism than under capitalism. Successful physical relationships between partners are not the most important thing. Under full communism, the family will even grow stronger and more stable. . . . The sanctity of family ties is a fundamental bond which knits society into an invisible whole. . . . Sound society is unthinkable without a sound, economically secure family."[36]

Free love not only creates fortuitous associations which, by their very nature, are not subject to police control; it also may foster spontaneity in human relationships and human personality which is incompatible with the discipline demanded in a totalitarian society.

Just as all other family legislation, so the restrictions on sex activity serve to strengthen the authoritarian family. It is not possible here to go into a social-psychological analysis of the contributions that the authoritarian family structure with its accompanying sex restrictions can make to the authoritarian society,[37] but it seems fairly well established that this contribution is considerable.

However, the Russian decision-makers are unable to make the facts of the situation fit the desired objectives. Stringent legislation to insure the sanctity of marriage ties will in actual fact lead to an increase of free love. The state, by its very interference in the life of its citizens, must necessarily undermine a parental authority which it attempts to restore. Merton has pointed out that "social structure exerts a definite pressure upon certain persons in the society to engage in non-conformist rather than conformist conduct."[38] Will the Russian decision-makers be able to come to grips with the unanticipated consequences of their actions?

[33] See, e.g., Halle, *op. cit.*, pp. 109–37.

[34] Quoted by Chamberlin, *op. cit.*, p. 327.

[35] *Ibid.*

[36] See, e.g., Alexander Werth, "Love and Marriage in Russia," *Nation*, April 24, 1948; Schlesinger, *op. cit.*; cf. Alex Inkeles, "Family and the Church in the Post-war USSR," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLXIII (1949), 33–44.

[37] For discussion of this relation see especially Horkheimer, *op. cit.*, and the work of Erich Fromm, especially *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941).

[38] Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 125–26.

IV. THE SOVIET CHILD AND THE SOCIAL ORDER

Reports—both nonfiction and fiction—on the earlier periods of the Soviet regime are replete with accounts of revolt of son against father, of the shaking-off by the young of the authority of the parents. In the early years of the regime the authority of the state and of the party decidedly took the side of the young against the old generation. Children were commended for denouncing the "counterrevolutionary tendencies" of their parents; parades of children against excessive drinking and other "antisocial" behavior of their fathers were common occurrences. The Communist movement fought the family as an enemy of the new social order, a bulwark against change, a seedbed for antistate tendencies.

In the middle thirties this policy also was completely revised. Trotsky's quip that the stabilization of the Russian family runs parallel with the stabilization of the ruble is indeed quite perceptive. As the hierarchical structure of society became stabilized, the child also had to be fitted more tightly into the social framework. The family is still considered a "bulwark against change" as before, and as such it is being strengthened now. The control function of parental authority and the strategic position of the parents for the inculcation of authoritarian norms are recognized and officially supported.[39] The legislator now sides with the parents, approving their attempts to uphold their authority.

Yet this strengthening of parental authority meets with serious obstacles, and a conflict between different forms of social control tends to arise. The totalitarian state aims at direct control over the individual from cradle to grave, from kindergarten via Comsomol and school to job. Only in this way can it hope to ascribe status directly to every individual in the system. On the other hand, no complete equivalent for the parental inculcation of authoritarian norms seems to be available, and the role of authority in the family is officially being stressed again. But then authority of the family must clash in many areas with the authority of the state. The Nazis also glorified the family, at least in the earlier period of their regime, yet they also competed with the parents for the loyalty of the children; they approved only a family in which all members were subservient to the state. This finally led to a situation graphically depicted in a joke then current in Germany: "What is the ideal German family? It's a family in which the father is a member of the party, the mother member of the Association of Nazi Women, the daughter belongs to the Association of German Girls and the son is in the Hitler Youth—they meet once a year at the Nazi congress in Nürnberg."[40] Nazi policies for family and youth attempted to strengthen the paternalistic family and at the same time attacked and weakened it. We see no reason why the Russian policymakers should find it easier to escape these contradictions.

In totalitarian society, as Meusel says, all authority finally derives from the highest political power; the head of the family possesses authority over the children not because he is their father but because he is their leader. Whereas in feudal society political power was patterned on a family model, an exact reversal takes place in totalitarian society. Totalitarian regimes intensify the dependence of the family father upon the coercive power of the state and impress awareness of this dependence on the consciousness of the child as he enters very early into direct contact with the coercive forces of the state which shape the father's life.[41] The Russian child will find it difficult to accept a parental authority which —at least in the lower strata—seems so

[39] For an excellent discussion of this problem in Western society see Kingsley Davis, "The Sociology of Parent-Youth Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, V (August, 1940), 523–35.

[40] Quoted by Meusel, *op. cit.*

[41] *Ibid.*, esp. p. 406. Our discussion at this point is essentially an application of Meusel's brilliant analysis to Russian conditions.

completely devoid of actual power of decision.

The Russian state makes an effort to synchronize a revived paternalistic family with a revival of a paternalistic school system. A new Code of Rules for Soviet Schools was adopted in 1943.[42] Some of the rules are: "Obey without question the orders of school principal and teacher. . . . Sit erect during the lesson period. . . . Rise as the principal or teacher enters or leaves the room. . . . Be polite to elders, respectful to school director and teacher. . . . Obey parents and assist in care of little brothers and sisters. . . . For violation of these rules, the pupil is subject to punishment, even to expulsion from school."

But what if "the care of brothers and sisters" interferes with Comsomol activities? Who is to be obeyed—the parent or the Comsomol leaders? If it is true, as Maurer states, that "increasingly the Soviets have come to regard the family as the hub where all other spokes of activity tie in,"[43] it would seem, however, that Comsomol, Young Pioneers, and Little Octobrists are equally if not more important hubs. If Russia wants to build up the authority of the family and yet does not relinquish direct state control over the child, the child must be torn between conflicting demands and cannot have the secure position that either predominant familial or predominant state authority could provide.

So far we have not considered the effects of class position on the position of the child in the Russian social structure. As Russian society moved farther away from an initial relative equality in class position, as the hierarchical structure of society hardened and vertical mobility decreased, the educational system had to be transformed. In early Soviet society free public education at all educational levels prevented rigidity in stratification. But free public education no longer exists in the Soviet Union.

Since 1940 a fee of 50 rubles ($10.00) a year is required in high schools. The fee for secondary schools amounts to from 150 to 200 rubles; for universities, from 300 to 500 rubles.[44] If we remember that the average monthly income of a wage-earner is 500 rubles—it was about 340 rubles in 1940, when free public education was abandoned—it is easily apparent that the social and economic status of the family again has become a crucial determinant of the future of the child. Higher education becomes the privilege of people who can afford it. There are scholarships and stipends, of course, but these are awarded upon conditions that often are harsher than in capitalist countries. Moreover, they are granted only to students in technical or specialized secondary schools; students in academic secondary schools—normal gateways to higher education—are granted no stipends. Hence students from poorer families tend to gravitate toward technical schools, while the upper-class child has a considerably better chance to pursue a higher education.

The decree of 1940 only further reinforced a trend which began earlier. Schwarz gives the following percentages showing the decline of the proportion of manual workers and their children in higher education:[45]

	1933	1935	1938
Universities.....	50.3	45.0	33.9
Secondary schools	41.5	31.7	27.1

The percentages for industrial colleges, gateways to key managerial positions, are even more revealing:

	1938
Manual workers and their children....	43.5
Peasants and their children.....	9.6
Bureaucracy — specialists and their children.....	45.4

[42] See William M. Mandel, *A Guide to the Soviet Union* (New York: Dial Press, 1946), p. 226.

[43] Maurer, *op. cit.*

[44] Mandel, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 224 and 234; cf. Inkeles, "Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union," *op. cit.*, pp. 473–76.

[45] Solomon M. Schwarz, "Heads of Russian Factories," *Social Research*, IX (1942), 323–24.

Up to one million children whose parents cannot afford the fees for secondary schools, on the other hand, are annually conscripted to four years of compulsory labor service.[46] They are given vocational training for six months to two years and are then required to work four more years wherever directed.

Hence, the degree of authority of the parent depends upon his social position: if the father is made to pay for the schooling of the son, the latter will be less inclined to disregard the father's authority. The children of lower-class families, on the other hand, are taken away from the family into the custody and control of the state.

The limiting of educational opportunities means a shift away from an open class system to a structure in which ascribed status gains over achieved status. This may be adequate for stabilizing a hierarchical social system, but the price to be paid may be very high. Can a society as poor in qualified human resources as the Soviet Union afford to waste potential human resources in order to assure status to its ruling strata?

The new educational policy serves to assure inheritance of social status through transmission of skills and connections. This is in tune with the revival of the principle of inheritance, as laid down in the Soviet Constitution of 1936, which assures transmission of wealth from parents to children, thus canceling the early Soviet measures which abolished inheritance by law or will and all life insurance.[47] The 1936 constitution legally re-established inequality at birth. Inheritance has been legalized again, life insurance reinstalled, and the right of unrestricted disposal of property by last will guaranteed to each individual. Well-to-do citizens are encouraged to buy policies from the State Insurance Trust, the minimum premium being fixed at 5,000 rubles.[48]

The upper-class family has assumed again a most important status-ascribing function. But what repercussions will this have on the attitudes of millions of lower-class youngsters whose loyalty was in part due to the open opportunities which the regime provided in its first period?

In conclusion, we may say that the family policy in Soviet Russia serves to stabilize the upper class. But in other strata it meets with stresses and strains which may well prove to impair the smooth functioning of the total system.

New York City

[46] Inkeles, "Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union," *op. cit.*, pp. 473–75.

[47] After the death of a person, his mobile and immobile property became state property, with certain exceptions in the case of farm property.

[48] Koestler, *op. cit.*, pp. 148–49.

COMMENT

ALEX INKELES

Mr. Coser's basic assumption that Soviet family legislation since 1936 was intended to strengthen the family as a basic social institution is widely accepted and thoroughly documented in the literature on the U.S.S.R. His conclusion that Soviet family policy, at least when taken together with the laws on education and related institutions, has worked to the advantage of the "upper class" may also be tentatively accepted. In the course of his presentation, however, Mr. Coser has made a variety of statements which are not supported by the evidence at hand.

1. Mr. Coser comes to "the startling conclusion that the economic basis of a stable family life, such as is required by the new Soviet ideology, can be found only among the families of the upper strata." The conclusion is indeed startling, but only for the degree to which it is culture-bound. The gulf which separates the material conditions of some upper-strata families in the Soviet Union from many families of disadvantaged workers and peasants is indeed great and may be deplored on moral and political grounds. But it is difficult to see the relation between physical hardship and the fundamental expectations of the regime for family stability, that is, the demand that Soviet citizens avoid casual sexual alliances before marriage and divorce after marriage, that they inculcate discipline and respect for authority in their children, etc. If differences in material well-being

were a crucial factor in determining the degree of adherence to such principles, it would have been impossible for the family-oriented society of China to persist so long in the face of the great differences in wealth which have characterized that society for centuries.

2. The fact that under the 1944 family law the Soviet government undertook to support illegitimate children is interpreted by Mr. Coser to be part of the effort to increase the birth rate. He continues to point out, relying on Rudolph Schlesinger, that bearing illegitimate children might become a regular "profession," since the unmarried mother may, "under certain circumstances, [be] definitely better off economically than her married sister." Unfortunately for the unwed mothers of present-day Russia that set of "certain circumstances" is nonexistent. An unwed mother may if she wishes place her child in an institution, where it will be reared at state expense. But if she does so, the mother receives no support whatsoever from the government. If she elects to rear the child herself, she receives a mere 100 rubles per month. If she is rearing two illegitimate children, the subsidy rises only to 150 rubles. It is most difficult to imagine any woman making a profession out of employment involving such a "wage scale."

In point of fact, the regime's orientation was to discourage the birth of children out of wedlock by denying the mother the right to claim support for herself or the child and by denying her child the right to take the father's name or to claim his inheritance. This clearly puts considerable pressure on women to make certain that births take place only in the marital state. Yet in so far as paternity and support suits were ruled out, the government was clearly obliged to provide some modest assistance for women whose children were born out of wedlock. This fact, and not the desire to increase the birthrate by encouraging illegitimate children, must be seen as explaining the support granted by the government to such children. However strong the regime's desire for more babies, its wish that they be born to married couples is even greater. This is due in part to the "new" morality, which sees in illegitimate births a threat to the stability of the family, and in part to the state's desire to have the burden of caring for children born directly by the citizens regardless of their ability to do so.

3. It seems very difficult to establish any connection between the abolition of coeducation and the strengthening of the *upper*-class family, let alone to prove Mr. Coser's assertion that it attempts to do so "by removing the element of competition for occupational status between husband and wife." It may perhaps be "inevitable" that in time separate education for boys and girls will produce lower standards in women's education, although signs of such a trend are not yet in evidence. Indeed, the facts make it very difficult to accept Mr. Coser's underlying assumption that Soviet women seem "no longer needed in the prestigeful and economically rewarding professions."

In 1949 women constituted 44 per cent of all specialists in the Soviet Union with a full higher education, a situation very likely unmatched in any other country. Although this was six years after the introduction of separate education, furthermore, that figure is higher than the one for either the prewar or the wartime period. It is true, of course, that this high representation of women among Soviet specialists was given considerable impetus by the tendency to draw students for professional education predominantly from among women during the war years. Nevertheless, in 1946, three years after the introduction of separate education and a year after the end of hostilities, women constituted 58 per cent of the *entering* class in Soviet higher schools. It should be remembered that Soviet higher schools are almost exclusively devoted to professional training, in contrast to the general education programs characteristic of the majority of American colleges. This figure may, of course, reflect the continued presence in 1946 of large numbers of the eligible men in the armed forces, and data for the latest years are unfortunately not available to me. Considering the unusually high starting point, it is not at all unlikely that the representation of women among the students entering Soviet professional schools has fallen considerably since 1946. It is not likely, however, that the percentage has gone much below the prewar level, when women constituted about 45 per cent of all students receiving professional training in Soviet higher schools.

Training female professional and semiprofessional personnel at this relatively high rate can hardly be expected to reduce the number of families in which competition for occupational status between husband and wife is at least a potentiality. Therefore, if one accepts Mr. Coser's assumption that the abolition of coeducation is related to family policy, one must seek elsewhere for the explanation. It lies, in all

probability, in the desire to prepare Soviet women psychologically and practically to face the very difficult double burden which the Soviet regime apparently intends to oblige them to bear for some time, namely, to be mothers and wives simultaneously with being gainfully employed workers or professionals. Consequently, the crucial factor in this situation does not appear to be Soviet family policy but rather the economic policy that sets so high and forced a rate of economic development and therefore requires so large a labor force.

4. Apart from such unsupportable statements, examples of which might be multiplied, Mr. Coser's argument suffers from a more general difficulty in that it appears at several points to confuse the apparent consequences of Soviet family policy with the conscious purposes of the regime's leaders. Mr. Coser does indeed distinguish between "purposeful actions" and "functional consequences," but in practice he assigns to the category of conscious purpose many aspects of Soviet family policy which cannot realistically be viewed as other than unintended, unanticipated, and frequently unrecognized consequences of that policy. For example, the statement cited above, in which Mr. Coser holds that the abolition of coeducation "attempts" to reduce status competition in the family, grants the Soviet leaders a sensitivity to and understanding of the fine points of sociological analysis which strains the reader's imagination. Even more sweeping is Mr. Coser's assertion that the "purposeful action" of strengthening the family was intended by Soviet leaders as "an effective counterweight against social mobility" and as "a stabilizer of status." There is no question that social mobility appears to be declining somewhat and that there is visible a greater tendency toward the perpetuation of status in the Soviet Union. This has been a product of complex forces, however, in which family policy has played only a limited part. Furthermore, whatever the facts about the decline of mobility, it is extremely difficult to affirm with any assurance that this has been the consciously sought goal of Soviet leaders. In the absence of thorough documentation and detailed analysis of such "intent," Mr. Coser's statement must appear in many respects either as social teleology or as granting Soviet leaders a degree of social omniscience never before manifested by any ruling or social class.

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REJOINDER

LEWIS A. COSER

Since Dr. Inkeles does not quarrel with my basic assumption, it might be best to answer his objections point by point in the order in which he raises them.

1. I did not make the statement—totally nonsensical, to me at least—that material well-being is universally a precondition for family stability. I *did* say that *within the structure of present-day Russian society* a minimum of material comfort seemed one of the preconditions for family stability. Dr. Inkeles adduces no evidence that would disprove this contention.

What the Chinese family has to do with all this is a little hard to understand. The traditional Chinese family was, among other things, a productive and religious unit, which the modern Russian family is certainly not. The structural conditions making for instability which I have outlined for the Russian case did not exist in traditional agricultural China. But, if Dr. Inkeles is bent on comparative analysis, I would suggest that he might be better advised to look at family stability among Shanghai textile workers or Manchurian coal-miners.

2. Dr. Inkeles has totally ignored the most important fact that according to the Family Law of July 8, 1944, Article 3: "Unmarried mothers with three or more children receive the State Assistance [to single unmarried mothers] *in addition to* the regular assistance to mothers with many children." According to the Family Law, an unmarried mother with four children would thus receive 200 rubles monthly in state assistance for unmarried mothers, plus 80 rubles monthly of regular assistance, plus a nonrecurrent payment of 1,300 rubles on birth of the fourth child. This is a "wage scale" which compares rather well with the wage scale for unskilled workers.

I did not suggest that unmarried women are always better off than their married sisters but only that this might be the case if their "output

of children" is high, that is, if they engage in behavior that warrants reward in a society bent on increasing the birth rate.

If, as Dr. Inkeles believes, the regime intended to put pressure on women in order to make certain that births take place only in the marital state, one wonders why the corresponding pressures on the men were removed at the same time by ruling out paternity and support suits. Pregnancies are not made in heaven; both men and women are involved. Discouragement of illegitimate childbirth would require an increase of pressures on both men and women.

3. Coeducation in the secondary-school system of the Soviet Union was abolished in 1943. The fact that in 1949 women constituted 44 per cent of all specialists, while interesting, has clearly no relevance for the question under discussion—namely, whether abolishment of coeducation will produce lower standards in women's education in the future. The vast majority of the specialists of 1949 went to coeducational schools; the high number of women specialists thus testifies to the success of their coeducational institutions that existed until 1943.

Similarly, that women constituted 58 per cent of the entering classes in professional schools in 1946 proves very little; this, again, is a reflection of the fact that these women entering "college" in 1946 had still received most of their education in the coeducational school system. The effects of separate education can be fully felt only when girls reared in the new separate but unequal school system will claim admission to professional schools.

Dr. Inkeles' reasoning at this point and throughout his comment raises a wider issue.

I set up a series of interrelated hypotheses concerning the structural implications of recent family changes in the Soviet Union. It is my hope that research specialists in the field might be able to utilize some of these hypotheses in their work. Dr. Inkeles seems to feel, on the contrary, that a hypothesis growing out of theoretical analysis has no value or relevance if the evidence to test it fully is not already at hand. Since evidence on the implications of the abolishment of coeducation will perhaps not be available for a number of years, he denies the value of theoretical discussion and of predictions based on theorizing. This is clearly a case in which a narrow kind of empiricism is carried to absurd lengths. A hypothesis arrived at through theoretical analysis must be so set up that it can be tested; but this cannot mean that one must bend one's problems to the data presently available. Hypotheses are useful precisely because they make one hunt for previously neglected or ignored facts.

4. Much of my discussion dealt with unanticipated consequences of the Soviet leaders' purposeful action. Yet in sociology, just as in psychoanalytical thought, focus on unanticipated consequences and latent functions does not rule out concern with anticipated consequences and manifest functions. *Sometimes* people know what they are doing!

I fail to see why it should be so difficult for the Soviet leaders to understand the connections between status stability and the family structure. The Soviet leadership of the early revolutionary period was fully aware that the "bourgeois family" was a conservative element in the Russian social structure and therefore fought against it; it does not strain my imagination to understand that, as the decision-makers reversed their course, they felt that the strengthening of the family could now serve to stabilize social status.

As to the interconnections between the strengthening of the family and mobility, let me quote from an expert who, I am sure, never permits himself to go beyond the available evidence: "The Soviet regime has sought to rehabilitate and strengthen the family through a series of measures. . . . If we accept the proposition that strong emphasis on kinship ties in any social system acts to inhibit mobility, then the measures adopted warrant at least the presumption that as the family is strengthened in the Soviet Union kin relations will play an increasingly important role in determining Soviet youths' opportunities for mobility" (Alex Inkeles, "Social Stratification and Mobility in the Soviet Union," *American Sociological Review*, XV [1950], 477).

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THE NONWHITE FEMALE IN THE LABOR FORCE[1]

RALPH H. TURNER

ABSTRACT

The much higher nonwhite than white female labor force rate is explained in part by age differences but to a negligible degree by marital status, family size, and husband's employment and occupation. More important, however, appear to be the differences in the relationship between these variables and labor force participation for the nonwhite population as compared with the white.

The processes of race relations are complex and difficult to observe directly, but they leave traces in more tangible data, such as comparative labor force participation rates. One way to approach such processes is to analyze the tangible end-products into components and note their interrelationship with other phenomena. While analyses cannot actually reveal the processes, they do elaborate the conditions that any statement of them must fit. They thus help to render some hypotheses plausible or implausible, indicate what further data might be of value, and suggest hypotheses.

From this standpoint the present paper will analyze some of the comparative labor force rates for white and nonwhite females in the United States in 1940, attempting to shed light on some of the ways that American racial patterns alter work participation. Aspects especially examined in this paper include the trend, age distribution, family participation, and husband's economic condition, all as related to deviations of the nonwhite female labor force rate from the proportionate rate.[2]

THE TREND

The labor force rates for the female Negro population are in keeping with the simple expectation that a disadvantaged group should have a large proportion of its members in the labor force to compensate for underemployment and underpay. In the United States as a whole, in the urban, rural-farm, and rural nonfarm United States, in every region and in every state, the proportion of Negro or nonwhite females fourteen years of age and above who are in the labor force is greater than the like proportion of white females.[3] In eighty-three of the ninety-one cities with populations in excess of 100,000 the Negro female labor force rate is higher than the white female labor force rate, though in the remaining eight the white rate is higher.[4]

The trend over four decades, however, is worth noting. The uncorrected figures in Table 1 indicate that the trend of white female labor force rates has been upward, while that of Negroes has been downward, in the direction of convergence. This differs from the male trends, in which both groups decreased in labor force participation over the decades. While a decrease in the Negro female labor force rate might indicate an improved economic status, the increased white female rate certainly does not neces-

[1] Parts of this treatment appear in Ralph H. Turner, "Some Factors in the Differential Position of Whites and Negroes in the Labor Force of the United States in 1940" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1948, prepared under a Social Science Research Council Fellowship), chap. iii.

[2] Cf. Ralph H. Turner, "The Nonwhite Male in the Labor Force," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (January, 1949), 356–62, for comparable material on the male.

[3] *Sixteenth Census: Population*, Vol. III: *The Labor Force*, Part 1, p. 27; *Sixteenth Census: Population, Characteristics of Persons Not in the Labor Force 14 Years Old and Over*, pp. 17–19.

[4] *Sixteenth Census: Population*, Vol. III: *The Labor Force*, Part 1, pp. 62, 64. Only ninety-one cities are included here, in keeping with Census practice of computing rates only on a base of 100 or more. Lowell, Massachusetts, had less than 100 Negro women fourteen years of age and over.

sarily mean worsened economic status. One of the factors here is probably the increasing proportion of white women working outside the home because of choice or rising consumption standards. Thus out of this examination of trend comes the suggestion that participation in the labor force for white and Negro females may have different

TABLE 1

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE POPULATION FOURTEEN YEARS OLD AND OVER IN LABOR FORCE, 1940, AND GAINFUL WORKERS, 1910–30, FOR WHITE AND NEGRO, UNITED STATES*

Year	Percentage	
	White	Negro
1910	21.4	57.7
1920	21.2	42.4
1930	22.3	42.5
1940	24.1	37.8

* *The Labor Force*, Part 1, p. 25.

significance, the nonwhite's reflecting necessity and an important segment of the white's reflecting choice and changing standards and culture patterns.

These observations require two qualifications. A concomitant shift of both Negroes and whites away from farms may have retarded the decrease in the Negro rates and accelerated the increase in white rates, since both labor force and gainful worker rates for women are higher in the city than in the rural areas.[5] The second qualification comes from the re-evaluation of 1910 and 1920 gainful worker statistics. Thus the supposed overcount of women and children working on farms in 1910 and the undercount in 1920 probably explain the interruptions in the trends for both white and Negro in the year 1920. However, the introduction of corrections for these errors would have the effect of smoothing the trend rather than of changing its direction.[6]

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

AGE AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

The hypothesis that the character of the Negro female labor force is partly different from the white is further supported by the comparison of labor force rates by age, as given in Table 2. Between the ages of eight-

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE POPULATION FOURTEEN YEARS OLD AND OVER IN LABOR FORCE, BY AGE, FOR WHITE AND NONWHITE, UNITED STATES, 1940*

Age	Percentage	
	White	Nonwhite
14–19	18.4	21.6
14	0.9	5.9
15	2.1	9.7
16	7.4	16.6
17	16.7	24.7
18	35.3	33.4
19	46.0	39.1
20–24	45.3	43.9
20	48.1	42.0
21	47.8	43.5
22	46.5	44.2
23	43.4	44.7
24	40.2	45.2
25–29	33.9	45.9
30–34	28.6	46.4
35–39	25.8	45.6
40–44	23.6	43.9
45–49	21.4	41.4
50–54	19.4	37.9
55–59	16.8	33.2
60–64	13.6	27.2
65–69	8.6	17.8
70–74	4.6	9.5
75 and over	2.0	4.4

* *Sixteenth Census: Population, Characteristics by Age*, Part 1, p. 90.

een and twenty-two the white female labor force rates are higher than those of the nonwhites, with the nonwhite rates in excess for all other age groups and increasingly so for each older or younger age group. The sharp rise and drop in the white female rates at from seventeen to nineteen years and from

[6] *Sixteenth Census: Population, Comparative Occupational Statistics for the United States, 1870 to 1940*, pp. 137–41. For a fuller analysis of the time series data see John D. Durand, *The Labor Force in the United States, 1890–1960* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1948), pp. 122–36.

twenty-five to thirty years, respectively, support the view that large numbers of white women work between school and marriage or childbirth and then drop out of the labor force. But apparently the same thing does not happen to nonwhite women to the same degree. It is possible (provided that demographic factors subsequently considered do not adequately account for the pattern) that the jobs are not available for a large number of Negro women who do not absolutely need to work or that Negro women have not sufficiently assimilated the values which lead white women in certain age groups to work or that the large proportion of women who are compelled by adverse circumstances to work has made work for its own sake a less desirable thing.

MARITAL STATUS AND LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION

Further light on the difference in character between the white and Negro or nonwhite female labor forces may be shed by an investigation of the well-known differences in marital status between white and nonwhite. Table 3 presents the ratios of actual numbers of nonwhite females in the labor force to the expected number (based on white and nonwhite combined) by age and marital status. The ratios in the column headed "Total" indicate variations in the relationship of nonwhite to expected labor force participation by age, without taking marital status into account. These show simply what has already been observed. The ratios in the row headed "Total," however, show the variations with marital status, age not being taken into account. These further support the general hypothesis concerning the difference between the content of white and nonwhite female labor force, since they show that the nonwhite labor force rate is highest in relation to the white for that category in which work is generally considered least desirable and that it is actually lower than the white rate among single women.

The detailed ratios by age and marital status reveal a number of things. They show that the general differences by marital status hold true at all ages except for the youngest. And they indicate that the lower total nonwhite than white labor force rate between eighteen and twenty-four may actually be attributed to earlier marriage of nonwhites. Only among the single does any nonwhite

TABLE 3

RATIO OF OBSERVED TO EXPECTED NUMBER OF NONWHITE FEMALES IN THE LABOR FORCE BY AGE AND MARITAL STATUS, UNITED STATES, 1940*

Age	Ratio			
	Single	Married, Spouse Present	Other	Total
	Total Population			
14–15	3.32	2.70	2.61	3.34
16–17	1.51	2.20	1.48	1.53
18–19	0.91	1.81	1.18	0.91
20–24	0.89	1.49	1.10	0.98
25–29	0.93	1.69	1.09	1.30
30–34	0.94	1.80	1.08	1.50
35–44	0.97	2.00	1.13	1.65
45–54	0.99	2.29	1.27	1.78
55–59	0.94	2.58	1.44	1.82
60–64	1.05	2.94	1.62	1.88
65–74	1.27	3.45	1.89	1.98
75 and over	1.98	3.67	2.30	2.13
Total	0.92	1.98	1.58	1.46
	Urban Population			
14–15	2.94	2.60	3.08	3.02
16–17	1.35	1.97	1.27	1.38
18–19	0.89	1.64	1.10	0.89
20–24	0.93	1.51	1.08	1.02
25–29	0.95	1.76	1.06	1.31
30–34	0.95	1.92	1.06	1.50
35–44	0.97	2.12	1.10	1.64
45–54	0.99	2.45	1.25	1.76
55–59	0.96	2.89	1.42	1.81
60–64	1.06	3.31	1.52	1.87
65–74	1.21	4.00	1.78	1.85
75 and over	3.07	4.89	2.21	2.16
Total	0.93	2.12	1.56	1.48

* Computed from data in *Sixteenth Census: Population, Labor Force (Sample Statistics); Employment and Personal Characteristics*, pp. 45–46.

age-specific labor force rate fall below that of the whites.

Ratios of the sort in Table 3 are the resultant of two factors, the variations in labor force rates by marital status and age and the differing composition of the white and nonwhite population with respect to these variables.[7] Tabulations[8] reveal that labor force rates are highest for single women and lowest for married women with spouse present and that this ordering by marital status applies to every age group except for the categories below eighteen years of age. A greater proportion of all women than of nonwhite women are single, but also a greater proportion are married with spouse present, and a lesser proportion are in the "Other" bracket. The first difference works to lower the nonwhites' relative numbers in the labor force, while the latter two work to raise the labor force rates. By age groups the same comparisons obtain, except that below the age of twenty-five a greater proportion of nonwhite than of white women are married and living with a husband. The effect of marital status on age-specific labor force rates is also evidenced by the observation that for the total female population the maximum labor force rates are between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five but that for the three marital-status categories the highest rates are all between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five.

The general outlines of the relationships do not appear to differ in major degree between urban and rural. The ratio of nonwhite labor force rates to total rates is higher in urban areas than in rural areas among those married with spouse present who are twenty years and over and among the single women between ages twenty and thirty-five. The ratio is higher in rural than in urban areas for those married with spouse present and single women under twenty years and for women in the "Other" category who are sixteen years and over. Such differences are far too complex for more than the purest speculation, though plausible explanations can be made in terms of differential extended-family ties, elements of choice (rather than necessity) in employment, differential job availability, and incentive to economic independence. Looked at differently, if complete family life is most typically rural and the single, separated, and divorced life is most typically urban, Negroes' labor force participation is most like the whites' in the marital categories most typical of the community in which they live.

TABLE 4

CONTRIBUTIONS OF DIFFERENCES IN AGE AND MARITAL STATUS TO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OBSERVED AND PROPORTIONATE NONWHITE FEMALE LABOR FORCE, UNITED STATES, 1940*

Variable and Type of Influence	Per Cent of Difference between Observed and Proportionate Labor Force	
	Total Population	Urban Population
Gross influence of age	10.8	12.6
Gross influence of marital status	11.0	8.0
Net influence of age	18.9	26.8
Net influence of marital status	19.1	22.2
Joint influence	− 8.1	−14.2
Combined influence	29.9	34.8
Total difference—number	(579,166)	(400,099)

* Computed by the expected-cases method from data in *Sixteenth Census: Population, Labor Force (Sample Statistics); Employment and Personal Characteristics*, pp. 45–46. The row captioned "Total difference—number" gives the base on which the percentages were computed.

While bearing in mind that the influences of age and marital status are complicated and not always in the same direction, it is possible to summarize the total impact of these two factors, as is done in Table 4. The summary shows that both factors act in the direction of increasing the difference be-

[7] Cf. Robert M. Woodbury, "Westergaard's Method of Expected Deaths as Applied to the Study of Infant Mortality," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XVIII (September, 1922), 366.

[8] Cf. Turner, "Some Factors in the Differential Position . . . ," pp. 135–36.

tween white and Negro rates and that the influence of each factor is greater when the other is held constant. Thus, in their combined influence, age and marital status partly cancel out each other's net influence.[9] As compared with the total population, in urban areas the combined influence of age and marital status is associated with a greater part of the difference, and the influence of marital status in comparison to age is less.

The category of "Married, Spouse Present," is by no means homogeneous, since it included childless unions as well as those with children. Since labor force rates for women are notably higher when children are absent, it is important to ascertain whether variations in size of family play a part in varying rates.

Examined within census age categories, comparative frequencies show that the nonwhites have a consistently greater proportion of the large families (three or more children), but also between the ages of twenty-five and fifty-five they have the greatest proportion of childless marriages. White and nonwhite labor force rates vary with respect to number of children in a generally similar manner, except that the difference between having children and childlessness has a much greater association with labor force participation among whites than among nonwhites.

Expected-cases analysis reveals that in urban United States the nonwhite distribution with respect to number of children, taking children under eighteen and children under ten together *as two variables*, is sufficient to account for 10.5 per cent of the difference between observed and expected labor force rates of nonwhite women married with spouse present, when age is held constant. Most of this is a result, however, of the higher rate of childlessness among nonwhites. When only families with children under eighteen years of age are considered, the age distribution of the children is still such as to raise nonwhite labor force rates but is associated with only 2.3 per cent of the difference between observed and expected rates for married women with children, or 1.0 per cent of the difference including all women married with spouse present. Thus childlessness significantly raises the nonwhite labor force rate, but other variations in family size appear to be unimportant. Relationships follow a similar pattern for rural women, except that size of family accounts for a much smaller part of the difference between observed and expected nonwhite labor force participation, amounting to only 3.6 per cent with age held constant.

Combining the urban and the rural findings and taking into account the associated variable of age, the net effect of variations in number of children accounts for 8.0 per cent of the excess of nonwhite observed labor force over the expected; the net effect of age accounts for 11.9 per cent; but, because of canceling out in joint influence, age and number of children combined account for only 11.0 per cent of the total excess.[10]

Thus variations in age, marital status, and number of children account, together, for only a small fraction of the excessively high nonwhite labor force rate. Significant variables must be sought in other types of differences.

FEMALE LABOR FORCE AND MALE EMPLOYMENT

A question of considerable importance concerns the relationship of the female labor force to the male labor force. There is considerable evidence that the female labor force increases with male unemployment.

[9] For an explanation of the "expected-cases" method used here see Ralph H. Turner, "The Expected Cases Method Applied to the Nonwhite Male Labor Force," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (September, 1949), 146–56.

[10] Findings regarding children and labor force status are based on *Sixteenth Census: Population, Labor Force (Sample Statistics); Families, Employment Status*, pp. 57–61. Presence of children of unwed mothers is a factor which might be of importance but which has not been explored in this paper. The earlier noted pattern of white-nonwhite differences by age remains in general when number of children under eighteen and under ten are both held constant, though these data apply only where parents are married and living together.

Thus, if a breadwinner becomes unemployed and remains so for some time, his wife is likely to enter the labor force in an attempt to help make a living for the family. And, once the breadwinner is again employed, the wife may be only too happy to return to her housework. If this supposition were true, it might help to account for the high female labor force rate among Negroes. Since the Negro male employment is always low relative to the white, the Negro female labor force rate would be expected to be high relative to the white rate.

Using the rates for the ninety-one cities with a population of 100,000 or more in 1940, male employment rates and female labor force rates have been correlated for both white and Negro. For whites the expected negative correlation is obtained, $r = -.158$. However, since the standard error for $r = 0$ is .105, this cannot be considered significant. It is possible, however, that employment possibilities have a part in determining the labor force rate, as was ascertained elsewhere for males, and that this relationship is obscuring the relationship under examination. Hence a partial correlation has been computed, holding white female employment rate (as an index of job availability) constant. The correlation between white male and female employment rates is quite high, .771, but that between white female employment and labor force rates is insignificant, .053. The resulting partial correlation, holding female employment constant, however, increases the negative relationship to $r_{12.3} = -.313$.

The same correlations computed for nonwhite females, however, do not reveal the same relationship. The correlation between Negro male employment rate and Negro female labor force rate is positive and highly significant, $r = .589$, with a standard error for $r = 0$ of .106.[11] Thus high Negro female labor force rates are associated with high Negro male employment. Making the same correction as before on the assumption that the primary relationship shown in the above correlation may be between number of jobs available and labor force rates, the partial correlation holding constant Negro female employment rate has been computed. As with the whites, the correlation between Negro male and female employment rates is high, $r = .731$, but, in contrast to the whites, it is also high between Negro female labor force rate and employment, $r = .667$. The resultant partial correlation reduces the relationship between Negro male employment and female labor force rate to a small and not significant, though still positive, figure, $r = .199$.

The limited evidence here, then, is against concluding that high Negro female labor force rate is associated with high Negro male unemployment rates. The suggestion emerges that the interrelationships of unemployment and labor force rates may be of an essentially different character for white and Negro females. The correlations for whites are consistent with the view that where more jobs are available to men, women drop out of the labor force, that there is a sizable segment of the female labor force who work only because of unemployment or underemployment of the male breadwinner. Thus the number of jobs available to women is inconsequential in determining whether women will enter the labor force, but the number of men out of work may have some importance. For Negroes, however, the number of jobs available would seem to be of primary importance. Thus, regardless of whether the men are employed, the women join the labor force where jobs are available and tend to leave it when jobs are not available. This might reflect the general state of underemployment and underpay and unsatisfactory working conditions of the Negro male, such that the Negro woman feels she needs a job regardless of her husband's employment. It may also reflect a type of family life which is characterized by family disorganization, with a correspondingly larger proportion of matri-

[11] For Negroes, $N = 90$, two cities having been dropped because of having less than 100 Negro males in the labor force.

archal households. These characteristics have been observed for the Negro family, with family disorganization especially pronounced for the large cities, so that the interpretation may be assumed to have the support of some of the existing theory on Negro social organization.

Exploring these questions directly through cross-tabulation of husband's employment and wife's labor force participation is rendered difficult because of interference by associated variables. Thus, until age, type of community, and presence or absence of children are all held constant, the relationship for both white and nonwhite seems to be positive between husband's employment and wife's participation in the labor force. With these variables held constant, there is in the total population a generally inverse relation between husband's employment and women's labor force participation, except in rural areas, both farm and nonfarm, and in all areas when age is under twenty-five.

For nonwhites, however, the relationships, both with and without children, computed by separate age categories within types of communities ranging from rural-farm to metropolitan areas, are nearly all positive between husband's employment and wife's labor force participation. There are a few exceptions, but these are scattered and do not immediately appear to form any pattern. So far as it goes, then, this evidence is consistent with the findings from large cities. But it adds the contrast between urban and rural, which may shed further light on the nonwhite data.

Speculation regarding the rural relationship suggests several possible explanations. The dependence on availability of work for labor force participation, already suggested, may be applicable here. Or there may be reflected an adjustment to a type of life characterized by irregular male employment, as in seasonal agricultural labor, so that the wife does not seek employment every time the husband is unemployed. A high incidence of seasonal unemployment would easily account for a relationship such as that observed. Possibly, also, the nonwhites may carry the neighborhood and community practice of helping one another from the rural to the urban setting more frequently than do the whites. The fact that Negroes are disproportionately recent migrants from rural areas and that many come to the city when unemployed makes it reasonable to seek some explanation in the sources of the relationship in rural areas. Both the high incidence of seasonal labor and adjustment to a lower economic level could apply to nonwhite rates.

In Table 5 the relationship of women's labor force status to husband's employment, for white and nonwhite, holding constant age, type of community, and presence or absence of children under ten, is presented in a somewhat different form. The specific labor force rates have been computed, holding constant each of these factors simultaneously. Then the employed man without children under ten was used as a base, and the remaining rates have been stated as ratios to this base within each age-community, type-color category. This provides an easy way to make inspectional comparative assessments of influences. Thus the deviation of entries in column *b* from 1.00 reveals the "effect" of husband's unemployment on labor force status of women when there are no children under ten, while comparison of columns *c* and *d* reveals the same "effect" when there are children under ten. The deviation of column *c* from 1.00 reveals the "effect" of having children under ten when husband is employed, and a comparison of columns *b* and *d* reveals the same when the husband is unemployed. And the deviations in column *d* reveal the combined effect of the two variables.

In the three types of community and for both white and nonwhite the presence or absence of children under ten has a more important association with female labor force rate than has husband's employment, and the association of young children with a low labor force rate becomes less marked with increasing age. In metropolitan areas the husband's unemployment is associated with

heightened labor force participation among white women over twenty-five, more markedly so above the age of thirty-five. But for nonwhites the husband's employment is associated with depressed labor force participation at every age, most marked for those without children in the thirty to thirty-four bracket and over forty-five for those with young children. In the small urban community there is a slight positive relationship between husband's unemployment and women's labor force participation for whites over thirty and for nonwhites over forty-five, but elsewhere the relationship is markedly the opposite. And in the rural-farm community the husband's employment is associated with the wife's participation in the labor force at all ages except one each for both white and nonwhite. Thus the findings in this more elaborated form support the earlier notion that there is an urban-rural differential with whites but that the Negro, even in the city, fits more closely the picture of the rural white. However, the

TABLE 5

RATIOS OF FEMALE LABOR FORCE RATES BY HUSBANDS' EMPLOYMENT AND PRESENCE OF CHILDREN UNDER TEN YEARS OF AGE TO CORRESPONDING RATES WHEN HUSBAND IS EMPLOYED AND THERE ARE NO CHILDREN UNDER TEN, BY COMMUNITY TYPE, AGE, AND COLOR, 1940*

Age	Ratio			Age	Ratio		
	No Children under Ten—Husband Unemployed	One or More Children under Ten			No Children under Ten—Husband Unemployed	One or More Children under Ten	
		Husband Employed	Husband Unemployed			Husband Employed	Husband Unemployed
(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)
	Metropolitan Areas: White				2,500–25,000 Population: Nonwhite		
18–24	0.90	0.18	0.16	18–24	0.68	0.45	0.26
25–29	1.08	0.21	0.25	25–29	0.93	0.47	0.45
30–34	1.13	0.25	0.31	30–34	0.88	0.46	0.44
35–44	1.34	0.37	0.46	35–44	0.81	0.72	0.86
45–64	1.33	0.52	0.67	45–64	1.03	0.85	0.43
	Metropolitan Areas: Nonwhite				Rural-Farm: White		
18–24	0.86	0.33	0.26	18–24	0.62	0.25	0.22
25–29	0.80	0.42	0.31	25–29	1.17	0.23	0.15
30–34	0.76	0.41	0.35	30–34	0.90	0.30	0.25
35–44	0.88	0.56	0.41	35–44	0.97	0.47	0.44
45–64	0.86	0.88	0.39	45–64	0.92	0.73	0.69
	2,500–25,000 Population: White				Rural-Farm: Nonwhite		
18–24	0.61	0.28	0.18	18–24	1.02	0.54	0.51
25–29	0.88	0.31	0.28	25–29	0.96	0.63	0.51
30–34	1.01	0.37	0.35	30–34	0.85	0.57	0.74
35–44	1.08	0.46	0.50	35–44	0.93	0.75	0.72
45–64	1.06	0.63	0.57	45–64	0.93	1.04	0.89

* Computed from data in *Sixteenth Census: Population, Labor Force (Sample Statistics); Employment and Family Characteristics of Women*, pp. 166–75.

variations by age do not bear out the analogy of the effect of factors in the nonwhite situation with factors in the rural white situation, so this interpretation must be made with caution. And it must further be noted that the actual *rates* of labor force participation among the nonwhites differ more from the white rates in the rural than in the urban situation.

While the contribution of male unemployment differential to the high nonwhite female labor force rate cannot be measured by the expected-cases method because of the absence of causal homogeneity,[12] another measure of economic differential, namely, occupation, may be used. Table 6 summarizes the findings of the expected-cases analysis, using women who are married with husband present and employed, dividing occupations into the standard eleven census categories, and computed separately for women with children under ten and women without children under ten. The variables of age and occupation have minimal importance for the population with children, but together account for a quarter of the excess nonwhite labor force among those without children. Most of this is attributable to age, however, with a small but appreciable amount associated with occupational differences.

TABLE 6

SUMMARY OF CONTRIBUTIONS OF DIFFERENCES IN AGE AND HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION TO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN OBSERVED AND PROPORTIONATE NONWHITE FEMALE LABOR FORCE, BY PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF CHILDREN UNDER TEN, UNITED STATES, 1940*

Variable and Type of Influence	Per Cent of Difference between Observed and Proportionate Labor Force		
	Without Children under Ten	With Children under Ten	Total
Gross influence of age	23.6	−1.8	16.0
Gross influence of occupation	7.4	−1.7	4.7
Net influence of age	18.6	−0.7	12.8
Net influence of occupation	2.5	−0.6	1.5
Joint influence	5.0	−1.1	3.1
Combined influence	26.1	−2.4	17.5
Total difference—number	(159,845)	(68,489)	(228,334)

* Computed by the expected-cases method from data in *Sixteenth Census: Population, Labor Force (Sample Statistics); Employment and Family Characteristics of Women*, pp. 164, 165. Data refer only to women married with husband present and employed. The row captioned "Total difference—number" gives the base on which the percentages were computed.

[12] Cf. "The Expected Cases Method Applied to the Nonwhite Male Labor Force," pp. 155–56.

CONCLUSIONS

In summary, the variables examined, all of which are significantly related to variations in labor force participation among women, seem to be able to account for only a small part of the excess nonwhite labor force. Age differences seem to be consistently the most important demographic variable elevating the nonwhite rates. There are more nonwhite women in the "broken-family" category, where labor force rates are high, but not so many are single, where rates are highest; so there is a near canceling-out of the effects of marital status. More nonwhite married women are childless, which accounts for high rates, but more of the largest families are among the nonwhites, where rates are lowest. Findings are not striking regarding the differences in husband's economic status, the only important one being the suggestion based on partial correlation that job opportunity rather than husband's employment may be most important in relation to the nonwhite woman's work. But this correlation is between community rates, without other variables held constant, so there is no immediate way to ascertain whether this is a relationship which holds for individuals. Some of the data indicate a comparability of relationships revealed in the nonwhite statistics with the relationships among rural white. But viewing nonwhites as a rural population adds to the discrepancies to be explained rather than reduces them, since the rural labor force rates are lower than the urban.

While the limited number and measurements of factors used, along with inadequate control of associated variables, may help to account for the limited findings, some observations suggest that the difficulty may lie in the oversimplified assumptions of causality resident in the standardization method. There is an advantage in examining material first in terms of the simplest of assumptions, before proceeding to the more complex. Once this is done, some of the oversimple assumptions indicated by the data should be surveyed.

First, there is an assumption that labor force status is a single, causally homogeneous variable. The most important indications from this analysis are probably that the same variables do not affect white and nonwhite labor force participation in the same manner. This is suggested in the opposite historical trends of the two groups but is more explicitly indicated in the rate variations by age and the relationship to husband's employment. Total labor force figures might, instead, be looked upon as the sum of several kinds of motivationally different work behavior, such as career work, work because of custom, necessity work, etc. Variables such as age and marital status and economic level would affect these different types of participation in different ways. The hypothesis of a greater incidence of the "necessity" type of motivation and lesser incidence of work for "career" or "diversion" among nonwhites would be consistent with the trend figures and the age differences in particular.

Second, the cross-sectional approach assumes a constancy of effect of a given condition, regardless of its antecedents. The present low economic status and family disorganization of the nonwhite may not be so important as the fact that to some extent this has come to be the normal situation for many. Preparations for a given condition conveyed in the folk tradition may make its effect quite different, as suggested in adjustment to seasonal work.

Finally, the assumption that relationships pertain to the individual rather than to the group denies the generalizing significance of culture. Common attitudes derived from a particular situation may be directly communicated to persons not so placed themselves, so that the extent of variability among individuals associated with a particular condition, such as depressed economic status, may understate the effect of this condition on the characteristics of total groups.

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RACIAL ATTITUDES AND THE EMPLOYMENT OF NEGROES

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ABSTRACT

Elements in the employment of Negroes are: the chances of getting a job, of working in various numbers and at different occupational levels. The type of economic organization in an enterprise, as well as the racial attitudes held by employers, is also influential. Each factor is correlated with Negro job opportunities. The type of economic organization is more significantly associated with the chances of getting a job and of working in various numbers, but racial attitudes are more significantly associated with occupational levels.

Studies of Negro employment have not taken sufficient account of the probable influence of factors other than racial attitudes.[2] The nature of the enterprise, its size and location, and the kind of ownership and organization also play a part. The present study was undertaken in order to relate the influence of certain factors of this kind to Negro job opportunities so as to determine whether such factors are more closely related to Negro employment than are racial attitudes.

The study is based on a random sample of 989 enterprises chosen from a directory of manufacturers operating in the state of Texas.[3] These firms were sent a questionnaire requesting information which would reveal their Negro employment policy and selected aspects of their economic organization. An attitude test made on the Thurstone[4] order accompanied the questionnaire. Intensive interviews were held with personnel managers of 110 of the firms.

Three classes of data are involved in the study. The first identifies the Negro employment policy of various enterprises. Whether or not a firm regularly employs Negroes, the number usually used, and the various occupational levels on which they are employed are accepted as dependable indexes of this policy. This represents a job-quantity-quality concept of job opportunities. The second identifies the firms by economic type, as revealed by the following facts: (1) type of ownership: whether non-corporative or corporative; (2) extent of service area: inter- or intra-state; (3) location of headquarters: southern or northern; (4) size of city in which firm is located; (5) date of establishment: before or after 1900; and (6) type of economic function: "cleaner" or "heavier."

The third class of data is composed of the responses of employing agents on the subject of attitude. Such responses are located on a scale of unfavorability or favorability toward the use of Negro workers. The attitude scale was made by the selection of one hundred statements. Fifty Negroes, representing all occupational classes, were selected to arrange the statements in eleven piles according to their judgment of the degree of unfavorability or favorability of each. Accepting the lower end of the scale as the unfavorable region, the middle as the

[1] With Mae Jewel Reed as research assistant. Financial aid in this study was received from the research funds of the Prairie View Agricultural and Mechanical College of Texas.

[2] See President's Commission on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947), p. 56; Charles S. Johnson, *To Stem This Tide* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1943), p. 2; Everett C. Hughes, "Race Relations in Industry," in W. F. Whyte (ed.), *Industry and Society* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1946), p. 111; Arnold and Caroline Rose, *America Divided* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), pp. 72–73; also Edward Nelson Palmer, "Discrimination in Urban Employment," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (January, 1947), 357–61.

[3] Bureau of Business Research, *Directory of Texas Manufacturers* (Austin: University of Texas, 1947).

[4] For a full explanation of this method see L. L. Thurstone and E. J. Chave, *The Measurement of Attitudes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1929).

neutral, and the upper end as favorable, the judges assigned scale points for each statement, and the median was used as its scale value. Statements having a standard deviation of 1.49 or more were eliminated as being too ambiguous for use. The fifty-five statements surviving this test formed the attitude scale.

The relationship of each of the last two classes of data to the first has been measured by means of a contingency method of correlation. The contingency measure used was the "coefficient of association" represented by the symbol Q. This is the mechanism by which we determine the class of variables most closely associated with the Negro employment policy of manufacturing establishments.

The presentation is a picture of existing Negro job opportunities as indicated by employment policy; tests of extent, direction, and reliability of association between these opportunities and the racial attitudes of employers; and tests of association between employment policies and selected economic characteristics. Differences resulting from the two sets of tests will form a basis for rejecting or accepting the hypothesis.

EMPLOYMENT POLICY AND JOB OPPORTUNITIES

What proportion of Texas manufacturing plants regularly employ Negro workers? In what number are these workers employed? How high up the occupational scale can they go within the organization? The answers to these questions depict the employment policy of a collection of firms, and the nature of this policy is accepted as an indication of employment opportunities.

Texas firms, in the main, do employ Negro workers. This was true of 74.4 ± 1.3[5] per cent of the sample, and we can expect it to be true of not less than 70 per cent of the state's manufacturing plants. What the maximum opportunity is remains to be told. One can suspect that there are opportunities somewhat greater than these. The reasons for not employing Negroes as given by the 253 firms whose regular personnel did not include them throw some light on this. More than one-fourth (27.7 per cent) gave lack of access to Negro workers as their reason. In some cases firms were located in areas where there were few or no Negroes. There were also instances in which Negroes had not applied for work, and the firm made no special effort to secure them. Since all firms giving "lack of access" as a reason stated that they had no objection to using them, we conclude that the maximum chance for Negroes to find an enterprise that would use them is not shown by the above rate.

The general willingness to use Negro workers indicates some degree of opportunity, which is measured more exactly when we know the number of Negro workers to whom the firms offer regular employment. The enterprises that use Negro workers aggregated 73,102 employees, of whom 13,868 were Negroes. The total of workers in all firms was 98,256. Negroes represented 19 ± 1.3 per cent of those employed by the firms for which they regularly work but 14 ± 1.1 per cent of all workers in the sample. Consequently, we can expect Negroes to constitute between 11 and 17 per cent of all Texas manufacturing workers. The lower limit of the percentage range is approximately the same rate of employment (10.6) that Negroes represented of the state's manufacturing workers in 1940.[6]

Such Negroes as are hired tend to work in small numbers per firm: the range is from 4 to 550, with a mean of 14 ± 0.73. This average must be interpreted in terms of the general over-all employment power of the state's manufacturing industry. From the point of view of total number employed, Texas firms are relatively small. Over 80 per cent of those included in the sample employed less than 100 workers, although there were some that employed as many as 3,000.

[5] All percentages and means are accepted for generalization on a confidence limit derived from three times the standard error.

[6] U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940*, Vol. II: *Population*, Part 6.

The chance to work for a firm, even in large numbers, does not mean very much if the worker is restricted to a certain level of occupation. The opportunity to hold jobs on the various levels of occupation afforded by an industry is very important. It defines the extent to which the worker is free to act as a competing agent, and it determines his position in the total economy. Occupations have a significant influence in determining the social class to which an individual will belong.[7] Therefore, our interest in seeing how far up the occupational scale firms will allow Negro workers to go is fairly important in interpreting job opportunities.

All manufacturers that regularly employ Negroes were grouped according to the number and percentage using them in specific capacities. Table 1 shows that Negro workers are employed on a variety of jobs representing various degrees of skill and training. According to the pattern of chance presented here, the opportunities are greatest in occupations requiring little skill and training. Nevertheless, there are some opportunities at the top, and they exist in jobs usually judged to be denied Negroes in the South. Positions as chemists, engineers, managers, and clericals are illustrations in point. Some Negro managers and foremen were reported as acting in supervisory capacities over white as well as Negro workers. All Negro clericals were working in offices along with white personnel.

TABLE 1

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF 736 MANUFACTURING FIRMS EMPLOYING NEGROES IN SPECIFIC JOBS

Specific Jobs	No. of Firms	Per Cent of Firms	Standard Error
Electricians	7	1.0	.004
Chemists*	8	1.1	.004
Managers	8	1.1	.004
Engineers (all types)	9	1.2	.004
Carpenters	13	1.8	.005
Firemen	18	2.4	.006
Plumbers	21	2.8	.006
Clericals	56	7.6	.010
Machinists and mechanics	73	9.9	.011
Inspectors and foremen	77	10.5	.011
Mechanics' helpers, etc.	155	21.0	.015
Deliverymen	210	28.5	.017
Unskilled workers	393	53.4	.018
Service workers	407	55.3	.018
All others	201	27.3	.016

* Although 1.1 per cent of the firms employed Negro chemists, 17.3 per cent regularly used chemists in their work.

The results of such "experiments" have been mixed. The president of a sand and gravel company wrote: "We have tried to feel that we have done our part in the promotion of Negroes who are capable. We have one Negro locomotive engineer who has a white foreman and they get along fine." The president of a steel company says: "As this questionnaire will indicate, we have 40 Negroes on the payroll and 95% of them are intelligent and doing a good job in this organization. If they don't we send them home. You will be interested to know that we have a ——— college graduate by the name of ——— who is doing clerical work in a white organization."

Most employers using Negroes at the higher occupational levels have been careful to avoid racial friction. The personnel manager of an ironworks makes a statement that characterizes this group: "We have had very good success in working Negroes throughout our plant, and have placed them on jobs into which they could work without incurring any break in the morale of either Negroes, Mexicans, whites, males or females in the plant." These statements illustrate various degrees of willingness to integrate Negro workers on higher job levels. They are, at best, exceptions and should not be interpreted as representing the rule. Only one plant out of a hundred can be expected to use Negroes as managers. Between five and ten of this number can be expected to use them as clerical workers, and between eight and thirteen as inspectors and foremen.

In a more general sense the greatest opportunities for Negroes from the point of

[7] A. B. Hollingshead, "Human Ecology," in R. E. Park (ed.), *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1939), pp. 84–85.

view of occupational class appear to be with firms employing them on the lower levels. We can see this when all jobs offered Negroes by the respective firms are grouped according to socio-economic class.[8] Table 2 gives this distribution.

TABLE 2

NUMBER AND PER CENT OF 736 MANUFACTURERS EMPLOYING NEGROES ON JOBS OF VARIOUS SOCIO-ECONOMIC CLASSES

Socio-economic Class	No. of Firms	Per Cent* of Firms	Standard Error
Professional	39	5.3	0.8
Managerial	8	1.1	0.4
Clerical	56	7.6	1.0
Skilled	225	30.6	1.7
Semiskilled	328	44.5	1.8
Service	407	55.3	1.8
Unskilled	393	53.4	1.8

* Percentages do not total 100, since many firms employ on more than one level.

A very small percentage of manufacturers employ these workers on jobs that can be classified as skilled or above. Consequently, Negro workers compose a very small proportion of the workers of these classes. Of the 32,405 workers whom these firms employed on the skilled level and above, only 2.6 per cent were Negroes. A table classifying the white and Negro workers of these firms at the levels of skilled and above, on the one hand, and below skilled, on the other, yields a coefficient of association of .89 with a chi square of 76.1. This positive coefficient shows how reliable is the conclusion that the upper-level jobs go to white workers while those of lower levels go to Negroes.

The number of different levels on which manufacturers employ Negroes appears to be the circumstance keeping them on the lower end of the occupational scale. The small number of levels on which they can work presents one of their most serious hazards. We can see this disadvantage from the distribution of firms shown in Table 3.

[8] U.S. Department of Labor, *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1939).

It is obvious that the Negro worker has a very small chance of finding a firm that will employ him on more than three levels. This is a most significant disadvantage because the opportunity to work at the top is definitely related to the number of levels on which these workers are employed. The smaller the number of levels, the greater the percentage of firms using Negroes at the lower end of the occupational scale. Of those using them on one level, 79 ± 2.7 per cent employed them as service or unskilled workers. However, only 33.9 ± 2.8 per cent of those offering two levels used them for these classes of occupation. The rate drops to 20.8 ± 3.1 per cent for those employing them on three levels or more.

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE OF FIRMS EMPLOYING NEGROES AT VARIOUS NUMBERS OF LEVELS

No. of Levels on Which Negroes Are Employed	Per Cent Firms
One	27.3
Two	48.4
Three	17.6
Four	5.3
Five and over	1.4
Total	100.0

About three-fourths of all Texas manufacturing firms have a policy of using Negroes, and such workers can expect to compose approximately the same percentage of the state's manufacturing workers as they represent in the state's population. They can expect to be employed in small numbers of about twelve per firm. Although they have some chance of finding work at all occupational levels, their opportunities are considerably more numerous at the bottom and represent a function of the number of levels on which firms employ them.

This is the minimum picture of Negro job opportunities as it now exists in the state. Is this opportunity pattern more closely associated with the racial attitudes of employers than it is with the specific

economic characteristics of the various enterprises?

ASSOCIATION OF JOB OPPORTUNITIES AND RACIAL ATTITUDES

The main purpose of the attitude test was to see if employers approve, are indifferent toward, or disapprove of the caste system as it applies to Negro workers. Attitude has been accepted as one of the criteria for distinguishing various types of stratification.[9] Therefore, the location of an employer's attitude on a continuum should present fairly reliable evidence of his willingness to discriminate against Negro workers. Our interest here is to show how favorable employers are toward Negro workers and to determine how this attitude is associated with the various aspects of their employment policy as to Negroes.

[9] John W. Bennett and Melvin M. Tumin, *Social Life* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), p. 461.

Responses of employers to the attitude test show that they are more favorable than unfavorable toward Negro workers. Two types of evidence bear out this conclusion. The first is a tabulation of the percentage of employers accepting statements at each point on the scale. For this purpose a statement representing each point was selected from among the fifty-five composing the test. While illustrating the general character of the test, Table 4 shows that the percentage of employers accepting a statement generally increases as we move up the scale toward the more favorable end.

TABLE 4

PER CENT OF 989 EMPLOYERS ACCEPTING TYPICAL STATEMENTS REPRESENTING SUCCESSIVE POINTS ON THE ATTITUDE SCALE

Item	Scale Value	Per Cent of Firms Accepting
Negro workers should have some formal training for the jobs they are expected to do, but this training should not be technical	1	22.2
Negro workers should be admitted to employment in all industries, but they should be restricted to certain types of jobs	2	10.0
Negro workers who employ themselves or work for Negroes should have all the training they want. Those who work for or expect to work for whites should be able to read, write, and count, but not very much more than this	3	12.6
Negro workers are as efficient as any other group when they are under a boss who can control them	4	39.6
It is better for the white employer to give his Negro workers training on the job so that he will be sure that they have that training that he desires that they have	5	30.4
Although there are some inefficient workers among them, the skill of a few Negroes in a work gang is great enough to overcome the loss an employer would suffer by the presence of inefficient ones	6	10.5
A limited chance for advancement given Negro workers is a decided advantage to any employer who uses them	7	14.3
There are some types of work in which Negro workers are superior to all other workers. Employers who use them for these types of work will profit by their labor	8	24.7
There ought to be some types of work in which Negroes are allowed to climb or be promoted as far as they are able	9	43.5
Even though Negro workers are seldom used in skilled and higher occupations, there is still an advantage in having them trained for such occupations	10	54.4
It is for the best interest of the country that all of its workers be as highly trained as possible	11	72.2

Although the statements selected for illustration are those most frequently accepted by employers, this type of tabulation—not usually employed with this kind of attitude test—cannot tell the entire story. Therefore, a second type of evidence is necessary. A frequency distribution of the scores of employers includes responses to all statements and gives a more complete pic-

ture of their general feeling with regard to Negro workers. The mean score for all employers was 8.3±.06. In spite of the fact that some were very unfavorable toward Negro workers, most of them were moderately favorable, and their standard deviation of 2.0 indicates that they are fairly uniform in their feeling.

The classification of attitude scores according to the various aspects of Negro employment policy allows some conclusions that point more clearly toward our main interest. If an employer's policy is related to the racial attitudes he holds, this relationship should be manifested by the variation of attitude scores according to differences in policy. Such a variation did not occur consistently, although it was tested by the significant difference of means and by the coefficient of association.

The attitude of an employer toward Negro workers appears to have very little to do with whether or not he employs them. The mean attitude score for those using Negro workers was 8.3±.07 and that for those not employing them was 8.2±.14. The C.R. of .64 (P = .522) shows that there is a low probability that this difference is statistically significant. This similarity of attitude dispels considerably an assumption that employers using and those not using Negroes are two different groups holding significantly different attitudes toward Negroes.

Racial attitude did not appear to vary according to the number of Negroes employed. Employers using twenty or more Negroes appeared no more favorable toward them than those employing fewer. The mean for both groups was 8.3. The same degree of similarity of scores existed between employers using Negroes on one or two occupational levels and those using them on more than two. Both groups had a mean of 8.1. The data on specific occupational levels was not quite so convincing. Those using Negroes at the skilled level and above were somewhat more favorable in their attitude than those using them below this level. The respective means were 8.8±.14 and 8.6±.07. The difference between the two means gives a C.R. of 1.3 (P = .096). If we use a 5 per cent level of significance, we cannot accept this difference in means as representing a relatively certain difference in attitudes held by the two groups.

Whether or not a firm uses Negro workers or whatever the number of such workers it employs, the results of the correlation tests are fairly consistent with the conclusions drawn above. The extent and degree of significance of the coefficients of association between racial attitudes and these aspects of Negro employment policy are further evidence of the small role played by attitudes. Table 5 shows that in neither of these instances of policy is the coefficient large enough to suggest moderate association.

TABLE 5

COEFFICIENT OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF EMPLOYMENT POLICY AND RACIAL ATTITUDES OF EMPLOYERS

Aspects of Employment Policy	Q	Chi Square*
Whether or not using Negroes	.18	1.7
Number of Negroes	−.15	2.2
Occupational level	−.34	17.0
Number of occupational levels	.28	5.0
Number at occupational levels	−.50	53.2

* Chi square accepted as indicating genuine association if large as 10.8 for probability of .001 with one degree of freedom.

In the case of occupational level, however, attitude appears more important. There is a low negative association between the occupational level on which Negroes are employed and the racial attitudes held by their employers. Those holding unfavorable attitudes were greater in number among those using them below the skilled level than chance would lead us to expect. Likewise, those holding favorable attitudes were represented among those using Negroes above this level in numbers greater than chance expectation. There is a moderate negative association between the attitudes

held by employers and the number of Negroes employed at the various occupational levels. Firms having more favorable attitudes employ a smaller number below the skilled level and a larger number at the skilled level and above than we would expect from chance. Those having unfavorable attitudes behave in the opposite manner.

NEGRO JOB OPPORTUNITIES AND ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

The logic of economic relations suggests that the economic character of a business enterprise influences the number and kind of its workers. It is reasonable to assume that Negro workers must come under this influence more or less. How much they do and whether this influence explains the Negro employment question more than does the employer's attitude toward them is the question now to be discussed.

This assumption proved incorrect in part. Tests for association between Negro employment policy and our selected economic characteristics did not prove significant in all instances. When they were significant, the coefficients were very low. Table 6 shows the coefficient of association between each aspect of employment policy and each of the characteristics.

Whether or not the policy of a manufacturing enterprise is to employ Negro workers as a part of its regular personnel is dependably associated with its type of ownership, how satisfactory its experience has been with these workers, and the size of the city in which it is located. The coefficient of association between this aspect of Negro employment policy and type of ownership was .54. The direction of this association suggests that the tendency to use Negro workers is positively associated with corporations and negatively associated with noncorporate enterprises. The differences in observed and expected frequencies shown by Table 7 give some type of measurement of the strength of this direction.

There were 111 firms not currently employing Negro workers whose previous experiences with them allowed the evaluation of their services. Therefore, we could get an association between the employment of Negroes and satisfaction with them. The coefficient in this case was .46. As one would expect, there was a significantly greater number of satisfied employers using Negroes. Employers were asked to specify under "attitude" their impression of the Negro worker's economic value to the enterprise. Personal interviews and letters accompany-

TABLE 6

COEFFICIENTS OF ASSOCIATION BETWEEN VARIOUS ASPECTS OF NEGRO EMPLOYMENT POLICY AND SELECTED ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF 989 MANUFACTURING FIRMS

Economic Characteristics	Whether Employing Negroes		Number of Negroes Employed		Occupational Level		Number of Levels		Number Employed at Levels	
	Q	Chi Square	Q	Chi Square	Q	Chi Square	Q	Chi Square	Q	Chi Square
Satisfaction with Negroes	.46	13.4	−.20	2.2	−.21	6.3	−.04	0.1	−.14	4.6
Size of service area	.19	7.0	−.43	21.1	−.02	0.0	−.17	5.2	−.08	3.4
Location of headquarters	.10	0.7	−.41	12.6	−.03	0.1	−.36	8.6	−.20	6.8
Type of ownership	.54	39.2	−.57	36.9	.21	7.1	−.29	11.8	−.15	5.1
Date of establishment	.20	31.7	.32	6.8	−.16	0.3	.06	0.1	.10	0.2
Size of location*	.30	14.5	−.09	0.6	.13	1.4	.10	0.5	.08	0.7
Type of industry	.20	6.7	.58	50.6	.52	29.0	−.44	23.3	−.20	9.1

* Places having a population under 50,000 were classified as small. All others were classified as large.

ing questionnaire responses showed that this was taken seriously. It should be noted, however, that the interpretation was made on the basis of Negro time sheets only and not on the basis of a record comparing white and Negro workers of equal training and educational level. Therefore, the employer's economic interpretation of "satisfaction" may not be purged completely of attitude.

All three of the economic characteristics that are significantly associated with a firm are all significantly associated with the number of Negroes employed by each. There are probably other variables that are more definitely involved in explaining the number of Negroes employed by a manufacturing enterprise, but we can be sure that any list of characteristics not including these would fall short of a total explanation.

Both the type of ownership characteristic of a firm and the type of industry it represents are more closely associated with the

TABLE 7

DEVIATION OF OBSERVED FROM EXPECTED FREQUENCIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF 989 MANUFACTURING FIRMS ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND NEGRO EMPLOYMENT POLICY

Characteristics	Firms Employing Negroes		Firms Not Employing Negroes	
	Observed Frequencies	Deviation of Expected from Observed	Observed Frequencies	Deviation of Expected from Observed
Type of ownership:				
Noncorporative	319	−43	168	+43
Corporation	417	+43	85	−43
Experience with Negroes:				
Dissatisfied	92	−11	33	+11
Satisfied	517	+11	78	−11
Size of city:				
Large	607	+21	181	−21
Small	129	−21	72	+21

firm's employment policy appear, by test, to be more important than racial attitude. It will be recalled that no significant association between racial attitude and this feature of a firm's Negro employment policy was shown.

If, as our facts have begun to show, reason is more influential in the management of some aspects of an economic enterprise than sentiment, it is to be expected that managers would gauge the number of their workers according to the economic nature of their business. This principle of economic relations, as it pertains to Negro workers, finds some support in our observations. The type of ownership, extent of service area, type of industry, and location of headquarters of a number of Negroes it employs than is any one of the other characteristics tested in this study. The respective coefficients are −.57 and .58. The first coefficient, negative from the point of view of noncorporative ownership, shows that firms of the corporation type have a considerably larger representation among those employing twenty or more Negroes than chance expectation would allow.[10] For noncorporative types the representation is smaller than chance expectation. The second coefficient, positive from the point of view of the "heavy"-type indus-

[10] Because corporation-owned firms are usually larger and thereby employ in larger numbers, it is probable that a similar correlation would exist between the employment of twenty or more white workers and this type of firm.

try, shows that firms of this type tend to employ a significantly larger number of Negroes per firm than those of the "lighter" or "cleaner" type.[11] This fact supports the long-standing contention that Negroes have a better chance in industries not yet made cleaner and easier by mechanization.

The association between the number of Negro workers per firm and the extent of the firm's service area was −.43. This coefficient allows the conclusion that Negroes can work in larger numbers with firms whose service areas extend beyond state boundaries. The observed frequencies for firms of this class were considerably greater among those employing twenty or more than we could expect from chance distribution. Table 8 gives the observed and expected frequencies for each characteristic significantly associated with the number of Negroes employed.

TABLE 8

DEVIATION OF OBSERVED FROM EXPECTED FREQUENCIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF 736 FIRMS ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS AND NUMBER OF NEGROES EMPLOYED

Characteristics	Firms Employing under Twenty		Firms Employing Twenty or More	
	Observed Frequencies	Deviation of Expected from Observed	Observed Frequencies	Deviation of Expected from Observed
Type of ownership:				
Noncorporative	289	+32	30	−32
Corporation	303	−32	114	+32
Service:				
In-state	299	+25	42	−25
Out-state	293	−25	102	+25
Location of headquarters:				
South	553	+ 9	123	− 9
Elsewhere	39	− 9	21	+ 9
Type of industry:				
Heavy	178	−37	89	+37
Light	414	+37	55	−37

Some of the industries that employ in large numbers are corporations whose headquarters are located outside the South. The large petroleum, chemical, and allied industries of Texas fall into this class. This fact partly accounts for the −.41 that represents the degree and direction of association between location of headquarters and number of Negroes employed. Firms with southern headquarters are more heavily represented among those employing less than twenty Negroes than chance expectation. This fact seems to be more an expression of the economic nature of the enterprise than of a southern custom of discrimination.

The type of industry is the only one of the selected economic characteristics found to be associated with the occupational level on which a firm employs Negro workers. The coefficient in this instance was .52. It indicates that industries defined as light are significantly greater in number among those

[11] Heavy industries include those producing iron and steel, machinery, cement and building materials, etc. Lighter industries include those producing food and beverages, furniture, medical supplies, textiles, clothing, etc.

using Negroes at the skilled level and above than chance expectation would allow. The opposite is true of heavier industries. The same pattern of association exists in the number of occupational levels on which Negroes are employed. Although the coefficient of association is lower, it is clearly shown that the Negro worker has a chance to work on a larger number of occupational levels when employed by the lighter industries. Table 9 shows the extent to which observed frequencies in both instances deviate from those one would expect to occur by chance. Like all the other economic characteristics, the association between type of industry and number of Negroes employed at various occupational levels did not prove significant by the chi-square test.

TABLE 9

DEVIATION OF OBSERVED FROM EXPECTED FREQUENCIES IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF 736 FIRMS ACCORDING TO TYPE OF INDUSTRY AND NEGRO OCCUPATIONAL LEVEL

Characteristics	Heavy		Light	
	Observed Frequencies	Deviation from Expected Frequencies	Observed Frequencies	Deviation from Expected Frequencies
Occupational level:				
Skilled and above	29	−29	31	+29
Below skilled	238	+29	338	−29
Number of levels:				
Under three	229	+27	338	−27
Three and over	38	−27	141	+27

This study allows the conclusion that the job and quantity elements of the Negro employment policy of Texas manufacturing firms are more closely associated with the economic nature of the firms than they are with the racial attitudes held by their personnel managers. Whether or not Negroes are regularly employed by a firm appears to be in the main a function of type of ownership, of satisfactory experience with Negro workers, and of the size of the city in which the firm is located. The number of Negroes employed depends more upon the type of industry, type of ownership, and size of service area than upon employer attitudes.

It is in the quality test of opportunities for employment that racial attitudes show their greater influence. The type of industry appears more functional with regard to the occupational levels on which some Negroes are allowed to work, but the number allowed to work on these levels appears to be more closely related to attitudes than to the economic nature of the enterprise.

Our findings implying a decrease in preference for Negro workers as the occupational level increases concur with those of Noland and Bakke.[12] Since these scholars root the employer's judgment of workers in the attitudes of the general population and since our findings show the quality aspect of Negro job opportunities to be significantly associated with racial attitudes, it may well be that the real test is in the association of racial attitudes of white workers and Negro job opportunities.

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[12] W. Noland and E. W. Bakke, *Workers Wanted* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), pp. 167–68.

NEGRO CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE

TILMAN C. COTHRAN

ABSTRACT

When racial status becomes an uncontrollable obstacle to social mobility, one important reaction is hostility toward the dominant group. Since overt hostility is severely punished in the South, it must often be covert. From this level, it gains one avenue of expression in the Negro conceptions of white people. These data reveal that lower-class Negroes are more unfavorable in their stereotyped conceptions of white people than either the middle or the upper classes and that middle-class Negroes possess the most favorable conceptions.

This investigation is a study of Negro conceptions of white people.[1] It is designed to discover the universality, uniformity, direction, and intensity of these conceptions.[2] Much of the research on Negro-white relationships treats white stereotyped conceptions and attitudes of the Negro.[3] But there are areas of Negro-white interaction where the conceptions of the subordinate group become important, especially in areas of interracial co-operation. This report discusses one of four major hypotheses made in the course of a study, namely, that middle-class Negroes are more favorable in their conceptions of white people than either upper- or lower-class Negroes.

From over two hundred conceptions of white people secured from 341 Negroes through the open-ended interview technique, the thirty most frequent were used in the construction of the schedule.[4] The schedule, a modification of the Likert technique of attitude measurement, was filled out by a stratified random sample of 174 Negroes.[5] These data are analyzed according to social classes. Frazier has shown that social stratification in the Negro community is based on occupation, education, and income.[6] Thus, socioeconomic groupings were made to form the three social classes. The sample was not secured on the basis of quotas, since an exceptionally large sample would be necessary to secure statistically sufficient numbers in the upper and middle classes. Accordingly, the sample shows the following breakdown in numbers by classes: lower, 57; middle, 57; and upper, 60.

UNIVERSALITY OF NEGRO CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE

From a study of Table 1 it is evident that the thirty stereotyped conceptions are familiar to the vast majority of Negroes. The middle class shows the lowest percentage of recognition on any single item. Only 56 per cent of this class had heard the statement, "White women are more affectionate than Negro women." Sixty per cent of the upper class and 72 per cent of the lower class were familiar with the conception.

Another method of viewing the extent to which these thirty stereotyped notions are current among Negroes is to take the mean percentage of the "Yes" responses for all the items. This procedure shows that the upper

[1] This paper is a condensation of my chap. vii of "The Dimensions of Negro Stereotyped Conceptions of White People" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1949). The study was made in New Orleans, Louisiana.

[2] The term "dimensions" is borrowed from A. L. Edwards' "Four Dimensions in Political Stereotypes," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXV (1940), 566–72, and refers only to the aspects of stereotypes.

[3] See Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944); Lewis Copeland, "The Function of Racial Ideology" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1939); and E. C. Hughes, "Race Relations in Industry," in *Industry and Society*, ed. W. F. Whyte (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946).

[4] Gardner Murphy and Rensis Likert, *Public Opinion and the Individual* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1939).

[5] A full statement of method is given in the original work.

[6] E. Franklin Frazier, *Negro Youth at the Crossways* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1940), p. 21.

and lower classes have slightly higher mean scores. The mean percentages of recognition were 83.1 per cent for the upper class, 80.6 for the middle class, and 82.9 per cent for the lower class. On the basis of these proportions, we conclude that these stereotyped conceptions are widely known among Negroes of all social classes.

THE UNIFORMITY AND DIRECTION OF NEGRO CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE

The "uniformity" and "direction" of Negro conceptions of white people have been combined because the two "dimensions" require similar operations. By "uniformity" we mean the extent to which an individual's response is in accord with the response of others. "Direction" means favorableness or unfavorableness of responses.

Agreement will be analyzed in terms of the proportion of individual responses falling in one of the five categories on a continuum ranging from "Strongly Agree" to "Strongly Disagree." By showing the percentage of responses for each of the five categories, we shall be able to note dispersion and/or the extent of clustering.

Table 2 gives the mean uniformity and

TABLE 1*

PERCENTAGE RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "HAVE YOU HEARD THIS?"

Stereotyped Conception	Upper Class		Middle Class		Lower Class	
	Yes	No	Yes	No	Yes	No
Very neat and clean	78	22	81	19	74	26
Feel superior	100	.....	96	4	95	5
Insincere in religion	82	18	61	39	63	37
Distrust Negro leaders	73	27	74	26	88	12
Judge Negroes by worst type	97	3	96	4	86	14
Superior mechanical ability	63	37	74	26	70	30
Do not care to be among Negroes	93	7	88	12	96	4
Easily fooled by "Uncle Tomism"	90	10	79	21	84	16
Low morals	85	15	74	26	77	23
Underestimate Negro's ability	90	10	93	7	91	9
Hate Negroes	93	7	91	9	88	12
Very ambitious	88	12	82	18	88	12
Superior intellectual ability	90	10	86	14	75	25
Not very emotional	68	32	61	39	65	35
Keep Negro down	95	5	96	4	98	2
Very shrewd	85	15	82	18	89	11
Good singers and dancers	57	43	63	37	77	23
Not very brave	73	27	72	28	79	21
Pleasure-loving	80	20	88	12	91	9
Not very honest	77	23	81	19	91	9
Very business-like	90	10	91	9	95	5
Stick together	98	2	100	.....	100	.....
Deceitful and tricky	78	22	81	19	88	12
White women more liberal	72	28	63	37	67	33
Jews more sympathetic	88	12	79	21	81	19
White men more considerate of white women	88	12	88	12	91	9
Liberals give lip service	82	18	72	28	72	28
Poor whites more prejudiced	100	.....	98	2	95	5
White women more affectionate	60	40	56	44	72	28
Liberals not sincere	80	20	72	28	63	37
Mean percentages	83.1	.....	80.6	.....	82.96	.....

* The condensation of all tables in this paper precludes the inclusion of numbers from which percentages were derived except that in all instances there are 60, 57, and 57 respondents in the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively.

direction scores for the three social classes. The lower class is more uniformly unfavorable (52.1 per cent) in its stereotyped conceptions of white people than the upper and middle classes. There is little difference in the extent to which upper- and middle-class Negroes hold unfavorable conceptions of white people—43.2 per cent for the upper class and 43.3 per cent for the middle class. However, the most interesting aspect of the agreement in responses is the fact that higher proportions of upper- and lower-class Negroes are strongly unfavorable in their conceptions of white people—13.5 and 13.6 per cent, respectively. Middle-class Negroes were less inclined to be strongly unfavorable in their conceptions. These proportions and those for neutral responses are not statistically significant; however, they tend to indicate uniformity of responses. More than one in three persons of the upper and middle classes and less than one in three persons in the lower class held favorable conceptions.

TABLE 2

PERCENTAGE MEAN UNIFORMITY AND DIRECTION SCORES FOR THE THREE SOCIAL CLASSES ON NEGRO STEREOPTYED CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE

Social Class	Favorable		Neutral	Unfavorable	
	Total	Strongly Favorable		Total	Strongly Unfavorable
Upper	35.3	8.4	21.4	43.2	13.5
Middle	36.0	6.1	20.7	43.3	10.2
Lower	30.0	7.0	17.8	52.1	13.6

THE DIRECTION OF NEGRO CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE

We are now concerned with the problem of whether the group responses for each of the twenty-six stereotyped conceptions[7] indicate favorableness or unfavorableness toward white people. Table 3 shows these data.

On the conception, "White people are very neat and clean," upper- and middle-class Negroes are more favorable than lower-class Negroes. The percentages for the three classes are 37, 32, and 28, respectively. Although large proportions of the upper and middle classes expressed a favorable conception, almost equally as large proportions failed to commit themselves. There was less reticence on the part of lower-class Negroes (21 per cent) to make their positions explicit. For the lower, middle, and upper classes with percentages of 51, 36, and 28, respectively, lower-class persons had the most unfavorable conceptions on the cleanliness of white people. The two extreme variations are statistically significant—$P = .009$.[8] The large percentage of lower-class Negroes holding this conception may be partially analyzed as a reaction to the fact that Negroes in domestic service often have the menial tasks of cleaning the homes, yards, and clothes of white people. Thus, believing that whites are unclean may be viewed as part of the resentment of lower-class Negroes for their low economic status. Another possible explanation may be expressed in terms of the psychoanalytic mechanism of projection. Knowing that they are often branded as being unclean, lower-class Negroes may project this belief upon white people in general and also upon upper- and middle-class Negroes.

[7] Judges did not agree as to which end of the scale indicated favorableness or unfavorableness on four statements. These were eliminated from the original thirty items.

[8] $\epsilon_{1.2.} = \sqrt{P_0 Q_0 \left(\frac{1}{N_1} + \frac{1}{N_2}\right)}$.

Seventy-five per cent of the lower-, 72 per cent of the middle-, and 69 per cent of the upper-class Negroes stated, "White people feel superior to Negroes." Although many Negroes believe that white people feel superior, it does not follow that most or all of these persons agree and feel themselves inferior. This research showed that there were Negroes who felt that, "with equal opportunities, the Negro would be superior to white people."[9]

Negro stereotyped conceptions of white people's religious life show remarkable indecision as to the exact nature of their position. Twenty-three per cent of the upper-, 32 per cent of the middle-, and 30 per cent of the lower-class Negroes expressed favorable views. The high proportion of neutral replies—45, 35, and 35 for the social classes, respectively—would seem to indicate either an absence of opinion or unwillingness to specify a conception of white religious life. On the unfavorable end of the continuum were 32, 33, and 35 per cent of the responses, respectively. In general, Negroes of all classes hesitate to say that white people are sincere in their acceptance of the doctrines of Christianity. Johnson has presented supporting evidence from 2,235 Negro boys and girls.[10] On the attitude statement, "White people are poor Christians," 51.7 per cent of the boys and 48.9 per cent of the girls indicated agreement. Johnson's schedule allowed only two possible responses, thus eliminating more definite comparison. Accordingly, these two studies appear to warrant the inference that Negroes generally

TABLE 3

PERCENTAGE UNIFORMITY AND DIRECTION OF NEGRO CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE BY SOCIAL CLASSES

Stereotyped Conception	Favorable			Neutral			Unfavorable		
	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower	Upper	Middle	Lower
Very neat and clean	37	32	28	35	32	21	28	36	51
Feel superior	25	21	23	6	7	2	69	72	75
Insincere in religion	23	32	30	45	35	35	32	33	35
Distrust Negro leaders	25	42	9	30	21	14	45	37	77
Judge Negroes by worst type	18	28	16	10	5	5	72	67	79
Superior mechanical ability	13	20	30	10	15	21	77	65	49
Do not care to be among Negroes	30	35	17	23	14	4	47	51	79
Easily fooled by "Uncle Tomism"	27	33	9	18	23	19	55	44	72
Low morals	35	28	16	32	46	37	33	26	47
Underestimate Negro's ability	9	17	16	8	4	2	83	79	82
Hate Negroes	48	48	21	12	19	11	40	33	68
Very ambitious	68	62	68	20	19	20	12	19	12
Superior intellectual ability	10	14	37	3	10	19	87	76	44
Keep Negro down	8	9	9	17	12	5	75	79	86
Very shrewd	53	58	74	30	12	14	17	30	12
Good singers and dancers	32	35	18	23	35	17	45	30	65
Not very brave	49	48	23	32	26	21	19	26	56
Not very honest	30	21	15	26	35	28	44	44	57
Very business-like	76	73	79	12	14	10	12	13	11
Stick together	88	86	93	7	7	5	5	7	2
Deceitful and tricky	15	23	9	28	26	14	57	51	77
Jews more sympathetic	20	22	11	30	25	33	50	53	56
White men more considerate of white women	80	92	79	12	3	14	8	5	7
Liberals give lip service	38	24	7	15	21	33	47	55	60
White women more affectionate	12	7	20	43	28	33	45	65	47
Liberal not sincere	49	26	23	30	44	28	21	30	49

[9] Cf. Cothran, *op. cit.*, chap. iv.

[10] Charles S. Johnson, *Growing Up in the Black Belt* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1941), p. 290.

feel that white people are insincere in religion.

The conception, "White people do not trust Negro leaders," received interesting and significant variations in responses. A very high proportion of lower-class Negroes (77 per cent—as compared with 45 and 37 per cent for the upper and middle classes, respectively) expressed this belief—P = .0001. These and other data presented in this research justify the question, "Why are middle-class Negroes the most favorable and lower-class Negroes the least favorable in their conceptions of white people?" Middle-class Negroes can always compare themselves favorably with lower-class Negroes, and at the same time all avenues of vertical mobility are not closed. The lower-class Negro has no group to which he may feel superior. Although mobility up the social ladder presents an avenue of escape, many lower-class Negroes find this an extremely narrow outlet. In the face of such frustrating odds, lower-class Negroes express low opinions not only of white people but of upper-class Negroes as well. They are verbally aggressive. On the other hand, upper-class Negroes have reached the ceiling of social mobility; thus, the frustrations associated with their minority racial status are added to all the other sources of frustration encountered by members of the dominant group. Since the factors of racial identity are beyond the possibility of individual control, they easily become sources of irritation. When racial status presents an uncontrollable obstacle to mobility, one important reaction is hostility toward the supporters of the status quo. Inasmuch as overt hostility is severely punished in the South, it must often be kept covert. From this level it gains one avenue of expression in the unfavorableness of Negro conceptions of white people which we have called "verbal aggression." It may be interesting to note here one important difference in aggressive tendencies of upper- and lower-class Negroes: upper-class Negroes avoid overt conflict situations with white people to a greater extent than do lower-class Negroes. While the lower-class Negro also seeks to avoid open conflict, he, more often than upper-class Negroes, will be overtly hostile toward white people.[11]

Negroes agree with the statement, "White people judge all Negroes by the worst type of Negroes"—72, 67, and 79 per cent for the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively. Small numbers of each class were neutral; but, again, the middle class was more favorable in its responses. Implicit in these data is the hypothesis that Negroes' conceptions of themselves drastically deviate from white conceptions of Negroes. This fact has received all too little attention in the literature on race relations.

Three in four of the upper-, two in three of the middle-, and one in two of the lower-class Negroes do not feel that "white people have superior mechanical ability." Also, the lower class gave a larger proportion of favorable responses. This is, in part, due to lower-class hostility toward upper-class Negroes which sometimes finds expression in the preference of some lower-class persons for securing professional and technical services from whites.

The idea, "White people do not care to be among Negroes," was held by 47 per cent of the upper class, 51 per cent of the middle class, and 79 per cent of the lower class—P = .0004. The vast majority of lower-class persons has few contacts with white people on an equal basis. Upper- and middle-class Negroes have more opportunities for associating with white people in business, school, religious activities, and interracial organizations and programs, contacts which influence their opinions favorably.

Lower-class Negroes (72 per cent) and upper-class Negroes (55 per cent) were more inclined to state, "White people are easily fooled through flattery by the 'Uncle Tom' type of Negro," than was the middle class (44 per cent)—P = .0022. It is interesting to point out that the two most verbally hostile classes gave the largest proportions of replies expressing this conception. One ex-

[11] *Ibid.*; cf. Frazier, *op. cit.*, and Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (Washington: American Council on Education, 1940).

planation of the character of these percentages is that many "Uncle Toms" are found in the Negro upper and lower classes. There are the "Uncle Tom" leaders, businessmen and professional men, and the lower-class "Uncle Toms" who attempt to gain as much as possible from white people through the use of ingratiating tactics. Hortense Powdermaker describes the extreme deference and catering on the part of some Negroes as unaggressive aggressiveness.[12] It is an expression of hostile feelings due to frustration in the manner that is physically safest. The release or satisfaction comes with the feeling that the true nature of their emotions has been carefully guarded and hence that not only the white person does not realize the Negro's true feelings but the Negro has also secured some personal favor.

The Negro has often been stereotyped by white people as having low morals. Lower-class Negroes have the most unfavorable conception of the morals of white people, while upper-class Negroes have the most favorable. Forty-seven per cent of the lower, 26 per cent of the middle, and 33 per cent of the upper class gave unfavorable replies. The variation of proportions between the middle and lower classes is significant—$P = .0014$. Again, lower-class persons are more unfavorable than middle- or upper-class Negroes. Interviewees often admitted low morality among some elements of the Negro population, but they hasten to add that the chief difference between Negroes and white people is that Negroes do little things while the white person's moral lapses are big: Negroes do "little wrongs"; white people do "big wrongs."

In all social classes approximately four in five persons said, "White people underestimate the Negro's ability." To know that Negroes hold this conception of white people has important implications for an understanding of southern biracial society. Two such implications may be mentioned here. In the first place, it reveals that Negroes define much white behavior with racial implications. When Negroes feel the additional barrier of race impinging upon their opportunities, the situation becomes one of irritation and frustration which may result in covert hostility toward white people. In the second place, it reveals that the Negro's conception of the white man's conception of the Negro deviates greatly from the Negro's conception of himself.

Sixty-eight per cent of the lower class believed, "In general, white people hate Negroes," while 33 per cent of the middle class —$P = .0002$—and 40 per cent of the upper class held the same notion. Forty-eight per cent of the upper and middle classes and 21 per cent of the lower class—$P = .002$—were favorable in their responses toward white people. These data reveal a significant difference between the lower class and the upper and middle classes.

To the stereotype, "White people are very ambitious," approximately two-thirds of the replies were favorable. Nineteen per cent of the middle and 12 per cent of the upper and lower classes expressed themselves unfavorably on this issue.

Eighty-seven per cent of the upper class, 76 per cent of the middle class, and 44 per cent of the lower class did not agree with the conception, "White people have superior intellectual ability." Thirty-seven per cent of the lower class, 14 per cent of the middle class, and 10 per cent of the upper class thought that white people did possess superior intellectual ability. The opinion of upper- and middle-class Negroes that white people do not possess superior intellectual ability is associated with a greater degree of education, acquaintance with psychological literature, and competitive experiences with white people.

Negroes of all social classes are strong in the belief, "White people try to keep Negroes down." The proportions for upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively, were 75, 79, and 86. The proportion of all classes disagreeing and thus giving favorable responses was consistently small. Lower-class

[12] See Hortense Powdermaker, "The Channeling of Negro Aggression by the Cultural Process," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (May, 1943), 750–58.

persons are the most outspoken in their criticism of white behavior. Negroes in general thus define the superordination and subordination in our society. Negroes are generally skeptical and suspicious of white people who propose to improve conditions: they take a "wait-and-see" attitude.

Fifty-three per cent of the upper class, 58 per cent of the middle class, and 74 per cent of the lower class agreed that "white people are very shrewd." It is interesting to observe at this point that lower-class persons were usually more in agreement than the two other classes, giving large proportions of responses on either the unfavorable or the favorable end of the scale. They are more consistent in categorizing white people but not necessarily more consistent in their responses.

To the statement, "White people are good singers and dancers," 45, 30, and 65 per cent of the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively, gave negative replies. Exposure to different types of music and dancing is more limited among lower-class Negroes than among the upper and middle classes. Upper- and middle-class Negroes on the basis of their wider experience must concede that many white people are very good in music and dancing.

Bravery is a desirable trait in American society, and few people cherish the idea of being branded a coward. To the judgment, "White people are not very brave," 56 per cent of the lower class, 26 per cent of the middle class, and 19 per cent of the upper class gave unfavorable responses. The test of significance applied to the upper and lower classes reveals the variation to be significant—$P = .0001$. Thus, lower-class Negroes, more often than upper- and middle-class Negroes, believe that white people are not very brave. The positions taken in this regard are largely from personal experiences of the individual respondents or knowledge of the experiences of other Negroes in conflict with white people. Lower-class Negroes, being the victims of white racial tactics, consequently feel that the individual Negro does not depend upon the active support of other Negroes when in conflict with white people; but from their own experiences or the experiences of others they know that group revenge from white society is prompt and almost certain. These experiences make many Negroes feel that white people are brave only when in groups, especially in interracial conflict situations.

When our respondents were presented with the statement, "White people are not very honest," the largest proportions of replies were in the direction of unfavorableness. Forty-four per cent of the upper and middle classes and 57 per cent of the lower class stated, "White people are not very honest." Large numbers in all classes remained neutral—26, 35, and 28 per cent for the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively. With the large proportion of neutral responses indicating hesitance to brand white people as either honest or dishonest, and the data above, it may be concluded that a large proportion of Negroes generally believe white people are dishonest.

Although most Negro conceptions of white people are more pejorative than laudatory, approximately three out of four persons in all social classes expressed the conception, "White people are very business-like." In general, Negroes conceive of white people as possessing business-like qualities.

The highest extent of agreement came on the judgment, "White people stick together better than Negroes." Eighty-eight per cent of the upper class, 86 per cent of the middle class, and 93 per cent of the lower class expressed this idea. In order to understand these percentages, we must know the Negro's point of reference: when this statement was given, the respondent almost invariably had in mind the behavior of white people pertaining to the race question.

Large numbers of Negroes from all classes shared the conviction, "White people are deceitful and tricky"—57, 51, and 77 per cent for the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively. Again, the middle class was more favorable in its conception, having 23 per cent of its responses favorable to 15 per cent for the upper class and 9 per cent for

the lower class. In interpreting these proportions, the point of reference is not only in areas of interracial interaction but also the interaction among white people.[13]

More than half the respondents stated, "In general, Jews are more sympathetic toward the Negro than other whites." These data suggest the hypothesis that southern Negroes are less violently anti-Semitic than northern Negroes. Because Negroes are forced to live in "Black Ghettos" in many large northern cities where Jews are the principal businessmen, they develop latent and overt hostility toward Jews.[14]

Negroes regard white people favorably on the statement, "White men are considerate of white women." The percentages are 80, 92, and 79 for the upper, middle, and lower classes, respectively. Being interested in social mobility for themselves or at least for their children, middle-class persons have accepted many white standards of conduct as ideal.[15] They strive intensely to maintain these standards, probably to a greater extent than upper-class Negroes.

If, at any time, the southern white liberal has been puzzled by the lack of co-operation on the part of Negroes, Negro stereotyped conceptions of white liberals will offer a degree of explanation. Forty-seven per cent of the upper class, 55 per cent of the middle class, and 60 per cent of the lower class said, "White liberals give largely lip service." Two reasons suggest themselves: first, Negroes generally are not convinced of the sincerity of the southern liberal when he is forced to "emphasize strongly his *local and regional patriotism*";[16] second, southern liberals are condemned for their outspoken interest in the application of democracy abroad and their silence on the application of democracy at home. Thus, the white liberal gains the greatest support from the upper-class and the least support from the lower-class Negro.

INTENSITY OF NEGRO STEREOTYPED CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE

In this section our primary interest is the degree of intensity with which each of the conceptions was held among Negroes of the various social classes. We are using the self-rating technique suggested by the Likert schedule.[17]

The following steps were involved in calculating the "intensity of favorableness or unfavorableness" for the social classes. First, the "possible class score" was secured by multiplying the number of persons in each class by the theoretical score each would make had he been extremely favorable in all his responses. Second, we secured the "actual score" by taking the sum of all individual scores. The next step was to determine the "possible mean score" if all respondents had checked the undecided position for each statement. In the fourth place, the "possible score above or below the neutral score" was calculated by subtracting the "possible neutral" score from the "possible score." Fifth, we secured the "actual score" above or below the "neutral score." When the "possible neutral score" was larger than the "actual score," a negative sign was used to indicate below the possible mean and thus unfavorable. Finally, the "actual score above or below the neutral score" was divided by the "possible score above or below the neutral point" in order to determine the intensity of favorableness or unfavorableness. In other words, the intensity percentage is the proportion the "actual score above or below the neutral point" is of the "possible score above or below the neutral point." Table 4 contains the results of this procedure.

The lower class made 20 per cent, the middle class 2.5 per cent, and the upper

[13] Cf. Cothran, *op. cit.*, Table 124 in Appendix III.

[14] St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945), p. 432.

[15] Arnold and Caroline Rose, *America Divided* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1949), p. 224; E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), pp. 301, 680.

[16] Myrdal, *op. cit.*, p. 471.

[17] Murphy and Likert, *op. cit.*

class 8.5 per cent of the total possible unfavorable score, using the total neutral score as the point of origin. None of the three social classes was favorable in its conceptions of white people. The lower class was most unfavorable, and the middle class was least unfavorable. The difference in the unfavorable intensity scores for the lower and middle classes is statistically significant—$P = .0022$. There is only moderate statistical significance between the scores of the upper class and the lower class—$P = .0548$. These data support the hypothesis that middle-class Negroes are more favorable in their conceptions of white people than either the lower- or the upper-class Negro. Logi-

TABLE 4

THE INTENSITY OF NEGRO CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE BY SOCIAL CLASSES

Social Class	Possible Score	Actual Score	Possible Neutral Score	Possible Score above or below Neutral Point	Actual Score above or below Neutral Score	Intensity of Favorableness or Unfavorableness (Per Cent)
Upper	7,800	4,414	4,680	3,120	−266	−.085
Middle	7,410	4,369	4,446	2,964	− 77	−.025
Lower	7,410	3,851	4,446	2,964	−595	−.20

TABLE 5

PERCENTAGE INTENSITY OF NEGRO CONCEPTIONS OF WHITE PEOPLE BY SOCIAL CLASSES

Stereotyped Conception	Upper Class	Middle Class	Lower Class
Very neat and clean	3.3	− 7.0*	−15.7*
Feel superior	−25.0*	−29.8	−35.0
Insincere in religion	− 6.6	− 3.5	− 5.2
Distrust Negro leaders	−10.0	−36.8	−36.8
Judge Negroes by worst type	−35.8	−28.9	−44.4
Superior mechanical ability	−44.1	−31.5	−14.9
Do not care to be among Negroes	−10.0	−11.4	−39.4
Easily fooled by "Uncle Tomism"	−17.5	− 6.1	−40.3
Low morals	− 2.5	− 1.7	−21.0
Underestimate Negro's ability	−53.3	−44.7	−41.2
Hate Negroes	5.8	7.0	−32.4
Very ambitious	32.5	26.3	34.2
Superior intellectual ability	−55.8	−41.2	− 8.7
Keep Negro down	−46.6	−43.8	−62.2
Very shrewd	23.3	17.5	42.1
Good singers and dancers	−12.5	1.7	−25.4
Not brave	−20.0	10.5	−21.0
Not honest	−11.6	−14.9	−28.9
Business-like	40.8	35.9	41.2
Stick together	56.6	57.0	71.0
Deceitful and tricky	−27.5	−19.2	−46.4
Jews more sympathetic	−20.0	−13.1	−31.5
White men more considerate of white women	46.6	53.5	46.4
Liberals give lip service	− 5.0	−20.1	−32.4
White women more affectionate	−24.1	−35.9	−14.0
Liberal not sincere	14.1	− 2.6	−15.7

* A minus sign indicates the percentage of the total possible unfavorable score made by combining all responses for the class.

cally, we should expect that the best socially adjusted class of Negroes would be the least unfavorable in their conceptions of white people.

The extent to which our informants indicated favorableness or unfavorableness on each item is shown in Table 5. The rank-order comparison of either the most intensely unfavorable conceptions or the most favorable conceptions reveals the differences in emphases by social classes. In observing the ten most intensely unfavorable conceptions, differences in responses are noted: among others, that upper- and middle-class Negroes felt compelled to counter the white stereotype that Negroes are inferior in intellectual and mechanical abilities. Lower-class Negroes, while registering unfavorably on these items, did not include them in the ten most intensely unfavorable conceptions. Three conceptions of white people were included in the ten on which lower-class persons were most unfavorable that did not appear for either the upper or the middle class. They are: "White people are easily fooled through flattery by the 'Uncle Tom' type of Negro"; "White people do not care to be among Negroes"; and "In general, white people hate Negroes."

The belief that white people are fooled through flattery explains in part why lower-class Negroes engage in more deferential behavior than upper- and middle-class persons. Upper- and middle-class persons avoid, as much as possible, deference on a purely racial basis and often demand deference from whites, but seldom on the basis of race. The conception, "White people do not care to be among Negroes," which was held rather intensely by lower-class persons, sheds light upon the greater lower-class hostility toward white people and the often-repeated assertion: "I don't want to be around anyone who does not want to be around me." Also, contributing to lower-class hostility toward white people is a strong belief among members of this class that "white people hate Negroes."

In conclusion, we have seen that the selected Negro stereotypes of white people are widely known in Negro society; that there is a high degree of uniformity in responses; that, in most instances, Negro conceptions are in the direction of unfavorableness; and that the lower class is more intensely unfavorable than either the upper or the middle class.

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THE FEDERAL STATISTICAL SYSTEM[1]

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ABSTRACT

The federal statistical system is big, diverse, decentralized, co-ordinated, professionally well-staffed, and, in certain areas, in need of improvement. The major functions of federal statistical research may be classified as diagnosis, prognosis, differential diagnosis, evaluation.

Statistics are, etymologically speaking, statements of how things stand. Government statistics, viewed functionally, are statements of fact at the service of the government.

Complex urban societies require elaborate systems of social bookkeeping. In the perspective of the sociology of invention, statistical systems are necessary institutional adjustments to the conditions of large-scale, urban, mass organization. Impersonal methods of fact-finding and fact-dissemination must inevitably replace the individual, personal types of knowledge congenial to small, simply structured communities. Direct personal experiences as a basis for generalization must give way to fact-gathering activities. Urban societies cannot depend on the "everybody-knows," "it's-obvious-to-all," or "I-can-tell-you-from-personal-experience" type of knowledge. The gap between what everyone thinks is so and what impersonal fact-finding techniques reveal is becoming wider and wider, as Professor Lazarsfeld neatly demonstrated in his review of the studies of the American soldier in World War II.[2] In fact, it may be said that urbanization and statistical proliferation develop *pari passu.*

Statistics, indeed, are the urban phenomenon par excellence. Notice how closely they fit Professor Wirth's definition of urbanism as a way of life.[3] They deal with mass phenomena. They are impersonal. Statistical classifications and breakdowns are concerned with heterogeneity. Statistics are instruments of rational calculation. They are, in sum, symbolic of our urban civilization. The spirit of statistics is symbolic of the spirit of urban life. The statistician is urbanism personified. Lewis Mumford has linked the cult of paper to the metropolitan millieu.[4] Much of that paper is used in collecting, processing, and presenting statistics.

What are the chief characteristics of the federal statistical system? It is big, diverse, decentralized, co-ordinated, professionally staffed. In certain areas it is in need of improvement.

The federal statistical system is a vast, intricate enterprise, now about one hundred and sixty years old, if we may date its origin from the first statistical reports on foreign trade issued in 1790 by Alexander Hamilton as secretary of the Treasury. It has evolved into a complex network whose expenditures in civilian agencies alone have been estimated at $42 million a year.[5] It requires the services of over 10,385 persons per year.[6] A single

[1] Read before the Institute of the Society for Social Research, August 5, 1950. The views here expressed are not necessarily those of the Bureau of the Budget.

[2] P. Lazarsfeld, "The American Soldier: An Expository Review," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIII (fall, 1949), 377–404; esp. 379–80. Note such statements as "White privates were more eager to become non-coms than Negroes" and "Men from rural backgrounds were usually in better spirits during their army life than soldiers from city backgrounds."

[3] L. Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 17 ff.

[4] *City Development* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945), pp. 32 ff.

[5] F. C. Mills and C. D. Long, *The Statistical Agencies of the Federal Government* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1949), Appendix D, p. 187.

[6] *Ibid.*, Appendix C, p. 185. In testimony before the Independent Offices Subcommittee of the Com-

activity, such as the Seventeenth Decennial Census alone, costs $91.5 million.[7] The end-products of these expenditures of funds and manpower are the tons of statistics compiled, analyzed, and published by more than fifty-eight statistical agencies of the federal government.[8]

The 1949 edition of the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* contains data organized under thirty-two main headings. These range from population and vital statistics to distribution and services and manufactures and includes such subjects as immigration and naturalization, education, crime and criminals, social security and related problems, elections, income and expenditures, and health and nutrition, if I may limit my selection to those areas which are of particular interest to sociologists. That no other country is so well served with statistical records as our own is the opinion of more than one authority.[9]

Federal statistical activities are characterized by extreme decentralization, not in the geographic sense, but in the sense of being distributed among various departments and agencies of the government. Originally, this was more or less an accident, the necessary consequence of the cumulative effect of numerous independent acts of legislation. However, with reference to more recent years, decentralization can be said to be a matter of policy, as numerous and repeated proposals looking toward centralization have been analyzed and rejected by executive agencies, Congress, and such bodies as the Hoover Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. Decentralization of some kind is inevitable because of the diverse functions of the administrative agencies producing statistics. Omitting for the moment the co-ordinating agency for the federal statistical system, we may distinguish four major types of agencies that collect, process, or analyze statistics which serve some purpose other than the purely operative, administrative functions of the agencies themselves. These are (1) public purpose collection agencies, with or without analytical duties—for example, the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, the National Office of Vital Statistics; (2) analysis, research, and service agencies—for example, the Office of International Trade, the Office of Business Economics, the Division of Research and Statistics of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System; (3) administrative and regulatory agencies—for example, the Weather Bureau, the Bureau of Internal Revenue, the Public Health Service, the Federal Power Commission; and (4) statistical methods agencies, such as the Statistical Engineering Laboratory of the National Bureau of Standards. The number of agencies in each of these categories is given in Table 1.[10] This table demonstrates the significant fact that a large part of federal statistics is collected as a by-product of administrative operations. An income tax return is fundamentally an administrative document, yet it is the basis

mittee on Appropriations of the United States Senate, Stuart A. Rice indicated that this figure is somewhat inflated, since "they have included people there who may not properly be included," such as janitors and other nonprofessional employees in the statistical agencies (*Hearings, Independent Offices Appropriations, 1951*, p. 415).

[7] Testimony of Philip M. Hauser, acting director of the Bureau of the Census, *Hearings on Department of Commerce Appropriations, 1951, House of Representatives*, p. 1378.

[8] Mills and Long, *op. cit.*, Appendix D and n. y. This is, of course, a very arbitrary figure, dependent on one's definition of an agency. Is the Department of Commerce one agency or seven agencies? (see Rice, *loc. cit.*).

[9] A. F. Burns, Foreword to Mills and Long, *op. cit.*, p. viii. A general description of the federal statistical system is contained in *Statistical Services of the United States Government*, prepared by, and available from, the Division of Statistical Standards, Bureau of the Budget, Washington 25, D.C. (August 29, 1947). This report also includes a bibliography of principal periodical statistical publications. See also P. M. Hauser and W. R. Leonard, *Government Statistics for Business Use* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1946).

[10] Based on Mills and Long, *op. cit.*, Table 2, pp. 9–15. These, again, must be considered very arbitrary figures. See comments in n. 8 above.

of important statistics on size and sources of incomes. It has been estimated that an average of three-quarters of federal statistics are collected by administrative, regulatory, and enforcement agencies.[11]

TABLE 1

Type of Agency	No.
Public purpose	5
Analysis, research, and service	8
Administrative and regulatory	35
Statistical methods	1
Total	49

A decentralized statistical system requires co-ordination if unnecessary duplication, inconsistencies, and improper emphasis are to be avoided. Attempts at statistical coordination in the federal government go back to 1908.[12] But the real turning point in co-ordination took place in 1933, with the creation of the Central Statistical Board. The present co-ordinating agency is the Division of Statistical Standards of the Bureau of the Budget, which took over the functions of the Central Statistical Board. In December, 1942, Congress added to the Bureau of the Budget responsibility for administration of the Federal Reports Act, which forbids federal agencies, with some exceptions, to collect information on identical forms from ten or more respondents, unless they have submitted their plans and forms to the Bureau of the Budget and have received its approval.

Co-ordination has been defined by Stuart A. Rice as "the detailed adaptation to each other of two or more statistical inquiries that are related in purposes, methods, sources of data, results, or the use of their findings."[13] The general approach of the Division of Statistical Standards has been to exercise its responsibilities as much as possible on a co-operative basis, to help the federal statistical agencies to help themselves by offering advice, setting standards, providing leadership, keeping interested parties informed of one another's activities, and encouraging agencies to set up their own internal co-ordination units.[14] Within this framework it has developed a positive program of adapting inquiries to meet the largest possible number of requirements, promulgating standard definitions, relating statistical programs to one another, developing standards for publication of statistical data, insuring the application of the most efficient statistical techniques, etc. It is recognized that co-ordination cannot be achieved by fiat, but much has been accomplished, I believe, by the Division of Statistical Standards. Nevertheless, I concur in the opinion of the Hoover Commission Task Force that co-ordination is at present incomplete and that efforts should be made to effect a higher degree than is now achieved.[15]

One of the most important developments in the last three decades has been the creation of a permanent corps of well-trained statisticians. It was not so long ago that the number of professionally classified statisticians on the regular staff of the Bureau of the Census could be counted on one's fingers. Today they number in the hundreds. Government statisticians have pioneered in the improvement of sampling techniques; they have led in the sharpening of statistical con-

[11] Mills and Long (*ibid.*, p. 68) place this estimate at 90 per cent.

[12] *Ibid.*, Table 7, pp. 70–72.

[13] *Hearings on Independent Offices Appropriations, 1951, Subcommittee of the Committee on Appropriations, United States Senate, 81st Congress*, p. 409. The printed text reads "adoption. . . ."

[14] On the latter point see E. T. Crowder, "Centralized Internal Control of Data Collection by Federal Agencies," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XXXIX (June, 1944), 155–64.

[15] Mills and Long, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–96. Section 103 of the Budgeting and Accounting Procedures Act of 1950 (Public Law 784) provides: "The President, through the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, is authorized and directed to develop programs and issue regulations and orders for the improved gathering, compiling, analyzing, publishing, and disseminating of statistical information for any purpose by the various agencies in the executive branch of the Government. Such regulations and orders shall be adhered to by such agencies." The House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Departments in its report on the bill (HR Report 2556 [81st Cong., 2d sess.]) notes that this section is intended to be in addition to, and not substitution for, the existing authority of the Bureau of the Budget with respect to government statistics and reporting activities.

cepts and in the creation of accepted standard definitions; they have shown a commendable experimental spirit in their approach to survey design. High professional standards prevail.

Federal statistics are far from perfect, and some are better than others. I shall confine my remarks to two sample areas, namely, morbidity and educational statistics, wherein there is room for improvement.

The United States Public Health Service receives weekly and monthly morbidity reports from states and weekly reports from approximately eighty-seven cities of more than 10,000 population. These data are necessarily limited in scope by the state laws and regulations relating to the reporting of illness. Only about eleven of the common communicable diseases are notifiable in all the states. Statistics on diseases that are not regularly notifiable are obviously incomplete. Even with respect to notifiable diseases, there are variations among the states in the degree of completeness. Underreporting is evident in such diseases as malaria, pellagra, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Morbidity statistics are so poor that, with respect to such diseases as dysentery, encephalitis, pneumonia, and Rocky Mountain spotted fever, there are more reported cases of deaths from the disease than there are reported cases of illness. In such instances the mortality figure is substituted for the morbidity statistic. To the uninitiated, the impression is given that all cases are fatal.

It must be recognized that a major difficulty in obtaining reliable morbidity statistics lies in the degree of accuracy of diagnoses. Variations in morbidity rates through time may reflect developments in medical knowledge or new skill in diagnosis rather than changes in the incidence of the diseases. Happily, the National Office of Vital Statistics has under way a systematic program for the improvement of morbidity reporting.

The statistical program of the Office of Education has been pursued on fairly identical lines for approximately thirty years. Major emphasis has been placed on enrolment, attendance, personnel, and financial statistics. The method almost exclusively employed has been to submit a detailed mail questionnaire to the complete universe of respondents and then to tabulate whatever returns are available by a given date. For the most part, hand tabulations have been used. This approach has resulted in tabulations based on incomplete returns from an unknown body of respondents and in unusually long delays in publication. For example, the biennial statistical report of city school systems for the years 1941–42 was distributed thirty-six months after the initial mailing of the schedule. By June 1, 1949, only one chapter of the *Biennial Survey* for 1945–46 had been published. It is generally recognized that the final published statistics appear too late to be used for administrative purposes and have chiefly historical interest. Some of these limitations have been overcome recently by the introduction of modern sampling techniques and modern tabulating procedures. But the statistical work of the Office of Education is still, in many respects, unsatisfactory.

The federal statistical system is, on the whole, one that social scientists can view with professional pride. Important administrators have given recognition to the value of services performed by statisticians in the federal government. For example, the heads of the Bureau of the Census, the Bureau of Labor Statistics, and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics were among the highly select group of federal employees to be awarded the highest possible civil service grade (GS 18), and their three deputies were among the seventy-five employees awarded the next highest classification (GS 17).

What are the major functions of the federal statistical system? The question may be answered by presenting a brief typology of major research functions fulfilled by government research and statistical programs.[16] It should be borne in mind that this is only one

[16] This typology was originally prepared for the Bureau of Applied Social Research of Columbia University (see R. K. Merton, "The Expert and Research in Applied Social Science" [November, 1947], pp. 25–27). (Mimeographed.)

of several possible classifications, but one that is useful in relating research activities to specific administrative problems. Examples are drawn largely from surveys involving quantitative data generally, rather than statistics as narrowly conceived.

This typology of research activities is an ideal construct intended to indicate the varieties of research situations which may shed light on administrative problems. It is recognized that any particular administrative problem will involve a multiplicity of types of research activities. In fact, one of the functions of the researcher is to indicate to the administrator the particular contribution that each of the types can render to the solution of the administrative problem. For example, a defense department is faced with the problem of insuring a certain level of volunteer recruitment deemed necessary for our national defense. Research bearing on this problem might include an analysis of the actual rates of volunteering, an analysis of the types of persons volunteering, a study of the resistances to recruitment (diagnostic research), the determining of the effectiveness of literature and educational and propaganda materials relating to recruitment, of the lecture method, of personal interview and other recruiting devices (evaluative studies), with, finally, forecasts of the rate of recruitment from studies of career intentions of high-school Seniors, and the like (prognostic study).

I. DIAGNOSTIC STUDIES

Diagnostic research studies are those undertaken to determine what the factors are in a particular situation; what, if anything, is going wrong; why the development is taking place; whether certain standards of performance or standards of well-being are being achieved; whether protests and complaints are warranted. Particular types of diagnostic survey are to discover the following data.

A. *The magnitude and extent of a problem.*—A survey was undertaken to determine the actual dietary practices of various groups of the population to determine how serious are deficiencies of diet.[17]

B. *Changes and trends in the seriousness of the problem.*—A survey may have indicated that, in response to a particular educational campaign, people were using adequate amounts of vitamin C in their diet. How permanent is this change in food habits?

C. *Differential aspects of the problem.*—Many statistical surveys, particularly in sociological areas, involve breakdowns by age, sex, race, and region to determine the differential aspects of the problem. For example, during the 1949 recession it was important to determine whether unemployment was particularly high in specific areas and what occupational groups were especially affected.

II. PROGNOSTIC STUDIES

The prognostic studies involve the forecasting of behavior and trends in order to anticipate and plan for future needs. It may be important to determine how large an organization may be needed in a given program. It may be necessary to determine the funds required to carry out a particular program. For example, funds for tuberculosis control must be based on a prediction of the number of persons who may be afflicted with disease in the coming year; funds for venereal disease control must be based on a prediction of the number of persons requiring treatment. The planning of public assistance programs is based on the general economic level of the country, the number of dependent children and aged requiring aid, etc. Prognostic research has become particularly important in connection with the requirements of the Employment Act of 1946, which requires prediction of the general state of the economy for the ensuing year. The results of this type of research are found in the reports of the Council of Economic Advisers.

A. *Predicting behavior from stated intentions.*—In order properly to plan its program with respect to educational benefits of veterans, the Veterans Administration in co-

[17] For a survey of the extent of disabling illness see T. D. Woolsey, "Estimates of Disabling Illness Prevalence in the U.S.," *Public Health Reports*, LXV, No. 6 (February 10, 1950), 163–84.

operation with the War Department undertook to predict the number of demobilized soldiers who might go to school or take on-the-job training. This was done by means of a survey of postwar plans of demobilized G.I.'s.

B. *Predicting behavior from stated predictions.*—In certain instances it is possible to predict actual behavior from the stated predictions of persons involved. For example, the Joint Committee on the Economic Report of the 80th Congress attempted to predict whether or not there would be a depression or recession by means of a study of the expectations of farmers, workers, and businessmen.

C. *Predicting needs by trend analysis.*—Projections of trends, extrapolations, extension of cyclical movements, and other types of trend analysis are used extensively to determine movements of wages, prices, unemployment, and related economic characteristics. Similarly, studies of trends in births and deaths, differential fertility, and other demographic characteristics can be used to determine needs for schools for different age groups in the next decades. Housing needs may be predicted by the analysis of birth and marriage rates and trends in size of families. Urban and community planning generally requires predictions of population growth and movement.

D. *Predicting behavior from analysis of motivation.*—Intensive interviewing, as developed, for example, by the Department of Agriculture, has made possible the prediction of behavior from a study of motivation. A study of reactions of housewives to information about nutrition and diet included questions for the purpose of discovering why women did or did not make changes in their family food practices. By probing for motivation, it was possible to predict which appeals would be most effective in getting housewives to revise their practices. Intensive analysis of motives played a large role in the studies of war-bond purchases and in the national survey of liquid assets. This latter survey is now a general survey of consumer finances. It may have been instrumental in revising the opinions of many economists who were predicting a severe depression after World War II.[18]

III. DIFFERENTIAL PROGNOSTIC STUDIES

Frequently, administrators are faced with the problem of determining which of several equally desirable or feasible policies should be adopted. It is important that the alternatives be sharply defined and clearly stated. One of the functions of research is to aid the administrator in clarifying the possible alternatives and in setting up the type of research which will permit the appropriate evaluation of the alternatives.

A. *Prediction of consequences of the alternatives.*—It is often necessary to determine in advance the public reactions to alternative proposals. Which of the proposals will be supported and by what groups? Which will encounter resistances, and what types of resistance can one anticipate? For example, it may be necessary purely in terms of supply and distribution to impose rationing controls, but it would be important to know how the public feels about rationing. When Mr. Baruch testified before a Senate committee on the imposition of total mobilization controls, a major concern of the members of the Senate committee was "how all-out mobilization could be sold to the American people." Obviously, it is necessary to know how the public feels about the limited program advocated by President Truman and the total program recommended by Mr. Baruch. During World War II, the OPA was faced with the problem of deciding whether to break its pledge not to cancel ration currency when changed circumstances made cancellation imperative.[19]

B. *Analysis of behavior consequences of alternatives (theoretical and hypothetical studies).*—In the field of psychological warfare it is essential to know how the target

[18] For a description of the methodology of this survey see "Methods of the Survey of Consumer Finances," *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, July, 1950, pp. 795–809.

[19] See J. A. Kershaw and H. Alpert, "The Invalidation of Food Ration Currency, December, 1944," *Journal of Social Issues*, III (fall, 1947), 40–48.

will respond to alternative types of propaganda appeals. The United States, for example, during World War II, was faced with the question: "Should we in our psychological warfare materials insult the Japanese emperor?" Social scientists conducted studies to determine the impact on Japanese morale of radio and pamphlet materials which involved insulting the emperor. It was concluded that insulting the Japanese emperor would heighten Japanese morale and stiffen resistance to the enemy.[20]

C. *Experimental studies.*—Experimentation is desirable where it is possible actually to test the consequences of the proposed alternatives. Three types of experimental situations may be mentioned. (1) Pretesting the comprehensibility and effectiveness of informational, propaganda, educational, and administrative materials. For example, the Treasury Department, before issuing revisions of the income tax rates, found it helpful to pretest the alternative modes of preparing the forms and of asking the necessary questions. The development of the "short return" was one of the consequences of this pretesting. (2) Testing proposals in limited areas or involving limited groups of people. During the war, it was found necessary to devise rapid methods of teaching foreign languages. Pretesting permitted the evaluation of the effectiveness of the new method. (3) Setting up experimental situations with control groups to determine consequences of alternatives. This is the most rigorous type of experimental situation. It was used effectively by the War Department in analyzing the effectiveness of various types of motion pictures, reading materials, and broadcasting scripts.[21]

IV. EVALUATIVE STUDIES

Research can play an important role in appraising the effectiveness of administrative programs.

A. *Assessing effectiveness of information in propaganda campaigns.*—Two important wartime studies of this type were the analysis of the effectiveness of anti-inflation drives (OWI) and the effectiveness of war-bond drives (Department of Agriculture and Treasury Department). At present the Public Health Service has a systematic program for the evaluation of its informational and educational materials.[22]

B. *Auditing effectiveness of distribution of materials.*—At one time, the OWI distributed government posters through local Boy Scout groups. A study was undertaken to determine whether posters were properly displayed where intended. It was found that this was not an effective method of distribution, and it was abandoned, at considerable saving of expense to the federal government.

C. *Statistical evaluation of benefits from a particular program.*—The Office of Education has made studies to determine the effectiveness of wartime training programs. The Social Security Administration has undertaken statistical analysis of the impact of various programs on recipients.

V. GENERAL PURPOSE STUDIES

In addition to research undertaken in relation to immediate administrative problems, there is need for the gathering of data of a general purpose or general background nature. Such information becomes useful in a continuing operation and is generally provided by means of extensive censuses or general indexes.

A. *General censuses.*—Census of population, housing, minerals, business, manufacturing, distribution, etc.

B. *Indexes.*—Wholesale and retail price indexes, index of industrial production, prices paid to and by farmers, consumer prices, retail sales, index of mineral production, etc.

C. *General information to inform the citizenry.*—It is assumed that in a democracy the general public has available to it certain background facts, on the basis of which in-

[20] Details of this survey are reported in A. H. Leighton, *Human Relations in a Changing World* (New York: E. P. Dutton Co., 1949).

[21] See C. I. Hovland and others, *Experiments in Mass Communication* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1949).

[22] See A. L. Knutson, "Evaluation of Educational Films during the Production Process," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (spring, 1950), 144–45.

telligent decisions of public policy may be made or public performance evaluated. For example, How does one community compare with other communities of comparable size with respect to per capita expenditures on health, education, and similar functions? What is the voting record of an elected representative? Data on election returns, on local governmental budgets, on school attendance, morbidity and mortality rates, and similar types of information may be included here.

VI. METHODOLOGICAL STUDIES

Methodological studies are research on research and statistical methods. At the moment, it is increasingly realized that we need to know much more about the social-psychological aspects of data collection, questionnaire design, enumerator bias, and response analysis. Under the leadership of Morris Hansen, the Bureau of the Census has launched an experimental and response research program which is concerned with such important problems as the potentialities of self-enumeration techniques, the improvement of response rates, the effects of randomization of assignments of enumerators, and similar problems.[23] In connection with the revision of the surveys of consumer expenditures involved in the Consumer Price Index of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, experimental research has been undertaken into such problems as the relative errors involved in using diary as against recall methods of learning expenditures, the validity of questions regarding "usual" buying patterns, and the effects of question wording.[24]

VII. STUDIES MADE IN LIEU OF ACTION

Unfortunately, studies are sometimes undertaken for the purposes of delaying action. Knowing that it will take a long time before survey results can be made available, an official, wishing a delay, simply proposes a detailed study of the matter at hand. Instances will quickly come to mind.

This bird's-eye view of the major functions of statistics and quantitative research has emphasized exclusively the relation of statistics to administrative decision-making processes. This is undoubtedly where the emphasis belongs, if we think in terms of statistics as a tool at the service of the agents of the American public. But one ought not to close without at least mentioning the historical function of statistics as the record of the nation's growth and development, as remembrances of things past,[25] or the contributions of statistics to the continued progress of economic and social theory. Sociologists have a vested interest in the fullest possible production of the highest possible quality of statistical information, for statistics are the raw materials of the social sciences, the guideposts to hypotheses, the proving ground of theory.

Both in the Biometric Laboratory at University College in London and in the Social Science Building at the University of Chicago, students are constantly reminded of the famous dictum of Lord Kelvin: "When you can measure what you are speaking about and express it in numbers you know something about it, but when you cannot measure it, when you cannot express it in numbers, your knowledge is of a meager and unsatisfactory kind." Lord Kelvin unquestionably overstated his case, first, by ignoring progress made through qualitative studies and, second, by failing to note that numbers are sterile unless they are brought into relation with one another in terms of some meaningful system. But he undoubtedly expressed the spirit of the statistician: to erect solid foundations of fact where once stood jerry-built notions and meager and unsatisfactory ideas.

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[23] For a general statement of this program see P. M. Hauser, "Some Aspects of Methodological Research in the 1950 Census," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (spring, 1950), 5–13.

[24] See "Revision of the Consumers' Price Index," *Monthly Labor Review*, LXXI (July, 1950), 129–32.

[25] See *Historical Statistics of the United States, 1789–1945* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1949).

THE STRANGER AND THE CITY

JULIE MEYER

ABSTRACT

In- and outsiders conceive of the modern city as a conglomerate of strangers, the individuals being anonymous and traditions and conventions lacking. Social relations are governed by the two divergent aims of avoiding identity and establishing cells of community. Unlike that of the rooted community, the orientation of the city is to time and not to place. Consequently, the traditional social order disintegrates, and new groups, which are not classes, emerge. This urban development will spread from the city to the country and change the ways of life and patterns of values.

This paper attempts to apply the sociological concept of the stranger to that of the city. The city under consideration is the modern metropolis as we know it in the Western world.

The concept of the stranger[1] will be used here in its broadest sense. In its original narrow meaning it is based on locality. The native is one who is rooted in a given place. The stranger is a migrant, and even if he settles down, he remains a migrant by background. The native's family can be identified, and so can his individual past experience.

Nothing is known about the stranger's ancestry and his individual past, and the unknown as such is strange. He may tell the story of his own people and life, but this self-identification is different from that gained by mutually shared experience. Deviation from the values established in a given place does not necessarily change the native into a stranger. The man with the bad background, the criminal, is known to the neighbors, his ways are familiar to them. In about 1848 two neighboring towns in Germany had an interesting correspondence. The one told the other that they had caught a thief and politely asked for permission to hang him on the gallows owned by the other town. Whereupon this town's fathers refused the request because, as they wrote, "we have built these gallows for our own beloved native sons only."

On the other hand, acceptance of established values does not change the stranger into a native. Even if he shares more and more experiences with the others, the unknown part of his life differentiates him from that of the people who are rooted. He may find himself an equal at one time and a partial stranger at another, but there still lurks the possibility of his being again the total stranger, either by the attitude of others toward him or by his own attitude toward them or by both together, as the situation arises.

In its broader meaning the concept of the stranger connotes a relation of remoteness to any field in which people can be rooted, such as the community of the family, a given culture, or a faith. It can mean total or relative remoteness; it can be permanent or changing in its degree. The stranger can be an immigrant or an emigrant, one who has come or one who has left, but not necessarily in the physical meaning of the word. A man can become a stranger in his own family, a stranger in his own country. The stranger can be a stranger because he is not accepted or because he does not accept. The total stranger of the latter type is the one who for his way of life takes his own guidance only and refuses either to be guided by others or to guide them. The American language has the word "maverick" for this kind of man, the strong animal that has left the herd. This indicates that the stranger is not always considered an inferior or one who is discriminated against.[2]

The concept of the stranger must not be confused with that of the outsider. The

[1] For a recent discussion of the problem see an article by Dr. Alfred Schuetz in the *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX, 499–507.

[2] There is, however, a tendency to ascribe individual characteristics of strangers to the whole group from which they come and to do so by singling

stranger is an outsider, but not every outsider is a stranger. Outsiders and insiders differ from each other with regard to the specific traits that each has developed apart from those that all men have in common. Whether or not the outsider is a stranger depends on the respective emphasis put on difference and commonness in his relationship to the insiders. Mutual awareness of the difference and commonness is generally present in this relationship, but the determining circumstance is which of the two is considered basic and which accidental. For instance, in the case of the outsider who is called in to investigate a problem or to arbitrate a dispute, the emphasis is on his being basically the same person as the others. Their views and judgment are marred because they are too close to the scene and too involved in it. But for this accident, they would see and decide things as clearly as any third person. Therefore, a third person has to be selected whose remoteness from the situation guarantees his objectivity. He can function as the foremost among equals and understand their problem, and his interpretation of the problem can be understood and accepted by them.

In the case of the stranger, however, the emphasis is on his being a person unlike those he approaches. In this relationship differences in views and judgment, in appearance and mores, are considered to be basic, impairing mutual understanding. The area of likeness is considered negligible and accidental. It is true that the selection of an outsider to function as a third person does not rest solely on his being an outsider but also on his personal prestige as known to those who select him. But absence of prestige is not what characterizes an outsider as a stranger. The stranger also can enjoy prestige and be called upon for that—the classical case of the healer—and be all the more a stranger.

The problem of the stranger was discovered by modern sociology[3] and has been discussed mainly in sociological terms. The problem of the modern city or, in our case, of the metropolis has found many interpretations; and historic, legal, biological, anthropological, and social-work concepts make it necessary to emphasize that sociologically the city can be explained only in terms of social action. (The term "social action" will be used here in the sense of Max Weber; i.e., social action, that is, any human behavior—acting, tolerating, not acting—is an action which, according to its meaning, is related to the actions of others or, according to the concept of the actor, is related to the action of others. In its course it is oriented toward the behavior of others.) The concept of the stranger seems essential for understanding the orientation and determination of such action and the interaction between city and country. This, of course, does not imply that the complex problem can be unraveled solely on the basis of this concept of the stranger. The concept is only an isolated agent among the many which constitute the phenomenon of the city.

The city is conceived by insiders and outsiders as a conglomerate of strangers, of people who do not know one another, who have no identity but must seek to acquire it in order to emerge from anonymity. Walls between and in houses not only separate the neighbors' homes but also the mental communications between the people, who are inhabitants and not neighbors.

There exist, however, in every city—be it London, Paris, Rome, New York, or San Francisco—districts or streets which are neighborhoods in the true meaning of the word, where people know one another, are identified by a definite local status, and present in themselves little societies with marked social stratification and a recognizable public opinion. The arrival of the washing machine in apartment houses sometimes has changed tenants from strangers into

out the one with the highest personal qualities in the case of groups which are considered superior and the one with the lowest in the case of those considered inferior.

[3] Jurisprudence has dealt from time immemorial with some cases of the stranger, notably with the foreigner and the heretic, but not with the problem as such.

neighbors. Women gather around the washing machine as they once did around the village well, exchange gossip, develop leadership and followings; and not infrequently a hierarchy of power, influence, and prestige emerges from the laundering womenfolk, transforming an apartment house into an organized society of women. In all this, people are conscious of belonging together because they live in the same place and orient their social action toward this consciousness. Such districts, streets, and houses are scattered cells of community, whose existence, however, does not make the city. The city cannot be understood as the aggregate of such communities, as a big town of many towns or a big village of many villages. This assumption, however, still plays a vital role in political campaigns, under election systems established before the great cities came into existence. In New York City, for instance, a candidate's residence and duration of residence in his district, the question of whether he sends his children to a public school there or to a private school outside, are issues raised by friend or foe.

If people are conscious of the city in which they live and orient their social actions toward this consciousness—as they cannot fail to do—the concept of the conglomerate of strangers generates actions in two divergent directions: first, actions based on the desire to preserve anonymity, not to become identifiable, to remain a stranger among strangers; and, second, actions based on the desire to overcome strangeness, to be recognized by others and to recognize them, to be rooted.

The first kind of action is very obvious in the case of people who want to disappear. This is the attraction which the city exercises for the professional criminal. Organized crime can hide out only in the wilderness of a sparsely populated countryside or in the wilderness of a densely populated city. But only in the city can an underworld take shape that is larger in scope than organized crime, as it includes both the criminals and those engaged in illegal and antisocial practices. It is more than an organized group. It is a well-stratified society made invisible to the outsider by the anonymity in which the conglomerate of strangers veils the individual.

Less conspicuous but more significant is the same course of action taken by those who value being strangers among strangers for the sake of freedom. As, under feudalism, the city freed from the bonds of servitude the man who reached it, so the modern city offers freedom from the bondage of the neighbors' watchfulness, the conventions of class, and the demands of public opinion, which shackle the individual everywhere else.

The second kind of social action, based on the desire to overcome strangeness, is obvious in the significance which an association frequently has for its members in the city. It expresses itself in the related phenomenon that city associations more often than others may adopt characteristic features of community, at least for some periods of their existence. The word "association" is used here in its ordinary meaning, such as one finds in the *Classified Telephone Directory*. It is then a social relationship, oriented toward a specific interest, be it material or ideological. This association is motivated by rational considerations and is organized on the basis of rules that bind the members. In contrast to it, a community in its common meaning is a social relationship, which is oriented toward the feeling of its members of belonging together and is held together by this feeling. In spite of the emotional character of any community, rational devices may be used in order to evoke this feeling and to keep its flame burning. Community and stranger exclude each other by their very meaning. The stranger who is accepted by a community ceases to be a stranger. On the other hand, the stranger who is accepted by an association may still remain a stranger to those with whom he shares the same interest, be it in a world union or in stamp-collecting. On the meeting grounds of the association he may be an esteemed member whose individual contribution is valued, whose voice is heard, whose advice is sought. Outside its walls,

however, all doors that are open to the other members may be closed to him and his family.

On the other hand, membership in an association may be the channel which leads the stranger into the community and transforms him from one who lives in our midst to one who belongs to us. In the city, among the conglomerate of strangers, acceptance in an association very often means for the individual that he emerges from the anonymous conglomerate, that he is part of something, identified and identifiable by it. This social relationship by association can acquire this meaning for him because all the others with whom he joins are in the same situation. In such a case, association around a common interest tends to shift orientation from the objective interest to the subjective social relationship, to become the pivot for all actions of its members. The presence in the city of many competing interests, however, acts as a centrifugal force and, as a rule, prevents associations of this kind from developing into established communities. They are temporary substitutes for community.

In other situations, that of the small and middle town, for instance, the same shift of orientation can occur. Here, however, the orientation toward the social relationship as such is not motivated by the desire to be identified but by the fact that the individual is identified, that he has a given status in the community, and that convention and public opinion in this community tie status to membership in given associations.

The difference between city and noncity associations is less marked in this country, a nation of immigrants, than in other countries. Perhaps some of the unique features in the history of the American labor movement can be partially explained by the described relationship between the stranger and the association. Its character is pragmatic and is combined with a strong feeling of brotherhood. The American trade-union gave identification to the worker who came as a stranger to this country and, with it, a definite status in society. The trade-union became the community to which he belonged. In other countries the labor movement needed an ideology in order to unify its members and to be a representative of the workers as individuals and not only that of their economic interests. Furthermore, the fact that the American trade-union served as a means of identification for its members worked in the direction of preserving status by excluding all those whose lower status could decrease the prestige of the union. This may be one of the factors which preserved the identification of the American labor movement with the skilled workers and maintained the aristocracy of labor for a much longer period of time than was the case with trade-unions in other countries.

If people orient their actions toward the concept of the conglomerate of strangers in a positive and in a negative direction, does it mean that in the course of such actions they remain necessarily and actually strangers to one another? Or can an area of likeness develop, different from any other area in which people are alike? Can city people recognize one another as city people, as people who thereby "belong," and, in turn, be recognized as city people by outsiders? True, the social relationship which constitutes the city does not involve any consciousness or awareness of common roots, be it in a given place or in any area which can be clearly circumscribed.

In characterizing the stranger, Georg Simmel points out that, historically and essentially, the stranger is not "the owner of landed property" or in the figurative meaning of this term that the stranger's "substance of life" is not "fixed" either to an actual or to an ideal place in the society which surrounds him.[4] This absence of boundaries, however, evidently offers a unique opportunity of action; the conglomerate, by its very concept, presents to each and all unlimited possibilities of orientation. All the resulting diversified actions and relationships contain one common basic element: they are dominated by a particular orientation toward *time*. The rooted com-

[4] Georg Simmel, *Soziologie* (Leipzig, 1908), pp. 686–87.

munity directs action primarily toward *place*. Time plays a part only in so far as it is "inclosed" in place as the periods in which its established values and ways have been formed. Time is connected to place by the past, and this connection serves as yardstick for the present and the future.

The city, on the other hand, directs action primarily toward time. The one thing that people have in common is the experience of the present and the expectation of future experiences which, like the present ones, cannot be "inclosed" in the place from which the stranger came.[5] They are nevertheless his and thus constantly enlarge and transform his very substance of life. Thus place, as the spot where this constant transformation happens to him, becomes subordinated to time.

City people consequently conceive of themselves as those who are "ahead of things," the bearers of things to come, more advanced than the outsiders and knowing more than they. The underlying feeling is one of marching with time, and, in its intensity and power to determine the way of life, it equals the feeling of belonging to and being rooted in a place. That is, the city substitutes time for place as the basis for social relationship. He who marches with his time is no longer a migrant in a strange country but one who knows his road and his mates. Even those city dwellers who never go outside the narrow circle of home and working place and their immediate surroundings, who neither participate in nor are aware of movements and changes in the wider world, consider themselves superior to people in the country, more advanced and more versed in the ways of life. An expression of this attitude is the use of the same word for the country dweller and the backward or ignorant, or despicable, man, such as the English "boor," the German *Bauer*, the French *villain*, the Hebrew *am ha-arez* and the Chinese synonyms of—literally translated—"melon" and "sweet potato."

It is the absence of orientation toward place and, rather, the orientation toward time which makes the city the center of new movements. Orientation toward place means an established, change-resistant pattern of life. Orientation toward time means not only constant change but action in the direction of change. Nearly all national and international movements have originated in the city; and, even if the city was not their initiator, they gained momentum when they reached the city and spread from there all over the country or all over the world. Modern nationalism, probably the most significant movement in our time, is definitely an offspring of the city, and, when it invades a people, this people's cities become the center of the new nationalism. Even peasant movements need the streets and squares of the city to gather their followers and to prove and show their strength.

Orientation toward place or toward time probably affects the emergence or nonemergence of public opinion. Why is it that we speak of the public opinion in a country (public opinion in England sounds quite reasonable), in a geographical area, or a county; public opinion in the South, in Nassau County, in a town; but never public opinion in the city, in New York, London, or Paris? Public opinion means an opinion expressed on an issue and so expressed that it is considered representative of the opinion of people in a given locality. Certainly, it is not representative because it is the opinion of a majority of the people in this locality but because it is that opinion to which the majority of the people will conform. If that is correct, then public opinion presupposes orientation toward place, the existence of a rooted community; and where these are absent, public opinion cannot form. To illustrate the case: When the United Nations considered establishing itself in Westchester County, public opinion in Westchester was against it. When the United Nations finally moved to New York, this move was neither favored nor disapproved by public

[5] This holds true for the old city families just as much as for the others. They belong to the conglomerate as small individual units with an individual past, which, as such, has not the power to establish generally recognized values and attitudes.

opinion in the city. Public opinion simply did not crystallize.

An issue which directly concerned every New Yorker is the increase of the 5-cent subway fare. Around this issue parties formed in favor or against it; one won, the other was defeated. In the afore-mentioned case of Westchester County an articulate opposition to public opinion existed. It could, however, not be conceived as an opposition or minority party; it was a group of dissidents. This points again to the strong possibility that public opinion is dependent on the existence of a community in a given locality. In Belgium the issue of the return of the king has occasioned a public opinion in every part of the country, every county, town, and village—but not so in Brussels. The metropolis of Belgium did not develop a public opinion, but only parties for and against the return. As far as political parties were the core of this bipartisan division, their members outside Brussels became, as such, supporters of, or dissidents from, public opinion.

Although the city has no public opinion, it frequently formulates the issues around which public opinion crystallizes in other places. This, of course, is related to the fact that the city is the center of movement. Organized opinions in the city—partisan opinions—frequently influence public opinion outside, mainly through the propaganda devices at the city's disposal. Summarizing, one may state: The city, in which, by its very nature, no public opinion can develop, functions nevertheless as the disk-thrower to public opinion.

It is exactly the orientation toward time, the absence of roots in place and its established pattern, which mainly causes the resentment of the countryside against the city. The man from the city who approaches a town, a village, or a farm community is likely to be considered not only a stranger but a dangerous stranger. Consciously or unconsciously, the natives and neighbors are aware that the pulse of the city beats in tempo with time, that the city as such welcomes change. Any city man, therefore, can be an agent of change and a menace to the established values and ways of life of the countryside. Moreover, if a man is not rooted, can one trust that what he holds true today he will hold true tomorrow? Consequently, the stranger from the city is suspected of belonging to the movement which is considered the worst threat to the established values and with the group which is most distrusted by the natives. During the last war, workers sent from the big cities to industrial war centers were quite frequently considered by the natives as foreigners and as saboteurs. Today the identification is with communism, which case needs no further illustration. The resentment has been strengthened by the memory of revolutionary periods when the masses from the city descended upon the countryside and of periods of misery when the same masses swamped the countryside as beggars.

On the other hand, the country and especially its towns imitate city manners and styles of appearance which demonstraet urbanity, the modern against the backward, the world against the backwoods. Consciously or unconsciously, the city's orientation toward time is the source of favorable response and acceptance as it is the source of resentment and rejection. Brought to its most general formulation, the stranger can be an object both of discrimination and of admiration to the same people and for the same reason, according to the aim of a specific social action. In our example, in the first case, the objective is the preservation of the established values and ways of life; in the second, the preservation of their prestige (not to "appear" backward or backwoodsy). As its masses symbolize the resented city, the members of its society, known to the country from stories and pictures, symbolize the favored city.

The mention of the masses and of society leads us to the last point. Does the concept of the stranger and the orientation resulting from it permit a social order and, if so, which one? The city under consideration exists in a society which has been established on a class order. The old city, still oriented toward being rooted in place, added to this order the bourgeois class; the

younger city, with lesser roots and in transition from orientation toward place to that toward time, added the proletarian class; and the modern city, oriented toward time, added the new middle classes, of which more has to be said. Classes exist in the city. Their individual members are conscious of their status in society because they belong to a given class, and, because of this, their status is recognized by others.

Do, however, consciousness and recognition still have the same meaning for determining their social actions? Does status have the same significance in the city as it has outside? Take English society, which identifies the upper class with the aristocracy. The presence of the country squire in a village is of great significance for all its social relationships and has a great impact on the village as such. The presence of an aristocracy in London is of little significance and has no impact on the city whatsoever.

An examination of social classes as they exist in the city reveals that they determine social relationships only so far as their members individually insist that they do so and, further, that class has lost the power to make its members conform to its pattern. Moreover, new strata of society are emerging in the city.

Somewhere on the top is what is called "society." Although it originated probably as a "set" of the upper class, it is neither identical with the upper class nor affiliated with it. Nor is it, by any definition, a class by itself. The high status of its members is not derived from their belonging to "society" but rather the status of "society" is derived from the high economic, family, or professional standing of each of its members. All "society" as a closely knit group does is to publicize the status of its members. This already indicates an orientation toward the conglomerate of strangers. The individual is not born into "society" and can leave it at will. Individual status or assumed status is a prerequisite for being accepted, but joining is a matter of voluntary decision. No traditional conventions determine the directions of social action. "Society" adjusts its direction to the tendencies of the time and crystallizes them. Thus it was highly conservative in the Victorian period and inclined toward the extravagant after the first World War. Perhaps one can say that in this respect "society" tries to function as a substitute for public opinion. This is quite obvious in the role it assumes—or pretends to have assumed—of being the arbiter of urbanity, which one may loosely define as the cultural expression of the city. In this context "society" has taken over from the upper classes the function of sponsoring art and science, once sponsored by the aristocracy and later by the bourgeoisie. The diversity of the background of its members and their individual status make "society" the main channel for carrying information and requests to other groups and individuals of the city, to its own members, and to outsiders. This creates a clientele around "society." Thus "society" holds positions both on the top and in the center of the city.

The new middle classes have already been mentioned. The nonmanual employees, clerical workers of all kinds, semiprofessionals, and professionals, except those in high managerial positions, have become discernible as a group in the social stratification of the city. Even the term "middle classes" indicates that they are not a class. Nor can they be determined as a class by any yardstick of class definition, be it economic, social, or the consciousness of belonging together. No cohesion whatever exists among the groups themselves—salesgirls, engineers, and nurses do not compare their status with one another but with that of classes above and below.

Orientation toward class concepts brought the middle classes into existence. Its members have in common that they were employees who considered themselves different from labor and yet were rejected by the old middle class of small businessmen and artisans because they were employees. Inevitably, they became a unit because, in the framework of class concepts, classes claimed and rejected them. This course of action is significant because it proves that, in the city at least, the old class order no longer has the

power to cast the stranger out into the unknown or the ability to assimilate him in the form of a new class. Like the existence of "society," it reveals a tendency toward a new social stratification whose strata will not be classes. What we shall call them I do not know.

The matter becomes even more complicated by the phenomenon of the masses. Once this concept meant the lowest in the class structure, the proletarian class. This class is extinguished in the city, where it originated. Its remnants—common laborers, who shift from industry to industry—experience long intervals of unemployment and live in slums and are not a class because class-consciousness is absent among them.

What, then, are the masses? They are conceived to be at the bottom of society as its large component, the people as such. But "people as such," unidentified and at the same time a discernible group, do not exist. The existing concept, however, makes the appeal to the nonexisting masses possible and can call them to life, although not to a permanent existence. The masses which surge up in response to an appeal are always the same in appearance and action and different in their individual composition. We do not know what the masses really are, and, although we do know the incentive of the appeal, we do not know what makes individuals a mass. Thinking is the ability of the individual, and of the individual only. The masses do not think, and the individual does not exist in the masses.

If a man starts to think, he separates himself from the masses. This is beautifully illustrated by the German writer, Muehsam's, story of the street-lamp cleaner. During a revolution the masses parade through the city, singing, shouting, and throwing bricks. The street-lamp cleaner is among them. Suddenly he catches sight of the broken glass of a street lamp. Out he steps and starts to think. He ponders on how a man can do both at once; make a revolution and clean lamps ("wie man revolutzt und dabei doch Lampen putzt").

It is the latent force of the nonexisting masses in the city which expresses strangeness in its most radical meaning. When the masses come to life, they change the individual who joins them into a nonindividual, a stranger to himself. To the outsider, the individual disappears in the masses.

In conclusion one may ask if in the city the significance of the class structure has decreased and if new status groups emerge like "society" and the middle classes, does that mean the disintegration of our society? One cannot predict in which directions the new groups will develop, which others will emerge, and what will be their common denominator. It seems, however, that the old and new status groups can exist side by side in the same society until the new ones have linked in a new structure.

Another question is: Is the decrease of class significance a city phenomenon or is it a general development, unfolding in the city only at a faster pace? Tentatively I believe it is a city phenomenon, but one that, with increasing urbanization, will spread all over society, reaching last those communities most remote from the city and most resistant to change. The existence of class in our days depends on the insistence of the people on being a class and on nothing else.

A third question is: If, with the structural change in society, the communities in this society, those rooted in place and those rooted in other things, change, what happens to the established values and the ways of life they guard? For society this may clear the road toward those values we call the values common to all mankind. Any established pattern is a deviation from these values. Even when the pattern preserves them in substance, they are not common to all because the insistence on expressing them by a different pattern makes them unrecognizable to outsiders. The pulverization of human society in rooted communities is one of the greatest threats to our values. The other one is the giving-away of individuality as exemplified by the masses.

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

To the Editor:

January 9, 1951

At the very conclusion of his article on "Population, Private Ownership, Technology, and the Standard of Living" (*American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1951, pp. 314–19), Professor William F. Ogburn emphasizes the determining role of technology in the economic order. "One wonders," he writes, "... how much difference in economic organization there can be with the same technology, given a sufficiently long time to make adjustments and remove cultural lags." Although the author makes a careful analysis of the relative effects of population, natural resources, and technology upon the standard of living in various countries, it appears that the question finally resolves itself into one concerning the relative importance of technology and economic or social organization.

In the detail correlations, variations in social organization are not taken into account; however, it is reasoned on the basis of a small mixed sample that "... organization does not appear to explain the divergencies in the table. For the U.S.S.R. and India, one with communism and the other with private ownership of productive property, have standards of living that are not widely divergent...." Technology, as Ogburn clearly recognizes, is directly correlated with productivity; it has been shown that the machine exploits physical forces which remain untapped in direct production—as may be easily demonstrated by use of a simple lever. A windmill may recapture the otherwise unproductive energy of the wind and a dynamo that of electricity.

However, we should like to suggest the possibility of a relationship which is the reverse of Ogburn's: that technology—that is to say, the extent, way, and probability of the use of productive techniques—depends upon social organization.

We know that the standard of living in early thirteenth-century Venice was higher than that in Constantinople, probably the highest even in all Europe, but the technology of Venice was not fundamentally different from that of Constantinople, from which she learned considerably. Since about 1600 Belgium and Holland, particularly the latter, have had a consistently high standard of living. It may be questionable whether this fact has been due essentially to superior technology. A feudal system does not and cannot make use of production techniques in the way that a capitalist system does, while peripheral capitalist nations cannot achieve the organization for unlimited use of technology available in dominant capitalist societies.

It appears, although we cannot elaborate the point here, that the place of technology in social life is largely dependent on the social system. Perhaps what the writer is measuring is not essentially the effect of differences in technology but rather in intensity of capitalistic organization. For example, we may think of Holland in 1650 as a country with very few natural resources, with the most advanced capitalistic system, and the widest world markets. Having thus the greatest incentive for the maximization of production, Holland therefore employed technology most extensively, with the resulting enhancement of the standard of living. Other countries could not fully emulate Dutch technology without first transforming their social organization—a process which frequently took the form of bourgeois revolutions.

During a depression the state of the arts

remains constant, while the standard of living declines rapidly. The use of "kilowatt-hours" may increase directly with the labor cost of bread if productive effort is excessively devoted to war purposes or to the accumulation of capital goods. In many parts of India the standard of living fell disastrously when the textile markets were invaded by cheap British cloth.

The author concludes that the standards of living in India and in the U.S.S.R. are not "widely divergent"; yet his Table 3 shows that technological development in the U.S.S.R. is over five times as great as in India. The comparison here may be spurious because it is possible for the Russian government, within limits, to determine deliberately the extent to which production will be devoted to consumption goods, while this has not been the case in India. It should be added that we do not agree with the simplification, which Ogburn rightly criticizes, that America's high standard of living is due to "free enterprise."

OLIVER COX

Lincoln University

NEWS AND NOTES

American Sociological Society.—The Edward L. Bernays Foundation Radio-Television Award, a $1,000 United States government bond, will be presented by the American Sociological Society to the individual or group contributing the best piece of research on the effects of radio and/or television on American society.

Presentation of the award will be made at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1951. Any individual or group wishing to compete must submit in duplicate a report on the research on or before June 15, 1951. Any research study completed since January 1, 1949, will be eligible for consideration. Prior publication will not affect eligibility; both published and unpublished studies may be submitted. Research not fully completed for which a preliminary report is available may be submitted, although research for which *no* findings are available at the time of its submission will not be considered.

The committee of judges will evaluate research studies on the basis of the competence with which they have been designed and carried out and the significance of their findings, with special reference to their implications for social policy and social action.

Members of the committee of judges appointed by the executive committee of the American Sociological Society are Clyde W. Hart, director of the National Opinion Research Center; Bernard Berelson, chairman of the Committee on Communication, University of Chicago; Carl Hovland, professor of psychology, Yale University; Robert K. Merton, professor of sociology, Columbia University; Edward Suchman, assistant director for the social sciences, Cornell University; Leland DeVinney, assistant director of the social science division, Rockefeller Foundation; and Julian Woodward, research executive of Elmo Roper.

All reports submitted in this competition should be sent as far in advance of the closing date, June 15, 1951, as is feasible to the chairman of the committee of judges, Clyde W. Hart, National Opinion Research Center, 4901 South Ellis Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois. Inquiries for further information should be addressed to Clyde W. Hart, or to the executive officer of the American Sociological Society, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

Barnard College.—An initial gift of $5,000 has been made by the Edward L. Bernays Foundation to establish a salary endowment fund for social science teaching. The gift was made on the recommendation of Doris E. Fleischman, member of the Barnard class of 1913, vice-president of the Bernays Foundation, and wife and professional associate of Edward L. Bernays, who heads the foundation. Gifts from other donors will be sought for the new endowment fund, which will be known as the "Bernays Fund for the Social Sciences" and will have an ultimate goal of $1,000,000. The new endowment fund of a million dollars for top faculty salaries in the social science departments is to cover four full professorships in history, government, economics, and sociology. Each professorship is to be endowed at $250,000, to pay an estimated annual stipend of $10,000.

Brooklyn College of the City of New York.—Feliks Gross is spending the second semester of 1950–51 as a visiting professor of foreign affairs at the University of Virginia. Mr. Gross has also been appointed a visiting professor of the faculty of the newly organized College of Europe at Bruges, Belgium, where he will give a series of lectures in the course of the year.

Canadian Political Science Association.—The association will meet at McGill University, Montreal, on June 6, 7, and 8, 1951. This is a general association of social scientists in Canada. Its program includes a session on sociology. The meetings of Friday, June 8, will be held jointly with the Society for Applied Anthropology, which will continue its sessions on June 9 and 10.

Information about the program and arrangements can be had either from Mr. Giffen, secretary of the program committee of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Toronto, Department of Political Economy, Toronto, Canada, or from Mrs. Elizabeth Purcell, Society for Applied Anthropology, 61 West Fifty-fifth Street, New York, New York.

Carnegie Corporation of New York.—A grant of $20,000 has been made to the University of Oregon for the training of college teachers in the social sciences. Under a grant, initiated in 1949, from the corporation, a fellowship program was designed to prepare college teachers in the social sciences, the departments of economics, history, political science, and sociology cooperating in the project which provides broad social science training. The current grant will enable the university to continue this experiment for the next three years.

The corporation also made a grant of $11,750 to Harvard University for a field-research project on the role of the entrepreneur in Brazilian economic development. The project will be sponsored jointly by the Research Center of Entrepreneurial History at Harvard University and the Institute for Brazilian Studies at Vanderbilt University.

University of Chicago.—Ernest W. Burgess is in Palo Alto for the winter quarter, working on a book in collaboration with Paul Wallin. Dr. Burgess has been elected one of the vice-presidents for 1951 of the American Association for the Advancement of Science and is also chairman of Section "K" (Social and Economic Science).

Lloyd Warner is out of residence for the winter and spring quarters and will be living, for that time, in Redlands, California.

Several of the courses to be offered in the department in the summer are centered on the study of the modern city and the changes in urban civilization. They are to meet the interests and needs not only of students and teachers in the social sciences but also of professional persons who in analyzing the problems need an understanding of our changing urban environment: city planners, social workers, business executives, criminologists, administrators, and public officials. A series of public lectures will be given on "Human Behavior in the City" by members of the faculty of the social sciences.

Cornell University.—A grant of $325,000 has been received from the Rockefeller Foundation to support a broadened program of Southeast Asia studies aimed at greater understanding of the peoples of Thailand, Burma, Indochina, Malaya, Indonesia, and the Philippines. A five-year grant, it will permit the university to develop a rounded program of studies dealing with the history, languages and cultures, and contemporary economic, political, and social problems of the area. The program will be directed by Lauriston Sharp, professor of anthropology, with Edwin P. Reubens, assistant professor of economics, as associate director. It will be centered in the department of Far Eastern studies, of which Knight Biggerstaff, professor of Chinese history, is chairman. A number of graduate fellowships will be offered by Cornell each year in order to encourage promising students who wish to work under the Southeast Asia program.

Davidson College.—An academic major in sociology has been introduced. Among new courses being offered are criminology, marriage and the family, and social problems.

George A. Douglas, formerly head of the department of sociology of Alabama College, is teaching the sociology courses. He is president of the Southern Council on Family Relations.

Directory of American Scholars.—The second edition of the *Directory of American Scholars* is again being undertaken by the Science Press, with the co-operation of the American Council of Learned Societies. The *Directory* will include about twenty-five thousand persons. It is hoped that those who read this announcement will recall receiving their questionnaire and return it as promptly as possible, so that the work may be completed and the *Directory* published by September, 1951.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The 1951 annual meeting is to be held on Saturday, March 31, and Sunday, April 1, 1951, at Yale University. Sociologists were urged to submit reports on their research projects by February 15 to the chairman of the committee on research, Vincent J. Whitney, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, who, with other members of the committee, selected those to be included in the program. The program for the other sessions is planned by the president, N. L. Whetten, University of Connecticut, Storrs, Connecticut.

Other information on the meetings can be obtained from the secretary, Bernhard J. Stern, Columbia University, New York City.

University of Edinburgh.—The members of the department of social anthropology have in progress a number of field studies in race relations and modern communities. J. Littlejohn is working in a farming community in the Scottish lowlands. Erving Goffman is studying a "crofting" community in the Shetland Islands. S. F. Collins is studying integrative process in a colored community in Tyneside, Northumberland, and M. P. Banton is studying a colored colonial community in London which is the result of recent immigration from West Africa and the West Indies.

University of Hawaii.—Volume XIV of *Social Process in Hawaii*, the annual publication of the Sociology Club, made its appearance during the summer. The theme is "Some Neglected Minorities in Hawaii." It contains articles on the gypsies, the Okinawans, the Caucasians, and the Kibei. The faculty contributors are Clarence Glick and Bernhard Hörmann. The publication is available at fifty cents a copy at Social Process in Hawaii, Sociology Club of the University of Hawaii, Honolulu 10, Hawaii.

University of Illinois.—To supply the growing need in many fields for personnel with a major interest in statistics, a graduate program leading to the A.M. or the Ph.D. in statistics has been instituted. The program will be administered by the department of mathematics and will include both statistical theory and its application to a specific field of interest. A student who wishes to concentrate on research in statistical methods may write his thesis in the area of his major interest. Beyond the regular graduate-college stipulations, the only special requirement for admission to the program is completion of a thorough course in calculus. For the Ph.D. degree a student, in addition to language and other standard requirements, must show capacity for important original contributions in statistical methods or in application of such methods.

Indiana University.—The late Edwin Sutherland's *Principles of Criminology*, which has recently been published in Portuguese, is now being translated for publication in the French and Japanese languages.

James Brown and Thomas Ktsanes have been appointed instructors in the department of sociology. Mr. Brown took his graduate work at the University of Minnesota and was an instructor at Wayne University last year. Mr. Ktsanes was formerly a teaching fellow at Northwestern University.

Sheldon Stryker and Philip Buell have been appointed to full-time teaching fellowships. Both Mr. Stryker and Mr. Buell were teaching fellows at the University of Minnesota before joining the Indiana staff.

Helen Bond, formerly a graduate student at the University of Illinois, has joined the staff as a part-time teaching fellow.

Harry Elmer Barnes will serve as visiting professor for the second semester of the current school year. He will offer courses in the history of sociology and in criminology.

Two members of the department are on leave for the academic year 1950–51: Alfred Lindesmith is teaching at the University of Southern California, and Dinko Tomasic is doing research for the War Department.

John Mueller's new book on the sociology of music and Dinko Tomasic's on culture and personality in Soviet Russia are about to be published.

Clifford Kirkpatrick, department chairman, has been specializing in teaching and research in the family area since coming to Indiana.

International Society of Criminology.—The board of directors, elected at the time of the Second International Congress of Criminology in Paris on September 16, met at the Law School of the University of Paris on November 18 and 19 to elect officers and transact other business.

Present were A. Molinario (Argentina); P. Drapkin (Chile); B. di Tullio, F. Grispigni, and C. Erra (Italy); J. Graven and E. Frey (Switzerland); R. Grassberger (Austria); J. M. van Bemmelen (Netherlands); D. Carroll and H. Mannheim (England); Donnedieu de Vabres, J. Pinatel, D. Lagache, P. Piprot d'Alleaume, and V. V. Stanciu (France); and T. Sellin (United States).

Represented by proxy were S. Glueck (United States), O. Kinberg (Sweden), J. de Benedetti and O. Loudet (Argentina), L. Ribeiro (Brazil), and E. de Greeff (Belgium).

De Greeff, Kinberg and Sellin, who with Di Tullio and Carroll had received the largest number of votes in the elections to the board, had given notice that they were not candidates for office. The following officers were then elected: D. Carroll, president; S. Glueck, R. Grassberger, J. Graven, and A. Molinario, vice-presidents; J. Pinatel, secretary-general; C. Erra and J. M. van Bemmelen, associate secretaries-general; and V. V. Stanciu, treasurer. Di Tullio and Piprot d'Alleaume were elected honorary president and honorary secretary-general, respectively.

It was furthermore decided that officers were to hold office for two-year terms but could be re-elected.

T. Sellin was named co-ordinator of a committee to revise the constitution and D. Lagache co-ordinator of a committee to assemble nominations for the international scientific committee created in September.

The invitation of the Argentine government to hold the next congress in Buenos Aires was accepted, and 1954 was chosen as the year of meeting.

International Sociological Association.—The International Sociological Association, which came into existence at a conference held in Oslo, Norway, in September, 1949, held its first world congress of sociologists under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization in Zurich, Switzerland, in September, 1950.

The congress was attended by more than one hundred and twenty delegates from thirty countries, and papers on the central theme "Sociological Research in Its Bearing on International Relations" were received from sociologists in more than fifty countries. The International Political Science Association co-operated with the ISA in arranging a joint round table on a series of papers submitted in response to the UNESCO inquiry into the role of minorities in international affairs.

Two preliminary reports have been prepared by the secretariat on the proceedings of the congress: (1) *Report of Council and Executive Committee Meetings* and (2) *Report of Scientific Discussion Meetings.*

All requests for documents and inquiries

regarding the activities of the ISA should be addressed to Erik Rinde, executive secretary, International Sociological Association, Grev Wedelspl. 4, Oslo, Norway.

Japan Sociological Society.—The twenty-third annual meeting of the society was held in Osaka on October 21 and 22, 1950. The meeting was attended by about two hundred and thirty members, and seventy-four reports, two special reports for panel discussions, and three public lectures were given. The papers covered social theory and social research, among the latter being reports on various aspects of Japanese life, marriage and the family, social class, criminology, poverty, military and industrial sociology, and regional ecology.

Kansas Wesleyan University.—Haitung King joined the staff in September as an associate professor. He is devoting his time to expanding and reorganizing the curriculums in general sociology and rural life, in which eight new advanced courses are being offered.

Marriage and Family Life Study Tour.—A tour of five weeks in Europe is planned, devoted to careful study of marriage and family patterns and services, with special concern for community and governmental aids to strengthen the family. Countries to be visited include England, Holland, Denmark, Sweden, and France. The cost will be approximately $975, New York to New York, and the time, July and August, 1951. Apply to the leader, Eugene P. Link, State University of New York, New Paltz, New York. The tour is under the auspices of Open Road, Inc., 50 West Forty-fifth Street, New York City. Academic credit will be given through the State University of New York.

University of Massachusetts.—Floyd W. Dotson has been appointed as assistant professor at the University of Connecticut. Mary E. W. Goss, who taught at Smith College last year, has been appointed to replace Professor Dotson.

John F. Manfredi and J. Henry Korson are offering one course at Mount Holyoke College.

University of Michigan.—Gerhard Lenski will offer a new course in social stratification the second semester.

Arie Den Hollander of Amsterdam will teach in the summer session of 1951, giving courses in rural sociology and contemporary European sociology.

Michigan State College.—The Social Research Service has been awarded a grant-in-aid of $14,985 by the National Institute of Mental Health of the United States Public Health Service for a study of the mental health of the ordinary normal citizen. The grant provides for a pilot study during 1951 of social strengths in mental health, to be directed by Charles R. Hoffer, acting director of the Social Research Service. The study began in January and will probably continue into 1952.

University of Minnesota.—The department will have available a number of teaching and research assistantships and fellowships for the academic year 1951–52. Interested applicants should write the chairman of the department and should submit their applications before March, 1951.

F. S. Chapin was recently appointed to the advisory editorial board of the *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research.* Professor Chapin is continuing his research in experimental designs.

Neal Gross was recently appointed chairman of the research advisory committee of the Minneapolis Community Chest and Council, which is undertaking an evaluation of recreational facilities in North Minneapolis.

Lowry Nelson participated in a symposium on the Caribbean in mid-century at the University of Florida in December, when he presented a paper on social and economic problems of Cuba. The University of Min-

nesota Press recently announced the publication of his book *Rural Cuba.*

Arnold Rose participated in an interdisciplinary conference on social psychology at the University of Illinois in December, at which he presented a paper on group processes in the community. *Readings in Intergroup Relations*, edited by Professor Rose, will be published by Knopf in April, 1951.

Professors Gross, Monachesi, and Rose are engaged in studies on group cohesiveness and social stratification in the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations.

Mississippi State College.—D. W. Rivers has returned to the staff of sociology and rural life after a year's leave of absence, in which he completed his course work for the doctorate at Duke University. Mr. Rivers is assuming leadership of the department's work in the field of community development.

Ernest H. Tucker, who was granted the M.S. degree in sociology by this institution in August, has been employed by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics on a cooperative project on mechanization and farm-labor adjustments with Harald A. Pedersen, the leader of the project.

Mount Holyoke.—The fourth session of the Mount Holyoke Institute on the United Nations is to open at South Hadley on June 24 and close July 21. The program will deal with the crucial problems confronting the United States and the United Nations today. The institute will again provide men and women concerned with world affairs an opportunity for study and discussion with officials of the United Nations, the United States, and foreign governments and with specialists in international affairs. Weekly trips to United Nations headquarters in New York are a special feature of the institute.

The institute is now in its fourth year under the sponsorship of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the Foreign Policy Association, the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the World Peace Foundation, and the following New England colleges: Amherst College, Bowdoin College, Brown University, Clark University, Connecticut College, Mount Holyoke College, Smith College, Springfield College, Trinity College, University of Massachusetts, Wellesley College, Wesleyan University, Wheaton College, and Williams College. Collections of the speeches delivered at the 1949 and 1950 sessions of the institute are available in booklet form.

Fees last year were $60 each week, divided into $25 for tuition and $35 for room and board, or $230 for the entire session. It is hoped that they can be kept approximately the same in 1951. A few tuition scholarships will be available. Possibilities are being explored for arranging with near-by universities for the offering of summer-school credit. Applications for admission and scholarships should be made to the executive secretary.

Address all communications to the executive secretary, Mount Holyoke Institute on the United Nations, South Hadley, Massachusetts.

Northwestern University.—Edgar T. Thompson of Duke University has been appointed visiting professor for the winter and spring quarters and will teach courses usually handled by T. D. Eliot, who is in Oslo on a Fulbright grant. Professor Eliot is studying the impact of the German occupation on certain aspects of Norwegian life.

The development of the new course, "An Introduction to the Sciences of Human Behavior," sponsored jointly by the departments of anthropology, psychology, and sociology, has gone forward.

A renewal of a grant by the Carnegie Corporation made possible the services of three teaching associates for 1950–51: Omar K. Moore, of Washington University, for sociology; William Elmendorf, of the University of Washington, for anthropology; and Donald K. Lewis, of the University of Southern California, for psychology. The Carnegie Corporation has just made an

additional grant to finance a conference in November, 1951, at which time representatives of various institutions will meet to discuss problems connected with the offering of such cross-disciplinary courses.

The departments of sociology and psychology are working out a joint program of courses in social psychology, with particular reference to graduate training in this field. Robert Winch and Kimball Young take part in teaching the basic course, besides participating in various joint seminars. To stimulate the growth of this program, the two departments have planned a cycle of specialized courses in the summer sessions during the next few years. These will include courses in group dynamics, leadership, public opinion, scale construction, and personality-culture relations.

A well-equipped sociological laboratory was made ready for use at the opening of the winter quarter, 1951. This facilitates the work in population, ecology, and related fields. This new laboratory, in addition to the one built last year jointly with the department of psychology, for social psychology, now gives the department adequate quarters for research training.

Ohio State University.—Kurt H. Wolff was elected chairman of the sociology and anthropology section of the Ohio Academy of Science for the current year.

Ohio Wesleyan University.—Paul G. Cressey was appointed professor of sociology in September, 1950. This year a new course, "Community Organization," is being taught by Dr. Cressey, with the aim of helping prepare students for effective citizenship in their own communities. He is also teaching a preprofessional course in social work and courses in urban sociology and race relations.

Ilse E. Nelson is assistant professor of sociology, having served in this capacity since September. Dr. Nelson offers courses in sociological theory and political science.

Oregon State College.—Glenn A. Bakkum, head of the department of sociology, was visiting professor at Cornell University, where he did part-time teaching and part-time research in the department of rural sociology during the first semester of 1950–51. He has been awarded a Fulbright grant to serve as lecturer in rural sociology at the American University in Cairo, Egypt, for the second semester of 1950–51. Professor Bakkum expects to resume his duties at Oregon State College in September, 1951.

Louise Simerville (B.A., Willamette University; M.A., University of Oregon) has been appointed instructor in sociology for the college year.

Robert H. Dann, professor of sociology, is acting head of the department.

Pacific Sociological Society.—Newly elected officers for 1951 include Paul Wallin, Stanford University, president; Joel Berreman, University of Oregon, vice-president of the northern division; Harold Jacoby, College of the Pacific, vice-president of the central division; and Edwin M. Lemert, University of California at Los Angeles, vice-president of the southern division. Ray E. Baber, Pomona College, and Harvey J. Locke, University of Southern California, will serve as members of the advisory council, and Leonard C. Broom, University of California at Los Angeles, will be the representative to the executive committee of the American Sociological Society. Gwynne Nettler, Santa Barbara College, continues as the society's secretary-treasurer.

The new officers will assume their duties at the annual convention of the society to be held this year at Berkeley, California, April 20 and 21.

Beginning with the 1951 issue, the society's publication, the *Proceedings*, will be offered to sociologists outside the western area at $2.00 for a three-year subscription. This journal, published in an attractive format of approximately seventy pages, is issued in the fall of each year and contains the papers read at the meetings of the pre-

ceding spring, a report of the society's business, and a roster of the officers and membership. Subscription checks or further inquiries should be addressed to Gwynne Nettler, Santa Barbara College, Santa Barbara, California.

University of Pennsylvania.—Ritual in Family Living by James H. S. Bossard and Eleanor S. Boll has just been published by the University of Pennsylvania Press.

Russell Sage Foundation.—The foundation announces the appointment to its staff of Leonard Slater Cottrell, Jr., as social psychologist. Mr. Cottrell is at present dean of the College of Arts and Sciences of Cornell University, where he was formerly chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology. His earlier experience included work at the Institute for Juvenile Research, teaching at the University of Chicago, and wartime service as chief sociologist and director of survey analysis in the Special Services Division of the War Department. He is the author of numerous scientific articles and books, including the widely known volume *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage*, written in collaboration with E. W. Burgess. Mr. Cottrell's appointment became effective on February 1. From February to June he will divide his time between the work of the foundation and the concluding of his duties at Cornell University.

San Francisco State College.—A seminar in India is announced for the forthcoming summer. Under the direction of Alfred G. Fisk, professor of philosophy, the group will study conditions in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. Designed primarily for educators, speakers, and writers, the seminar investigates social and economic conditions, the political situation, and aspects of religion and philosophy. Stops will be made at Honolulu, Manila, Rangoon, and Singapore. The group will travel by chartered plane, sharing expenses as a co-operative. Total costs for the summer are estimated as $1,500.

Inquiries should be addressed to Alfred G. Fisk, San Francisco State College, San Francisco 2, California.

Union of American Hebrew Congregations.—A $5,000 Frieder Literary Award for the best novel on a Jewish theme is being offered by the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. The contest will be judged by Fannie Hurst; Norman Mailer, author of *The Naked and the Dead;* and John Selby, editor-in-chief of Rinehart and Company. The winning manuscript will be published by Rinehart and Company.

The Frieder Literary Award was established by Alexander Frieder of Cincinnati, businessman and Jewish communal leader, in memory of his wife, Corrine R. Frieder. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the central body of Liberal Judaism in America, representing and serving 425 Reform Jewish Congregations throughout the United States, is sponsoring the contest as part of a tercentenary celebration commemorating the landing of the first Jew in America in 1654.

The contest opened November 15, 1950, and will extend through November 15, 1951. It is open to all, including authors who have had previous works published. Official entry blanks and the rules of the contest may be obtained by writing to the Frieder Award Committee, 3 East Sixty-fifth Street, New York 21, New York.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Negro in the United States. By E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. xxxi+767. $6.00.

The main substance of this important book is divided into five parts. Parts I and II are concerned with the historical background of the Negro's place in American society. The nature of his role in the industrial and social organization of the plantation is discussed, and the main events and circumstances of the ante bellum period, including the slave revolts, the Underground Railroad, etc., are described. Then follows a description of the crisis in Negro life which resulted from the Civil War and Emancipation, and the new types of accommodation between the races which grew out of the conflict are analyzed. This leads on to the quasi-caste system of racial relations which came into being after the establishment of "white supremacy."

These chapters also include a short but significant description of social differentiation among the plantation slaves, which shows that it was not due merely to artificial distinctions. Because of their intimate connection with the master-race, the house servants were able to assimilate their ideals and sentiments as well as their external forms of behavior. Frederick Douglass, for example, attributed his purity of speech to his close association with his master's son. The field hands looked to the house servants as a pattern of politeness and gentility, and this suggests that it was through emulation of the superior class of slaves, as well as through the social ritual of the plantation and religious instruction, that the great mass of Negroes absorbed the white culture. There was also the class of free Negroes, many of whom were well educated, but their influence in this respect was very small. In the South the two largest and most important communities of free Negroes were in Charleston, South Carolina, and New Orleans, and they deliberately set themselves apart from the slaves and blacks.

Part III and most of Part IV are devoted to the Negro's principal social institutions—the rural and urban communities and their organization, the family, the church, mutual aid and fraternal organizations, the school and the college, the newspaper and literature. There are also chapters on the Negro's protest movement and on Negro leadership.

Part V is mainly concerned with the "pathological" features of Negro society, including unemployment and poverty, family disorganization, crime and delinquency, and mental deficiency and insanity. A concluding chapter discusses the prospects for integration of the Negro into American society.

The systematic way in which all this material is organized and arranged is most impressive and is a model of order and compression. The plan is to trace the history of each institution and then to examine its contemporary functioning, and this is done with admirable clarity and absence of terminological pretense. The only complaint in this respect is that space apparently did not permit the kind of detailed description of human relations that is needed to bring institutional behavior fully to life. For example, only twenty-two pages are given to the family, and these have to cover eight separate aspects of family structure and organization; i.e., under slavery, among the free Negroes, after Emancipation, on the plantation, in the southern towns and cities, in border cities, in northern cities, and among the various classes. The result is telegraphic in some cases; and, except for a brief reference to the southern rural extended family, the question of kinship relations outside the biological unit is barely considered. Have we to assume that this factor is actually so irrelevant to American life? Incidentally, it is a moot point if the expression "maternal family organization" (p. 310) is conceptually justifiable in describing the polygynous situation existing under slavery. In the latter case, the family, as anthropologically defined, surely included the slaveholder along with his slave concubines, thus making the master himself the head of the group. A further interesting point is that it is the Negro upper-class family which is mainly affected by white culture, particularly in the North, a fact which must be attributed primarily to the functioning of the class system itself.

The latter consideration also brings out the.

basic methodological problem of a book of this kind, namely, how satisfactorily to delineate the structure of Negro society within the surrounding context of American culture without reducing it to a formal study of "racial relations." Frazier has achieved this by sticking very soberly and properly to what the historical development of group relations has to tell rather than by deduction from any hypothesized racial system or by the kind of mysticism which occasionally blurs Myrdal's great work. It must suffice to quote but one example among many excellent instances of this historico-sociological method. Discussing the character of Negro institutions of higher education, Frazier points out that under the previous white administrators there was a more or less mild type of paternalism.

> This paternalism was related to the religious zeal and idealism of those who were engaged in a great task of human uplift. As the younger generations of Negro students have entered these schools, there has been some protest against the paternalistic character of the administration. . . . When Negro administrators succeeded the white heads, they carried on the tradition of paternalism. In the state schools and those conducted by the Negro church organizations, this paternalism has often assumed the character of an autocracy. As a consequence, the administration of nearly all Negro institutions of higher education is not only autocratic but the administration has become the most important element in the organization of these schools. The autocratic power wielded by the president is generally derived from the fact that the president is appointed by whites or represents the choice of the white community. The wishes of the faculty in even purely educational matters are generally subject to the arbitrary rule of the president. The subordinate administrative personnel are appointed to carry out the will of the president. It has been difficult for Negro college teachers to escape from such a situation because they could not find employment in white schools. Thus the Negro institution of higher education has tended to become a feudal type of organization. In the institutions controlled by Negro church organizations the feudal character of the school organization has been more pronounced since the school administration is a part of the church organization in which the church officials exercise autocratic power.

Frazier's concluding word is optimistic, perhaps unduly so in the light of topical events. He considers that the integration of the Negro into American society will be determined largely by the reorganization of American life in relation to a new world organization, pointing out that the United States is faced with the problem of convincing the colored colonial peoples of the world that its espousal of democracy and human equality includes the colored peoples. His stressing of the importance of Russian influence as a factor in this respect is undoubtedly correct; but, writing as a liberal, he apparently does not foresee the alternative possibility. This is the possibility that the challenge of that very influence may produce a reorganization which is more restrictive rather than less restrictive than the previous order.

KENNETH L. LITTLE

University of Edinburgh

The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character. By DAVID RIESMAN. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950. Pp. xvii+386. $4.00.

In this stimulating and provocative book three themes are interwoven. They are: (1) a hypothesis relating changes in cultural character to changes in the curve of population growth; (2) a detailed description of the emerging American "other-directed" middle-class character; and (3) the prices, penalties, and possibilities of conformity and nonconformity. Although the author has built his large-scale hypothesis and his detailed observations together so that one may seem to flow from the other, they can actually be taken quite separately. The whole enterprise will have, perhaps, a wider usefulness if some students are free to react with excitement to his far-sweeping and as yet undocumented population generalizations, while others feel equally free to ignore this larger theoretical framework and simply follow the perceptive analysis of present-day character trends in the United States.

The wider hypothesis has some of the sweep of the earlier geographic or economic theories of the dependence of social character on some single identifiable underlying causal factor. It is subject to refutation by the same sort of argument, and it will be a test of the maturity of contemporary social scientists whether they are willing to take this new large-scale hypothesis, add the saving clause, "other conditions being equal," discount the extent to which the character structure which Riesman associates with incipient population decline is also specifically American twentieth century, and find stimulation and new leads within it nonetheless. The

history of the social sciences has been strewn with empty victories, in which the rootedness of the author's major insights in the rich detail of his own period—as of Freud in the Vienna of his day or Marx in his—have been treated only as weakness, so that the significance of the hypotheses was denigrated and obscured. Riesman's work is especially challenging to our capacity to eschew such cheaply come by but ultimately expensive triumphs.

His theoretical framework postulates a close relationship among populations with a high growth potential (high birth rate and high death rate), population in a transition stage of population expansion (e.g., Europe since the Renaissance), and populations in the period of incipient population decline (United States today) and three types of character structure—"tradition directed," "inner directed," and "other directed." The links between these large population changes and the character changes are established by fiat, and slight use is made even of what little research exists on changes associated with population changes in towns and cities at the present time. The possible uniqueness of our own period in history is recognized, as are the dangers inherent in equating a type of change which has been associated with modern technology and modern abundance with a type of change which would always attend alterations in the population curve; but most of the discussion assumes that comparable changes have occurred in other great civilizations, notably Greece. The suggested ways in which sanctions for character formation will shift among societies oriented toward a maintenance economy, a scarcity-production economy, and an abundance-consumption economy are sketched in detail, so that the historian of any period may watch for these mechanisms: child-rearing by the whole community, with emphasis on grandparents, and the extended family, including retainers, in the tradition-oriented period; by parents who shape their children's purposes as firmly as if a gyroscope were planted inside them and so produce the "inner-directed" character of the transitional periods of population growth; and by the peer group in the period of incipient decline. Whether these methods of education and culturation, associated with the negative sanctions of shame, guilt, and anxiety, have any such close connection with the population curve remains to be further explored.

Seen from another point of view, Riesman has traced character change in the West from the tradition-directed character of the Middle Ages, a type which survives in a few marginal enclaves in this country still, through the inner-directed self-driving, work-oriented Puritan, increasingly characteristic of the last four centuries in the West and now believed to be emerging in the new frontiers of Russia and Asia, to the present-day character of which the upper middle class of the eastern seaboard of the United States is taken as representative. In this presentation the two "earlier" types of character are backdrops for the description of the "other-directed" man with which Riesman's major field work has been concerned, and it had better be regarded as such. In lumping all primitive societies together as "tradition directed" under a blanket description which fits practically none of them, significant and revealing differences are obscured, and the problem is raised as to whether the coincidence of character and population may not be limited to great civilizations—perhaps, even to civilizations which have had "national" forms of organization.

The bulk of the book describes the other-directed man, who has been equipped by his modern parents not with a gyroscope but with a radar set, whose success will be a function of his ability to receive signals from others, and who is concerned with "antagonistic co-operation" within the peer group and more concerned with a marginal differentiation of his personality within the group-approved standards of taste than with success defined in long-term goals which ignore the exigencies of the immediate situation. The role of the mass media in providing such consumption values, the increasing emphasis upon style of behavior even among the executives of big companies, the interest in finely attuned pace rather than acquisition and ownership, and the shift in politics from leadership to veto manipulation are all carefully discussed against a background of interviewing and field work which can be sensed by another field worker. But the historian and ethnographer alike will clamor for the publication of the background of interview material. In his description of the "other-directed" character Riesman's work accords well with observations made by a variety of other students of contemporary American character (Erikson, Fromm, Gorer, Wolfenstein and Leites, myself, etc.), although the psychological apparatus which he uses articulately is somewhat slighter. His view of culture is essentially a negative one in which the

function of character formation is to establish conformity. The growth of desirable character —capacity for autonomy—is seen as occurring almost in spite of the culture, or through discrepancies and gaps within it. Awareness is thus not so much a new culturally patterned channel for the further development of the human spirit as a sort of by-product of change. Significantly he discusses only negative sanctions—shame but not pride, guilt but not the sense of initiative, anxiety but not identity. This emphasis fits with the continuous sense that the "other-directed" American is being observed from the never completely specified observational point of "inner-directed" and European-based values. After some disheartening description of the consequences in taste, morals, or political apathy, of "other directedness," we find a footnote or a sentence which mentions that there are other positive aspects which might have been discussed.

It is impossible to do justice in a review to the breadth and richness of the material. The discussion of the essential dependence on "the others" in American character which has its concomitant expression in projecting power centers outside the self rather than in facing the fact that there is no center of power in the United States is particularly striking, as are the related few paragraphs on our insistence upon the Soviet Union's calling a tune to which we then adjust our steps. Perhaps even greater emphasis could be placed on the repercussions in adult character of socialization by peers who are perceived as almost completely like the self —a kind of socialization which leaves little room for outsize models, long-time perspective, or imaginative constructs.

There is an interesting discussion of the shifting relationship between work and play and of the predicaments in which it puts the individual, for the individual must maintain a show of emotion concerning his work. At the same time social status places limits on the role of emotion in the choice of forms of play. Thus the individual is forced to a falsification of emotion in both work and play. Riesman suggests—without working it out—that there is a sort of automatic psychic penalty for this two-way falsification.

The book then concludes with a discussion of the possibilities—for the development of the more ideal autonomous personality—of the institutionalizing of avocational counseling for play, at the same time that false personalization is removed from areas of work.

Almost every paragraph in this book incites one to theoretical speculation and, although (or perhaps because) the author's central theme is firmly based on research, suggests to the reader additional lifetime programs of research.

MARGARET MEAD

American Museum of Natural History

Human Bondage in Southeast Asia. By BRUNO LASKER. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950. Pp. 406. $6.00.

Bruno Lasker is a specialist on the history and social problems of Southeast Asia. Three of his earlier books have dealt with this region. He is now serving as a member of the committee of experts on slavery of the Social and Economic Council of the United Nations.

The book is systematic and logical. It deals with the different forms, from worst to mildest, of human bondage, beginning with slavery and ending with labor relations in modern enterprise, with serfdom, peonage, debt bondage, and compulsory public services in between. Each of these phenomena is traced for the seven countries of Southeast Asia: Indonesia, the Philippines, Burma, Malaya, British Borneo, Siam, and Indochina; and the concerted or international action taken to combat the evils is described as a conclusion to each chapter.

The author has toiled through a tremendous pile of literature and official documents. In this respect the book may be considered a standard work, the more so since the author's command of several foreign languages enabled him to consult a lot of primary sources.

The book is so full of historic and factual expositions that it is impossible to give an idea of its richness in a short review. Therefore I prefer merely to make two critical remarks. The first is that in so far as the publications consulted were written for insiders (and this is often the case) the interpretation by the author of the statements made sometimes hinges on a misunderstanding of their true meaning, because he lacks the presupposed intimate and general knowledge of the social framework.

The other is that the author seems prejudiced when he assumes that the motive of the recent and present uprisings throughout Southeast Asia springs from the memories of wrongs

suffered not only by themselves but by their fathers and fathers' fathers. Rancor of this kind seems contrary to the fatalistic mentality of Eastern people and supposes, unrealistically, their loss of status conception. The harshest bondage of the small people has always come from their own countrymen and is accepted, although perhaps in new forms, nowadays just as it was formerly.

J. H. BOEKE

University of Leyden

White Settlers and Native Peoples. By A. GRENFELL PRICE. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950. Pp. 232. $5.00.

In this book the author of *White Settlers in the Tropics* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1939) continues his theme of white settlement in non-European areas. Price, who is master of St. Mark's College, University of Adelaide, Australia, has ranged far, as is seen in his selection of widely different geographical areas and in his use of works from many disciplines such as biology, ecology, geography, and anthropology. His present work lays the groundwork for a comparative or natural history of the relations between English-speaking peoples and native peoples. He devotes equal space to these relations in four areas: the United States, Canada, Australia (including Tasmania), and New Zealand, with each of which he has firsthand experience.

Price describes the history of the relations between the white settlers and the natives according to a scheme of three stages. The first stage involves the crude, uncontrolled impact of Europeans upon native populations, with no preparation on either side. While variations occur, the usual outcome on what Price calls the "moving frontier of white settlement" is a great decrease in native population. A second stage, growing out of the humanitarian or philanthropic movement of the last century, is one where the whites, primarily through government and missions, introduce various deliberate, often contradictory, attempts to help the natives. These reforms, however, turn out to be mere palliatives which do not solve the fundamental problem of the survival of the native peoples and often do them more harm than good. Finally, in the third stage, which began in the 1930's, a "scientific" policy is inaugurated, best illustrated by John Collier's "New Day for Indians" policy: "Indian property must no longer pass to the whites; Indian organization must be encouraged and assisted; Indian family life must be respected and reinforced; Indian culture must be appreciated, used, and brought into the stream of American culture as a whole" (p. 44). While in all four regions there was a protracted and shocking inability to recognize and defend the rights of the natives, Price feels that everywhere, except perhaps in Australia, the third stage has now begun.

There is no aspect of this complex problem of the impact of Europeans on native peoples which Price does not at some point touch. He is never dogmatic, often citing authorities with conflicting views. The result, a broad survey, not based on primary research, leaves a confused view about some of these controversial matters and sometimes creates problems where none exist. And it is precisely at these points where the reviewer was left unsatisfied. To mention only one of these: Price cites statistics to indicate that in all four regions the mixed-blood population is on the increase, while the pure population continues to decline. This leads him to accept the notion advanced by Pitt-Rivers more than twenty years ago that some biological factor such as hybrid vigor is a necessary condition for the survival of a native population, which as a pure race cannot resist the new conditions imposed upon it by white penetration. Yet such a thesis is belied both by an elementary consideration of the nature of the statistics and by important cases, some of which Price himself develops.

Whenever a mixed population is given separate statistical treatment, the very obvious point is that all children of any possible crossing, between whites and natives, between natives and mixed, and between whites and mixed, as well as all children both of whose parents are already mixed, will be classified as mixed. Thus inevitably the children of many pure-blooded parents are constantly being lost statistically to the pure group, while the mixed group is added to by children of unmixed parents. If the pure native population is small relative to the mixed population and the dominant population, its continued decline is inevitable, but this decline cannot surely be attributed to poor adaptability, to "dying-out." The decline is due to "marrying out." It is for this reason that the mixed American Indian population, for instance, will supplant the pure.

But there is an even more important matter to consider, namely, the evidence indicating that pure native populations are not necessarily poorly adapted to their new conditions. The biggest and fastest-growing Indian tribe is the Navajo, which is also one of the purest. In Hawaii the pure Hawaiian women seem to have higher refined fertility rates than their part-Hawaiian cousins. In Samoa, Fiji, and elsewhere pure native populations have experienced greatly reduced death rates, and in many places they are now threatened with overpopulation. Such data would seem seriously to throw into question the importance of the genetic factor in the extinction or rehabilitation of native peoples.

In general, however, the work is free of gross inconsistencies and improbable interpretations, and it should serve as a good introduction to the problem of the reaction of native peoples to the invasion of European settlers. It has the advantage of bringing into one rather small volume the case histories of four quite separate and different contact situations having only this in common—that the settlers were English-speaking.

The need today is, however, not so much for comparative studies involving large continental regions as for well-planned field research in crucial but more limited areas where some of the questions which Price's book asks but cannot answer are answerable.

Finally, the reviewer is disturbed at the confident manner in which a "scientific" approach is assumed to hold the answer as to the ultimate destiny of the native peoples. Do we really want and would it really be possible to have large native minorities living in more or less separate inviolate communities within the modern nations which the English-speaking settlers have established?

BERNHARD L. HÖRMANN
University of Hawaii

Social Science Research Methods. By WILSON GEE. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1950. Pp. 390. $4.00.

This book should make a good textbook for courses in methods of sociological research. It is systematic and well organized, combining an exposition of each social research technique with a history of its development.

Gee's book is a contribution to the texts in this field, in that half of it is devoted to a presentation of the philosophy and logic of social research. It has been the reviewer's experience that students of sociology are sadly lacking in an understanding of the most elementary problems of logic which are, *ipso facto*, involved in every domain of thought, especially social research. Logic without research is admissible; research without logic is impossible. One wishes, however, that Gee had illustrated through specific examples the use, as well as the violations, of logical principles in social analysis. It would bring home to the student, the reviewer believes, the real place of logic in the social sciences and would avoid, perhaps, some of the untenableness that permeates much of our thinking in the social sciences.

After the introductory chapters on the logic and meaning of research, separate chapters are devoted to analyses of the different techniques of social research—case method, statistical method, historical method, survey method, experimental method. Wilson Gee has long been interested in the role of organizations in hindering or facilitating research. His last chapter on "Social Science Research Organization" is therefore a worth-while inclusion. In this chapter Gee also takes up the problem of co-operative research.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER
Iowa State College

A Scientific Autobiography and Other Papers. By MAX PLANCK. New York: Philosophical Library, 1949. Pp. vii+192. $3.75.

This is a collection of essays by Max Planck, the eminent physicist. It includes a memorial address by Max Von Laue given at Planck's funeral in 1947. Sociologists probably will be most interested in three of these essays: "Phantom Problems in Science," "The Meanings and Limits of Exact Science," and the title-paper. In "A Scientific Autobiography" Planck states that his interest in science rose from his feelings that science was a means by which man gains insight into the laws of nature. In a straightforward and modest fashion he recounts his personal experiences in the field of physical research.

The essay on scientific problems can be read with profit by social scientists. Planck feels that what he calls "phantom problems" arise primarily from two sources of error: first, erroneous basic premises on the part of the investigator

and, second, a situation in which the presuppositions are correct but so vaguely formulated that they cannot be handled. In "The Meaning and Limits of Exact Science," Planck includes a discussion of the "real" and the "sense" world and a stimulating treatment of the presupposition and metaphysics of a natural science.

All the essays in this book were written during the ninth decade of Max Planck's life. They are extremely readable and worth the time of the general reader.

ETHEL SHANAS

University of Chicago

The Sociology of the Patient. By EARL LOMON KOOS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950. Pp. xvi+264. $3.00.

The title of this book is misleading: the contents are better indicated by the subtitle, *A Textbook for Nurses*. The author has lectured in schools of nursing for many years, and his book represents a general introduction to sociology adapted to meet the interests and general background of student nurses as they make their way through a crowded curriculum.

The text is divided into three major parts: "The Individual Patient," "The Patient and His Groups," and "The Patient's Activities and His Problems." Part I begins with a brief review of man's evolutionary development as a primate and his cultural prehistory during the Pleistocene and Holocene periods. Next comes an explanation of the concepts of culture ("defined as an integrated pattern of ideas, ideals, and behavior that has meaning for the group") and society ("the largest group of people who share a common culture"). The student nurse is then introduced to problems of maturation and socialization, to learning theory, and to the development of social roles and the self.

Part II opens with a discussion of various types of family systems and of the cycle of the family through stages of initial adjustment, child-bearing, child-rearing, child-launching, and aging. This is followed by brief sections on the play group, school group, neighborhood, church, and community. The major characteristics and structure of rural and urban communities are then outlined. Last, there is a presentation of the main groupings in American society by race, nationality, ethnicity, and caste and class.

Part III covers a wide range of sociological fact and theory, as well as chapters that simply contain information on such topics as the social security program, public welfare services, functions of social agencies, recreational facilities usually available in a community, etc. Facts are presented on regional differences in income and wealth, the aging worker, hazards of industrial employment, and migratory labor. Problems of health are discussed in terms of changing population characteristics, adequacy of medical services, hospital facilities, and group insurance plans. Mental health is reviewed as to its possible social causes and as to the type of hospital care available. A rough classification is made of types of mental illness, kinds of therapy, and preventive measures. There are several chapters devoted to causes of social problems in terms of process—culture change, assimilation, accommodation, competition, and conflict.

It is a difficult problem to organize to meet the needs of nurses such a mass of material as is indicated above. This problem would seem to be reflected in the title of each of the fifteen chapters, all of which begin with the same phrase: "The Patient Has a Family," "The Patient Lives in Groups," "The Patient Faces His Problems," etc. Despite this fact, only one chapter starts with its focus on the behavior of the patient in relation to the hospital and then moves smoothly, in the search for insight, to the patient's sociological background in the outer world. This chapter, "The Patient's Social Environment and His Health," considers, for example, the effect on a diabetic Italian patient of his inability to forego the traditional heavy meat-and-pastry dishes on Sunday night: "After all, it was Sunday, and so Papa had had *pasta* and *vino*, just a little bit, but just the way he had had it for more than 50 years . . . it was as much a part of Sunday as was the Mass." Also, the author explores the factors in why the Italian families in a certain tenement district were extremely resistant to entering the hospital even when the illness was severe. One reason given was that "in the hospital they slip you the *black bottle*." Interviewing revealed that twenty years earlier several Italian patients from this district had died after being administered a drug (morphine) from a black bottle. No recognition was given by the families to the fact that the patient's admission to the hospital was too long delayed and complicated by previous neglect; instead, the fantasied cause-and-effect sequence persisted over the years.

Many of the chapters would benefit by a discussion in the text of some of the questions only suggested as leads for student exploration, such as "What folkways are present in your 'hospital society' that are not found outside the hospital?" This points to one very important area in which nurses should receive information that is relegated to a single paragraph at the end of the book: "The hospital ward is a social group, with leadership, dominance, statuses, and all the other phenomena of groups. . . ." No attempt is made to outline the problems faced by the patient in the hospital because of his participation in a patient society that often has its own peculiar values, beliefs, and social roles. Further, it would be invaluable for the nurse to learn to see the patient society in its structural position and relationship to the mobility-blocked strata (composed of service personnel, technicians, nurses, doctors, etc.) of the hospital. The problem of communication between these strata and the resultant effect on the well-being of the patient would alone provide material for several chapters.

These two criticisms—that the material first be focused more directly on the patient and then move to his sociological background outside the hospital and that the values, structure, and social roles of the various hospital strata be seen in their interrelationships as they exert an influence on the patient—would seem to be justified in view of the emphasis placed on "the sociology of the patient" by the title and chapter headings. The author is, however, greatly to be commended for providing a satisfactory and much-needed introductory textbook in sociology for student nurses.

WILLIAM CAUDILL

Yale University

Out of My Later Years. By ALBERT EINSTEIN. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. viii+282. $4.75.

This is a collection of papers by Albert Einstein covering the period 1934–50. Some of the items are fragments: letters, brief introductory statements, and other miscellany; other papers are full statements of the topics under consideration. The publishers have arranged these essays under six headings: "Convictions and Beliefs," "Science," "Public Affairs," "Science and Life," "Personalities," and "My People."

The scientific papers, written by Einstein for the general reader, are clear and concise statements of difficult concepts. This simplicity of presentation is especially apparent in the essays dealing with the theory of relativity and the derivation of the equivalence of mass and energy.

Irrespective of whether Einstein is discussing the Negro question, the language of science, memorializing his friend Paul Ehrenfest, or dealing with the dispersal of the Jews of Europe, the essays of *Out of My Later Years* bear the mark of his vital personality and of his point of view. It is the vigor and humility of this great man, as expressed in his papers, which make the book especially interesting.

ETHEL SHANAS

University of Chicago

The Supervision of Group Work and Recreation. By HADLEY S. DIMOCK and HARLEIGH B. TRECKER. New York: Association Press, 1949. Pp. xi+280. $4.50.

The authors of this volume have in mind a specific professional problem: how to supervise the work of professional and volunteer group and recreation workers. They confine themselves rather closely to this problem, but they are concerned also with deeper implications of social work in this field.

Sociologists will be interested in the considerable "case" material on group situations and worker-supervisor relations. Conversely, he will be concerned with the extent to which group work does or does not utilize the considerable contributions that sociology has made to this field. Neither text nor bibliographies make more than casual reference to basic findings of sociology or of any other social science. One suspects that professional introversion may already have appeared in the group-work field.

"Democracy" is a term in constant use in the book, but there is no discussion of how the expert supervisor can be democratic in dealing with inexpert professional or nonexpert volunteer workers. His very possession of knowledge and skills beyond those of his subordinates and clients assigns him frequently the role of the wise parent or the omniscient statesman. The very nature of the relation makes for his social isolation.

A deeper problem also not directly dealt with is that concerned with the dual function of

leadership: (1) that of setting new goals, inspiring followers, developing new ideals, in short, the function of the social prophet, and (2) that of administering a standardized program, maintaining an efficient organization for the achieving of already determined-upon objectives. Rare indeed is the person who can play the role of the trained, efficient professional expert. These roles demand very different traits, and the leader who can function successfully in both capacities is unusual. The above authors treat the two functions as more or less interchangeable.

The volume, on the whole, affords a preliminary integration of professional experience, and it is a definite contribution to the development of leisure-time activities that will aid in developing the personalities of its clientele and support current social institutions. While there is considerable survey material, no basic research seems to have been carried on. The research-minded reader may often wonder whether some of the strong assertions made by the authors had ever been tested by them.

ERLE F. YOUNG

University of Southern California

Social Case-Work in Great Britain. Edited by CHERRY MORRIS. London: Faber & Faber, 1950. Pp. 223. 12*s.* 6*d.*

A group of British social case workers have collaborated in this thoroughgoing presentation of general and specialized forms of case work as it is understood and practiced in Great Britain. The fields covered include those of family (D. M. Deed, Kay McDougal, and Una Cormack); medical social work (Jean Snelling); psychiatric social work (Noël Hunnybun); probation work (William G. Minn); child care (Clare Britton); and moral welfare (Barbara and Ena Steel). The authors are quite conversant with American case-work practice and principles and make frequent reference to American writings in text and bibliography. There is, however, complete independence of thought and, when needed, pungent criticism of the idiosyncrasies so often encountered in the American case-work approach to social ills.

Throughout the volume the various authors display skill with, and insight into, the concepts, ideals, and practices of case work. One is steadily aware of the habit of the English professional worker of subjecting his work to the demands of logic, common sense, and philosophic considerations. In short, English case work seems to be far freer from vocational sectarianism, ideological cultism, and emotional fadism than its American counterpart, if one is to judge by the present volume. There is a wholesomeness and a clarity of thought, together with a sense of humor, which makes this volume stimulating and often delightful reading.

Sociologists will do well to read at least the concluding chapter by Eileen Younghusband both for purposes of gaining information about professional thinking and attainment in this field and for the discovery of the grounds for *rapprochement* between the arts of social work and the science of sociology.

PAULINE V. YOUNG

Los Angeles

The Beginnings of Diplomacy: A Sociological Study of Intertribal and International Relations. By RAGNAR NUMELIN. London: Oxford University Press, 1950; Copenhagen: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1950. Pp. 372.

In surveying certain usages among preliterate peoples that are analogous to aspects of diplomacy in Western civilization, this volume displays a high degree of erudition and gives evidence of a very extensive reading program on the part of the author. This work, completed while Numelin was serving in the Finnish legation at Brussels, is the result of a long period of research, largely in the libraries of London and Paris. The volume carries not only the bookish flavor resulting from the method of research but also the strong imprint of Numelin's academic training under Westermarck.

Although he has included some explicit disclaimers in the text, the author's whole effort seems to rest on the theory that an examination of usages among a wide variety and large number of preliterate peoples will reveal the "origins" of diplomacy; the volume rests, in short, on a version of evolutionistic theory that would be hard to defend. Moreover, Numelin seems to feel that his findings will be buttressed by the number and geographic heterogeneity of tribes examined and sources cited; this latter assumption gives him a bibliography of some fifty pages but also leads him to include sources that would seem questionable to many anthropologists.

The chapters deal with such subjects as strangers and guests; messengers, heralds, and

envoys; envoys and their credentials; peace negotiators and war emissaries. Except for some occasional and almost incidental passages—such as the section on the silent trade—the book will be of little interest to most sociologists.

JOSEPH ROSENSTEIN

Dallas, Texas

Public Health and Demography in the Far East. By MARSHALL C. BALFOUR, ROGER T. EVANS, FRANK W. NOTESTEIN, and IRENE B. TAEUBER. New York: Rockefeller Foundation, 1950. Pp. 132.

In the autumn of 1948, the authors spent four months visiting Japan, Korea, China, Formosa, Indonesia, and the Philippines, observing public health activities and demographic and other conditions and discussing problems of population and public health with local officials and scholars. Their report deals primarily with questions of population policy.

For each of the countries visited, the authors present briefly the salient facts of its demographic history and present situation in terms of birth and death rates, population density, and population distribution, together with comment on the factors which have affected its demographic evolution. Their consideration of these points suffices to show that in all these countries large increases of population can be expected in the future as a result of past and prospective future reductions in their death rates, unless effective measures are taken to cut down swiftly their high birth rates. In dealing with the possible implications of such population increases for the future welfare of the people, the authors do not attempt to expound the theory of relationships between population trends and economic well-being or to examine in detail the economic problems which may result from given population changes in the particular countries studies. They are content to state in rather simple terms the thesis that in these countries, with their already high densities of agricultural population and their handicaps in industrial development, it will be difficult, and in some cases perhaps impossible, to expand the means of livelihood enough to prevent ultimate catastrophe, unless their birth rates are soon and substantially reduced. For reasons which they set forth in their analyses of social and political conditions, they do not expect any quick, large reductions of birth rates in these countries without powerful efforts on the part of the governments and other influential groups to bring about such reductions.

Against this background the authors report, notably in their well-documented chapter on Japan and their vivid chapter on China, the impressions gained from their interviews with local government officials, civic leaders, and scholars. They note a paucity of interest in population trends and their social and economic implications and little discussion of these questions even in academic circles. They observe, on the one hand, a tendency to identify numbers of people with military power and population increase with economic health and, on the other hand, a widespread confidence in industrialization as the panacea for economic and social ills. In the few educational institutions where instruction in demography is offered, they report a preoccupation with the more philosophical aspects of the subject and a disposition to concentrate on the population trends and problems of Western countries rather than those of the East.

Repeatedly the authors emphasize the lack of any known methods of birth control which would be practicable for application on a large scale in Eastern countries. This point is brought out most forcibly in their account of an interview with the mayor of a Chinese community who expressed interest in a birth-control program and in vain asked the authors to recommend a practical method.

The reports relating to the individual countries are followed by a statement of general conclusions referring to the region as a whole. Here, with a measure of realism too often lacking in discussions of the problems of underdeveloped countries, the authors emphasize the need for study as a prerequisite to direct ameliorative action. They point out that action, to be effective, must be bolstered by interest in and appreciation of the problems involved, at least on the part of local scholars and civic leaders, and that participation by local personnel in realistic demographic studies would effectively foster such interest and understanding. They call for research, *inter alia*, on the cultural determinants of human fertility, on the interrelationships of population changes with social and economic development, and on practical means of contraception for large-scale use in the East. They make the excellent point that such studies can proceed during the present disturbed times,

when effective direct action in many areas is impossible. It is for the West to provide funds and technical help in promoting this basic research.

JOHN D. DURAND

United Nations Department of Social Affairs

China Shakes the World. By JACK BELDEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. vii+524. $5.00.

Peking Diary: A Year of Revolution. By DERK BODDE. New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950. Pp. xxi+292. $3.75.

Although social revolutions in China have in the last half-century been not unfrequent, none of them had aroused so much attention in the rest of the world as the present one. It is delightful to read these two firsthand, eyewitness accounts at a time when the air is filled with political propaganda, pro and con. Belden's report, covering the areas from Manchuria to Formosa during the period 1946–48, is excellent in describing peasant movements and guerrilla activities in the vast North China Plain; Bodde took extraordinary notes of the day-to-day changes observed in Peking, the new capital of China, in the year of revolution, 1948–49.

It is a generally accepted historical fact that all conquests of China come from the north. The collapse of the Nationalist regime appears to have once again proved the inability of conquerors from the south to establish a stable and everlasting government. The reasons for this may be many, but the following are the salient features. The north, being the home of ancient sages, had traditionally been a stronghold of conservatism and is also well known for its fine warriors. Its rural economy had been sound and, therefore, least affected by outside commercial forces. It may be recalled that the Taiping Rebellion once spread all over the provinces south of the Yangtze but failed at the threshold of the North China Plain. Again, the Nationalists, who nominally unified the country, had in fact exercised very little authority over the northern part of the nation, except in few large cities. The recent Communist drive to victory might have otherwise met the same difficulty, if not defeat, in reducing this region's stubborn bulwark of Confucian conservatism, had not the Japanese invasion paved the way for it. Belden's account is very valuable in throwing light on these developments.

The Japanese military adventure in China in the thirties and early forties, as the reviewer related elsewhere, served no function other than of midwife to deliver the child, already overdue, of social revolution. In headlong military conquest, the Japanese successively drove a large number of college students in the cities and almost all country schoolteachers to rise against the outrageous encroachments. In the political vacuum of the North China Plain created by the rapid evacuation of the Kuomintang forces, the Communists quickly came in to agitate and organize the peasants, while the intellectuals fitted in nicely as the much-needed brains of the Communist campaigns. Furthermore, the ruthless Japanese policy of seizing or threatening to seize property forced many local landlords (or gentry) to become collaborators; patriotism alone would have led those who wanted to defend their fatherland against Japan to fight both a class war and a national war at the same time. After years of this, the Communists became well intrenched in the peasantry of the North China Plain and ready to wrest national power from the Kuomintang. It is amazing to note that after the war the Communist military forces of this region swept over Manchuria and southward almost across the Yangtze with little or no opposition.

In both works the Communist agrarian reform programs are touched, but Belden's is an on-the-spot observation and provides an otherwise incredible picture of the poor peasants' struggle against the landlords. By playing plots and counterplots, the battles fought were unusually bloody and cruel. In the end what the peasants gained was mainly a foothold on the land which, though very tiny, indeed, meant to them a matter of life and death. Belden made this point abundantly clear in his statement, "The Communists had not brought tremendous conomic benefits to the peasantry, but they had made hitherto unbearable conditions bearable" (p. 131).

While the keynote of social organization in the West is individual rights and liberty, it is in China now group conformity and harmony. This is signalized in what Belden termed "community feeling" or "passion" in the peasant groups created by the Communist political agitators through propaganda, education, and artistic performance. The long-forgotten and much-humiliated common men (or peasants) are suddenly to be lifted to play the role of national heroes. Much to their surprise, the traditionally-

privileged intellectuals come condescendingly to learn from them and perform their *yang ko* (or "planting song") dance with enthusiasm. In the so-called "air-your-grievance" meetings and similar collective enterprises, the peasants grew convinced of their own strength as a crowd and developed an *esprit de corps*. A student of human society will understand that in the process of this psychological reorientation, an immense, hitherto thwarted energy of the peasantry is released, an energy that can be directed to attack any target, be it a domestic regime or a foreign power. Any attempt to underestimate this newly discharged force would be tragic indeed.

It may also be added that it is exactly in this intensified mass conviction and collective excitement that communism resembles a religion, as Bodde aptly points out in his itemized analogy (pp. 146–49). The Chinese Communist leader, Mao Tse-tung, fully realized this when he declared to an American correspondent that Chinese Marxism is "a religion of the people" (Belden, p. 469). The mission—to liberate the unprivileged millions from their plight—is so holy that few means cannot be justified by the end. Since the predominant emphasis is placed on group harmony, the political leaders on top represent not only the government but also the sacred part of the institutional structure and therefore have become legendary and somewhat deified. The strong feeling of "we" in the group naturally leads to suspicion and contempt of all those who do not believe and participate in their ways of life.

Most of the Chinese intellectuals, both writers found, not only are uncritical but are enthusiastically supporting the new regime. This is especially true among the students. The Nationalists' persecution of the college people in recent years may have something to do with it but not all. It may be remembered that the Chinese intelligentsia has traditionally been weak and incapable of forming a liberal and third force; its political philosophy, imbued deeply with Confucian paternalism, lies in the performing of service to the people through holding positions in the government. Belden is right in saying that "practical Confucianism, which depended so much on rituals, was designed to preserve society, not free the individual" (p. 489). The outcries raised by the intellectuals against the Kuomintang prior to its collapse may be understood as their objection to the regime's corruption and glaring abuses of the common people rather than a demand for liberalism and democracy as modeled in the West. In the same way that their predecessors studied classical Confucianism or worked for Western academic degrees, the new intelligentsia now rush to learn the doctrines of Marxism and Mao's new democracy and swarm to place themselves at the disposal of the new government.

With regard to the future, both writers agree that "irrespective of what happens to the Communists, one fact is certain, the Kuomintang is through," to use Bodde's emphatical expression (p. 261). The only force in China that this country has to deal with is the Communists; a third alternative simply does not exist. So reasoning, they advocate the effort to reach a *modus vivendi* with the new China, which is certainly not easy under the present international circumstances and may prove actually impossible if the unpleasant course of Sino-American entanglements is allowed to persist.

SHU-CHING LEE

Chicago

Tensions Affecting International Understanding: A Survey of Research. By OTTO KLINEBERG. New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950. Pp. xi+227. $1.75.

The events of World War I led a number of social scientists to produce theoretical writings about the social psychological aspects of international relations. To the tradition of balance of power, economic and technological analysis, they sought to inject the dimension of personal and social-psychological tension. During World War II and thereafter, empirically oriented social scientists have undertaken ever increasing efforts to make these aspects of international relations areas of systematic research. *Tensions Affecting International Understanding: A Survey of Research* is a careful critical review of this type of research.

The volume supplies a neat guide for researchers and those actively engaged in international relations to a body of literature scattered through many disciplines. However, its importance lies in pointing out the limited knowledge that has been accumulated and the lack of broadly conceived studies which would throw light on the central issues involved.

The volume is an outgrowth of the UNESCO project on tension affecting international under-

standing. By its own limitation it is confined to anthropological, sociological, and psychological research, which assumes that "psychological tensions are fundamental." The author is fully aware of the factors traditional to the analysis of international relations. He is also aware that these factors obviously condition tension. But these do not come within the scope of the survey. The result is a volume which deals with a characterological, ideological, and attitudinal subject matter. The material covered falls into three main sections: "Personality in Relation to Nationality," "National Stereotypes," and "National and Racial Attitudes." A final section, entitled "Influences Making for Aggression," deals in a limited fashion with some social-psychological factors in aggressive nationalism.

Klineberg, who himself is a most careful researcher, approaches his subject matter mainly from the point of view of the methodology employed and the adequacy of proof. The commentary is thus characterized by a refreshing sharpness. Research in national character in particular comes in for long-overdue rigorous criticism.

A critical survey of the literature, to have maximum merit, must relate the most mosaic of individual researches to sharply drawn hypotheses and various theoretical frames. The UNESCO slogan that wars begin in the minds of men is a dangerous point of departure for even social psychologists. Some of the earlier writers in this field have applied individual psychological mechanisms to the analysis of international relations with automatic regularity. However, other writers, notably Harold D. Lasswell in his treatise *World Politics and Personal Insecurity*, have sought to construct a different type of theory. They have faced the basic consideration that the relation between individual tensions and international war are mediated by the social structure, institutional arrangements, and elite formation of the great powers. Such complex hypotheses about international relations are not the type which lend themselves to testing by the simplified attitude and stereotype studies which make up a substantial portion of his book.

Since the publication of the volume the military aspects of World War III have begun. Research into international understanding will now emphasize the politically uncommitted areas of the world in their relation to the United States and the Soviet Union. It will also involve problems of maintaining solidarity within the power blocs. The relevance of social science to these problems will depend on the formulation of research more broadly explanatory than the typical study reported in this volume. Moreover, when complicated social processes such as international tensions are being investigated, overrigid requirements of measurement which produce naïve and limited research topics will have to give way to more sophisticated approaches.

MORRIS JANOWITZ

University of Chicago

In Search of Freedom: A History of American Jews from Czechoslovakia. By GUIDO KISCH. With a Foreword by JAN MASARYK. London: Edward Goldston & Son, Ltd.; New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1949. Pp. xvi+373. $4.50.

Precisely one-half of this publication is taken up by appendixes, containing selected documents, by a carefully annotated bibliography, and by an index of names. This part of the book is done with exemplary thoroughness and discerning care. It sets a high standard of scholarship and presents a valuable aid to future historians and sociologists of American minority groups. Particularly, the leading articles of the "On to America!" movement of 1848, which are published here in full in the German original, deserve the attention of those who are interested in the motivations of European migration to America. However, genealogical source material is not displayed.

Regrettably, the text advances not much further than the documents. It consciously refrains from evaluation and comparison (p. 183), leaving that task to the sociologist. However, the sociologist can do little, if the historian stops short of evaluative classification. For instance, who are the "Jews from Czechoslovakia"? As far as we know, they consist of two entirely different groups. Those from Bohemia and Moravia, by and large, were German-speaking Jews of Western cultural orientation, while those of Slovakia and Carpatho-Russia belonged culturally to the East, having had close ties with Hungary and Galicia. Consequently, it is no mere coincidence that a Slovakian Jew in America, such as Rabbi M. Kopfstein, was among the founders of the orthodox-Zionist "Misrachi" organization, while a Bohemian

Jew, Rabbi Isaac M. Wise, was the chief initiator of the Reform movement. Actually, the Bohemian Jews in America are part and parcel of the German-Jewish immigration. They arrived at the same time. Bohemian and German Jews in the United States have co-operated and intermarried to such an extent that their family histories can no more be disentangled.

Since most of these families have lived here for three generations, the social researcher has a good chance to trace both Christian-Jewish and intra-Jewish intermarriage along with changing socioeconomic status and changing affiliations. Professor Kisch, an expert genealogist, could well have considered this task within the province of the professional historian, even if interest in the results is shared by historians and sociologists. Actually only glimpses of change and transformation are offered in a number of brief biographical sketches of selected celebrities. We admit that, quite possibly, the more comprehensive task exceeds the capacity of individuals. Hence, the book signalizes the need for intensified interdepartmental co-operation.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

New York City

Public Opinion in Soviet Russia: A Study in Mass Persuasion. By ALEX INKELES. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+379. $5.00.

This book emphasizes the social role of mass communication in the Soviet Union; it is less interested in its effects and contents, though they are not neglected. The author tries to show what is the particular Soviet approach to public opinion. The aim to direct and to mold the Soviet masses dominates the relations between the ruling Communist (Bolshevik) party and all groups of society in the U.S.S.R. The party regards itself as an elite organization which expresses and makes conscious the real will of the masses. But this will and consciousness must be in conformity with the Marxian-Leninist doctrine. No public opinion which opposes and criticizes the policies of the party and its government is accepted. But, on the other hand, it would be wrong to assume that the mentality and the moods of the masses are not taken into consideration. On the contrary, the official policies must be presented in such a way that they become intelligible and attractive. Mass communication has as its aim to increase the active participation of the people in carrying out the accepted plans, to stimulate production, to accomplish the economic goals. At the same time the necessity to believe in the basic tenets of the Marxian-Leninist creed must be emphasized in order to justify the unlimited domination of the party. The monopolistic control of all mass communications—press, film, radio, publishing, propaganda, and agitation—is not destined to promote independent critical thinking but to stimulate activities determined by the party and the system which it claims to express and to realize.

Inkeles combines descriptions based upon a careful use of material from Soviet sources, with sociological interpretations. He emphasizes that a presentation of means and institutions alone cannot help to understand the character of the Soviet system—its aim and its doctrinal basis explain the use of particular methods and devices. The changes which have taken place as a consequence of the development of the Soviet regime are taken into account. The author, for example, emphasizes that the rise of a Soviet intelligentsia and of Soviet managers has decreased the emphasis put upon contents of the Marxian doctrine, though the doctrine continues to be accepted as the necessary basis for the party rule. This rule would disappear if the claim that Marxism-Leninism contains the true knowledge about social developments would be abandoned and a free flow of ideas and corresponding discussions would be permitted.

The functions of Communist self-criticism are well presented. It is a means of checking the execution of the general line which itself is beyond criticism and is destined to procure the opportunity for some apparently independent activities to the average citizen. Particularly brilliant is the analysis of propaganda presenting the basic ideas of the system to comparatively few and the agitation aiming at impressing many with one idea or a particularly burning practical problem for many.

The book of Inkeles is one of the most useful monographs on an important aspect of Soviet life and policy. It shows the great value of an approach which relates institutions to a particular kind of society with its specific doctrinal basis and behavior.

WALDEMAR GURIAN

Notre Dame University

CURRENT BOOKS

ANDREWS, F. EMERSON. *Philanthropic Giving*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950. Pp. 318. $3.00. A survey showing who gives and how much to the various kinds of philanthropic causes and agencies; tables and graphs mainly on the last thirty years.

BAILEY, STEPHEN KEMP. *Congress Makes a Law: The Story behind the Employment Act of 1946*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xii+282. $3.75. The intimate story of the passing of law.

BENZ, ERNST. *Emanuel Swedenborg (Scientist and Seer)*. München: Verlag Hermann Rinn, 1948. Pp. 587. DM. 16. A biography, dealing at length with early life, education, religious crises, and subsequent conflict with the church. Index, but no footnotes or bibliography.

BURKE, MARJORIE L. *Origin of History as Metaphysic*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. 61. Essay on morality.

EYRNES, ROBERT F. *Antisemitism in Modern France*, Vol. I: *The Prologue to the Dreyfus Affair*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1950. Pp. x+348. $5.00.

CANTRIL, HADLEY (ed.). *Public Opinion 1935–1946*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. lix+1191. $25.00. Compilation of national polls taken in the United States, Austria, Canada, England, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, France, Belgium, Brazil, Italy and Hungary used according to the conventions set up by the *Public Opinion Quarterly*.

COHN, ALFRED E., and LINGG, CLAIRE. *The Burden of Diseases in the United States*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. 129. $10.00. Extensive tabular and graphic presentation of data and trends in disease and cause of death; breakdowns by age, sex, occupation, race.

CROSS, WHITNEY R. *The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800–1850*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii+383. $5.00.

DONAHUE, WILMA, and TIBBITTS, CLARK (eds.). *Planning the Older Years*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950. Pp. viii+248. Twelve papers on various social problems of old age.

DULCKEIT, GERHARD. *Die Idee Gottes im Geiste der Philosophie Hegels*. München: Verlag Hermann Rinn, 1947. Pp. 179. DM. 6. The idea of God in Hegel's philosophy.

FERM, VERGILIUS (ed.). *A History of Philosophical Systems*. New York: Philosophical Library, 1950. Pp. xiv+642. $6.00. A sympcsium of some fifty papers on ancient, medieval, and modern systems.

FLUBACHER, JOSEPH F. *The Concept of Ethics in the History of Economics*. New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1950. Pp. iv+460+ix. $5.00. Extensively documented study of leading economists from the classicists down.

FYZEE, ASAF A. A. *Outlines of Muhammadan Law*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950. Pp. xvi+443. $5.00. After an essay on its development, the law is presented in condensed paragraphs, with brief comment; sections on marriage, property, etc.

GREENBERG, HAROLD A., M.D., in collaboration with PATHMAN, JULIAN H.; SUTTON, HELEN A.; and BROWNE, MARJORIE M. *Child Psychiatry in the Community: A Primer for Teachers, Nurses, and Others Who Care for Children*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1950. Pp. xvi+296. $3.50.

HELLERSBERG, ELIZABETH F. *The Individual's Relation to Reality in Our Culture: An Experimental Approach by Means of the Horn-Hellersberg Test*. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas, 1950. Pp. x+128. $3.25. Discussion on some cases to whom the picture-completion test was applied.

INSTITUT FRANÇAIS D'AFRIQUE NOIRE. *Études Camerounaises*. (Tome II. Septembre-Décembre 1949. N. 27–28.) Douala, Cameroun: Institut Français d'Afrique Noire, 1949. Pp. 127+239. Bull. 440 fr. par an. Contains the latter part of a monograph by R. Delarozière entitled "Les institutions politiques et sociales des populations dites Bamileke, avec les planches IX, X, XI, XII, XIII." The monograph is devoted very largely to a description of the role played in the societies by the association to which each adult male must belong according to his family and caste position.

LEVI, WERNER. *Fundamentals of World Organization*. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1950. Pp. ix+233. $3.00. An attempt to analyze crucial human problems of world organization, using concepts of social sciences; chapters on politics, economics, social welfare, and cultural affairs.

MASSING, PAUL W. *Rehearsal for Destruction: A Study of Political Anti-Semitism in Imperial Germany*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949. Pp. xviii+341. $4.00. A history from 1871 to the Nazis.

MILLER, HUGH. *The Community of Man*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1949. Pp. 169. $3.00. Essays in

which a biologist develops a philosophy of social life in terms of his science.

MOORE, BARRINGTON, JR. *Soviet Politics—the Dilemma of Power: The Role of Ideas in Social Change.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+503. $6.00. A natural history of the Russian Revolution and the Soviet state, with attention to relevant theories from various social sciences.

REHM, WALTHER. *Experimentum medietatis.* München: Verlag Hermann Rinn, 1947. Pp. 268. DM. 8. Three essays on the intellectual and literary history of the nineteenth century.

REHM, WALTHER. *Kierkegaard und der Verführer.* München: Verlag Hermann Rinn, 1949. Pp. 620. DM. 16. Critical treatise on Kierkegaard's "Tagebuch des Verführers" ("The Tempter's Diary"), of possible interest to psychiatrists and social psychologists.

RIEZLER, KURT. Man: *Mutable and Immutable.* Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1951. Pp. x+365. $5.00. A philosophical analysis of the structure of social life, including a discussion of the development of the self, and of man as the possessor of "human passions, moods, sentiments and attitudes."

SÁENZ, HÉCTOR FERNÁNDEZ. *Ensayo de una ciencia de la Historia y de la cultura* ("Essay on a Science of History and Culture"), Vol. I. Bahia Blanca, Argentina: Héctor Fernández Sáenz, 1950. Pp. 86. Brief of a theory of social mechanics.

SCHILLING, KURT. *Geschichte der Philosophie* ("History of Philosophy"). Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1949. Pp. 248. DM. 6.90. A students' handbook, covering the conventional periods of European philosophy with a section on the preparation for the Doctor's examination in philosophy in German universities.

STERNBERGER, DOLF. *The Social Sciences in Western Germany: A Postwar Survey.* Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, European Affairs Division, 1950. Pp. 63. Brief statements concerning social philosophy, statistics and sociography, sociology, social psychology, medical sociology, social policy, labor research, and analysis of public opinion. An opening statement explains the organization of the social sciences in German universities. An appendix lists the academic organizations (universities, seminars, institutes) from which information was obtained and includes most of the social science organizations in western Germany.

TEETERS, NEGLEY K., and REINEMANN, JOHN OTTO. *The Challenge of Delinquency: Causation, Treatment, and Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency.* New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. Pp. xi+819. $5.50. General work for use in colleges and universities, referring to United States only.

THRUPP, SYLVIA L. *The Merchant Class of Medieval London (1300–1500).* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. xix+401. $6.00. A sociological analysis, based on historical sources, with well-documented chapters on economic, political, and social position of the merchants, their standard and way of living.

UNITED NATIONS. *A Study of Statelessness.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Pp. xiii+190. $1.25. A report: definition and discussion of the status of such persons and of attempts to improve it. Documented.

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AGRARIANISM AND SOCIAL UPHEAVAL IN CHINA

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ABSTRACT

An agrarian movement is an organized campaign of politically conscious peasants. In China such a goal is equitable land distribution and that "to the tiller belongs the field," as implied in the *ching t'ien* and *chün t'ien* systems. Petitions and demands for these objectives by the intellectuals have throughout history characterized agrarian movements in times of uneven distribution of landownership and peasant unrest. Since A.D. 780 private ownership has brought forth periodical crises of overpopulation, land concentration, and war (which usually marked the end of a dynasty) within every three hundred years. Among the several peasant revolts and intellectual movements of the last century, the one which bears a true agrarian character is the present Communist-led national revolution. With a reform program of rent and interest-rate reduction and of land redistribution, the Communist in China has won the support of the people and set up a new pattern of social upheaval in the history of Asiatic lands.

By "agrarian movement" we may understand a movement organized and agitated politically by the rural folk, peasants, or farmers to bring about an equal or equitable distribution of land.[1] The question arises whether such a movement invariably and characteristically represents a conflict between the interests of the country and those of the city. The evidence of history indicates that no vigorous agrarian movement takes place unless the owners of the land have turned to living in cities and their way of living has become urbanized.[2] In summarizing agrarian movements that have occurred in various parts of the world, the following statement by Alvin Johnson is to the point.

> Within the country society as within the towns, conflict of classes may emerge: small proprietors against large, tenants against landlords, hired laborers against owners of estates. These conflicts contrast sharply with the general conflict between town and country interests which characterizes a true agrarian movement. In some instances, it is true, what appears to be merely a struggle between different rural elements is essentially an agrarian-urban conflict. Thus an anti-landlord movement

[1] The word "agrarian" is derived from the Latin *ager*, which means "field." The *Oxford Dictionary* defines "agrarianism" as "a political agitation or civil dissension arising from dissatisfaction with the existing tenure of land," while the definition found in *Webster's New International Dictionary: Second Edition* reads: "The theory or practice of an equal or equitable division of landed property; the principles, agitation, or acts of those who favor a redistribution of land, or the establishment by law of conditions more favorable to the general use and occupation of land."

[2] For instance, as Alvin Johnson points out, the owners of the latifundia in ancient Rome lived in cities, leaving their estates to the management of *villici*. In the *ancien régime* of France the large landowners were urbanized in culture, many of them having their homes in Paris or in provincial cities. The Irish landlords of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries spent most of their time in commercial and industrial England.

wears a true agrarian character when the landlords as a class are absentees or, if not absentees, nevertheless assimilated to urban life.[3]

A further clarification of concepts is necessary with regard to the two terms "peasant revolt" and "agrarian movement," which are used interchangeably by many writers. The two have many varying connotations and may become interwoven in actual events. There may, for instance, be agrarian movements that end in peasant revolts or vice versa. But an agrarian movement, like many other social movements, may be carried on peacefully through legal procedures, such, for example, as the grange movement against the railroad interests in the Middle West of the United States of America during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.[4] A true movement should, therefore, be an organized effort designed by politically conscious farmers, or peasants, to achieve some proclaimed goal or goals, real or utopian; whereas a peasant revolt may be devoid of any of these features. This is particularly true of peasant revolts in the history of China.

As a part of Confucian tradition, the intellectuals in China, suave persons who abhorred the using of force, could take no part in a peasant revolt. On the other hand, in the absence of leadership, the peasantry, illiterate and impulsive, were certainly incapable of transforming a spontaneous riot into a social movement. The following study may be adduced for an illustration: In a small border region between Kiangsi and Fukien, which is approximately the size of Iowa, an investigator found from local files and gazettes sixty-seven peasant revolts, led mostly by tenants, within a period of some one hundred and eighty years (1448–1627). Many towns were sacked, many bloody battles fought, and hundred of thousands of peasants lost their lives; but none of these revolts produced an agrarian movement or in the end gained anything for the participants.[5] The peasants engaged in the revolts were but a riotous mob whose immediate aim was to take revenge against landlords or gentry. This accomplished, it remained only to pillage and to evade the government troops sent to subdue them. Compared with peasant revolts in the past, the present Communist-led agrarian movement is something entirely new.

The principles and ideals of agrarian movements in China have been deeply rooted in Confucian teaching, and it is not surprising, therefore, that these movements have throughout Chinese history been carried on by intellectuals rather than by peasants. An ideal land system called *ching t'ien*[6]—a system which derived its name from the figures of the two Chinese characters, *ching* (井) and *t'ien* (田)—is described in the works of Mencius.[7] According to this system, fields were equitably divided into nine plots, the eight exterior plots being assigned to eight families, while the center one was worked in common by the adjoining landholders in lieu of government tax.[8] It is highly questionable whether such a land system was ever actually practiced in ancient China when land was plentiful and the population was relatively small;[9] nonethe-

[3] "Agrarian Movements," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, I, 490.

[4] W. B. Bizzell, *The Green Rising* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1926), pp. 156–69.

[5] Fu I-ling, "Closed Economy and Tenant Riots in the Boundary between Fukien and Kiangsi Provinces, 1448–1627" (in Chinese), *Social Sciences* (published by Fukien Academy), III (December, 1947), 33–58.

[6] This system, later introduced into Korea, was called the "*chung-jun* system." It was said that remnants of this system, as indicated in the layout of streets and farms, are still traceable in the city of Pyongyang and its suburbs (see Hoon K. Lee, "A History of Land Systems and Policies in Korea" [doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1929], pp. 23–33).

[7] James Legge, *The Chinese Classics* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1895), II, 245.

[8] Cf. Mabel Ping-hua Lee, *The Economic History of China, with Special Reference to Agriculture* ("Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law," No. 225 [New York, 1921]), pp. 33–35; Yu Tseh-tang, "Systems of Land Tenure in China," *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, XII (October, 1928), 604–8.

[9] Wan Kuo-ting regarded it as a theorization by Mencius of the once-practiced fief system (cf. his

less, the influence it exerted in the minds of Confucian scholars was far-reaching and profound.

Apart from other socioeconomic implications,[10] three general principles can be deduced from this land system regarding land tenure and agrarian movements. (1) When the government was the sole organization responsible for allotting land directly to individual families, there was no place for private landlordism. As a result, the idea that "to the tiller belongs the field" was fully realized. (2) Since under this system every family was allotted an equal share, there was inevitably an equitable distribution of farm land. (3) Finally, as regards the public revenue, the state took one-ninth of the cultivator's produce in the remote districts and a tithe land tax in the central parts of the kingdom.[11] The rate of taxation was apparently moderate or at any rate low in comparison with one-sixth as in the old Moslem law.[12] These underlying principles, together with China's traditional policy of favoring agriculture at the expense of trade and manufacture, have throughout history dominated Chinese thinking and actually shaped the pattern of later agrarian movements in the country.

After the last symbol of the fiefdom was removed by Shang Yang about 350 B.C., private ownership of land began to emerge.[13] From that time forward, two specters—overpopulation and concentration of landownership—constantly haunted the nation. These two conditions have always been accompanied by a strong and vehement agrarian movement. For instance, up to the Christian Era, there were both population pressure and a sharp concentration of landownership,[14] and agrarian movements reached their height. Not only was the theory of the *ching t'ien* system perfected in this period but land nationalization and reinstatement of this system were loudly demanded by Confucian scholars.[15] Taking advantage of the force of this movement, Wang Mang, as usurper of the throne of the Former Han Dynasty, promulgated in A.D. 8, a program of land nationalization and the immediate practice of the *ching t'ien* system, with the death penalty for offenders.[16] After three years of experiment, however, being impeded by an inarticulate and inactive peasantry and hostile landlords, he failed completely, albeit most of his reform programs which bore a distinctly socialistic tinge were aimed at alleviating the burdens and sufferings of the common people.[17]

A reduced population after some fifty years of civil wars gave a short period of peace to the newly established squirarchy in what is known as the Later Han Dynasty.[18]

An Agrarian History of China [in Chinese] [Nanking: Cheng-chung Book Co., 1933], pp. 51–59).

[10] Cf. Chi Yu Tang, *An Economic Study of Chinese Agriculture* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1924), pp. 9–23.

[11] Commenting on taxation, Mencius remarked: "In the remoter districts, observing the nine squares division, to reserve one division to be cultivated on the system of mutual aid, and in the more central parts of the kingdom, to make the people pay for themselves a tenth part of their produce" (Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 244). Cf. also Han Liang Huang, *The Land Tax in China* (New York: Columbia University, 1918), pp. 24–30.

[12] This traditional claim of land tax was raised to one-third by the Mogul rulers in India (Radhakamal Mukerjee, *Land Problems of India* [London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1933], p. 322).

[13] The decline of the feudal system in China must have lasted for centuries in the later period of the Chou Dynasty. Historians agree that Shang Yang was the one who abolished the last relic of fiefdom and established in its stead the systems of private landownership and of taxation (cf. Mabel Ping-hua Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 144, and Huang, *op. cit.*, pp. 33 ff.).

[14] According to the historical records, the population figure reached the first height of fifty-nine million in A.D. 2, and the average distribution of land per capita dwindled to 14 *han mow* (which is about half of the present *shih mow*). Cf. D. K. Lieu and Chung-min Chen, "Statistics of Farm Land in China," *Chinese Economic Journal*, II (March, 1928), 183; Wan, *op. cit.*, pp. 81–88; and Chen Tsai-chang, *A Study of the Fluctuations of Population in Chinese History* (in Chinese) (Chungking: Commercial Press, 1946), pp. 12–20.

[15] Wan, *op. cit.*, pp. 89–100.

[16] Mabel Ping-hua Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 174–76.

[17] For an evaluation of Wang Mang's programs see Wan, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–10.

[18] In A.D. 57 the population figure as given in the records drawn was twenty-one million, one-

Since the fundamental problems were in no sense solved, it took only a century before the agrarian situation became again so bad as to produce a new crisis. Outcries for land reform arose again. Many of the literati, who saw no point in restoring the old *ching t'ien* system per se, moderated their program by demanding that a limit be set to the maximum amount of land that might be owned by one family.[19] When these moderate demands also failed to exert any influence, the Han Empire was gradually disintegrating and engulfed in the seething turmoil of peasant revolts.

The downfall of the two great Han empires, following the inability of the intellectuals to bring about land reform, was too great a warning to be ignored by later rulers. In A.D. 477 an edict was issued by Wei Hsiao Wen-ti commanding that all lands be classified into two categories, open field and mulberry land, both of them to be assigned to individual families according to the sex and age of their members. The allotment of mulberry land was in the nature of permanent ownership, but the open field, and also hemp land, was to be returned to the government when the assignee died or for other reasons was unable to use it. No transfer of landed property was permitted. Taxation paid in kind and in labor was also regulated in accordance with the allotment of lands. It was proclaimed that "the idea is to utilize the full strength of the people and also the full benefit of the soil."[20] This system of public distribution of land and of taxation, lasting for a period of three centuries, was maintained with some minor changes throughout five dynasties and eventually in A.D. 645 was introduced without modification into Japan as the Tai-Kwa and later Taiho Statutes.[21] In A.D. 722 it was adopted by Korea as the so-called "*jung-jun* system."[22]

It should be noted that in comparison with *ching t'ien*, this system, known in history as *chün t'ien* (the "land equalization system"), embraces the principles of equitable land distribution and also of peasant cultivation and proprietorship. However, the fundamental difficulty inherent in the system is the population, whose increase may result in such pressure that the government will have no land left to distribute. Furthermore, an efficient administration is necessary to the carrying-out, from time to time, of land allocation. When the administration of the great Tang Empire was weakened by rebellions, the land system deteriorated to such a degree that both powerful nobles and plebeians openly encroached on the peasants' allotments and exacted a rental amounting to twenty times the tax.[23] Aware of this situation, Premier Yang Yen abolished, though not without meeting strong protests, the *chün t'ien* system and established in its stead the so-called "biannual tax system," which gave recognition of the status quo and aimed only at an increase of public revenue and a check on official embezzlement.[24] This was done in the year A.D. 780, and from then on public landownership has never been revived.

After the reinstatement of private landownership, the rulers of the later dynasties were constantly confronted with two internal threats: the increase in numbers of population and the development of latifundia. A notable fact is that the longest dynasties could not outlive a ten-generation growth of

third as much as it was fifty-six years before. However, only a century later it was fifty million (cf. Lieu and Chen, *op. cit.*, p. 183; and Chen, *op. cit.*, pp. 18–20).

[19] Wan, *op. cit.*, pp. 110–15.

[20] Mabel Ping-hua Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 213–16, and Huang, *op. cit.*, pp. 42–43.

[21] Yosaburo Takekoshi, "Land Tenure in China and Japan," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, IX, 116.

[22] Hoon K. Lee, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–46. It is extremely interesting to note that in explaining the nature of this system the author says: "The fundamental principles underlying the land system were: (1) land should be given to the cultivators; (2) equality should be the guiding rule in allotting land; (3) all lands should be under public control so as to restrict private activities; and (4) an equal tax on all lands should be levied. The present land system in Soviet Russia revived in many respects these principles."

[23] Wan, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

[24] *Ibid.*, pp. 233–38.

population.[25] In the late period of almost every dynasty there would be a repetition of what had occurred so often before: (1) an agrarian movement carried on by the literati would fail to achieve any substantial reforms; (2) famine and pestilence would become widespread; and (3) peasant uprisings (or barbarian invasions) would succeed in overthrowing the existing regime. To sum up the situation, it seems quite pertinent to say that "upheavals in China have been frequent and the land question is at the bottom of a good many."[26]

In the period of the so-called "Taiping rebellion" in 1850, a reform program was proclaimed by the revolutionary regime at Nanking which attempted to equalize landownership and alleviate the plight of the peasants. This rebellion, though defeated by waging fifteen years of incessant bloody war, effectively helped to reduce the numbers of population and had the result of to some extent relieving the agrarian crisis.[27] It thus provided a breathing spell for the tottering Tsing Dynasty. Up to the turn of the present century, the overthrow of the ultraconservative Manchu rule gave impetus to a number of agrarian programs. Sun Yat-sen, a returned student, perspicacious and patriotic, absorbed what he studied at home and abroad to develop a political doctrine known later as his "three principles of the people." He was the first national leader who endeavored to unify both the intellectuals and the peasants into a single revolutionary movement. He advocated two fundamental goals: the equalization of landownership[28] and peasant cultivation and proprietorship, that is, "each tiller possesses his own fields."[29] These two issues, together with the adoption of a progressive land tax, which he favored, are seen to be entirely in accord with the principles implied in the *ching t'ien* system and also in all the traditional agrarian movements.

In 1926, a year after the death of Sun Yat-sen, the North Expedition was launched at Canton, a city which, owing to its early contact with the West, had long since become the center of revolutionary activities. Coupled with other political measures, a Department of Peasant Affairs was set up in the then coalition revolutionary regime of the Nationalists and Communists to direct political agitation and agrarian movements in relation to the peasants.[30] One of the commissars working in this department and other organs was a young, resourceful, and resolute Communist named Mao Tse-tung, who later was to become the theorist and strategist of the party and a popular leader of the nation.[31]

In the expeditionary campaign, wherever the revolutionary forces arrived, the peasants were incited and organized into associations to fight against the landlords and gentry. Both rates of interests on loans and rents were reduced. The agrarian programs, even without land redistribution, were extremely successful in southern provinces, where the percentage of landless peasants was high.[32] However, in 1927, all revolutionary reform programs, agrarian or otherwise, came to a sudden standstill when Chiang Kai-shek turned the armed forces under his command against both the left-wing Nationalists and the Communists. Just how the National Revolution of 1927 was "defeated" is still a subject of contro-

[25] The two Sung dynasties combined lasted only 316 years (A.D. 960–1276); the Ming Dynasty, 275 years (1368–1845); and the Tsing Dynasty, 267 years (1644–1911).

[26] Friedrich Otte, "Sketch of Chinese Agricultural Policy," *Chinese Economic Journal*, I (December, 1927), 1015.

[27] Chen, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–51.

[28] Sun Yat-sen, *San Min Chu I* ("The Three Principles of the People"), trans. Frank W. Price (Shanghai: China Institute, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1927), p. 431.

[29] *Ibid.*, p. 456.

[30] Cf. J. D. H. Lamb, "Development of the Agrarian Movement and Agrarian Legislation in China" (Peiping: Yenching University, 1931) pp. 25–35.

[31] Cf. Robert Payne, *Mao Tse-tung, Ruler of Red China* (New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950).

[32] Mao Tse-tung, *Report of a Survey on Agrarian Movement in Hunan* (in Chinese) (3d ed.; Harbin: Northeastern Book Shop, 1948), pp. 1–36.

versy in China as well as abroad.[33] It is nevertheless a fact that when in 1928 Chiang set up the Nationalist government, he and his supporters pigeonholed all programs for social reform[34] and put an end to progressive agrarian measures.[35] The Nationalists' Land Law, promulgated in 1930, contained all the good ideas about land reforms, indeed, but its enforcement was never carried out.

When the Communists were expelled from the government, they took with them the agrarian programs. In the small Red region of southern Kiangsi which they occupied in the early thirties, the land reforms that were put into effect did practically nothing beyond the two principles advocated by Sun Yat-sen.[36] It was only after the Japanese invasion of North China that the Communist party at Yenan, northern Shensi, modified its program of land confiscation so as to suit the taste of the Nationalists in order to form a united front for fighting against the Japanese.

After the war with Japan was over, however, the Communists in 1946 shifted back again to their revolutionary agrarian programs.[37] Meanwhile, having won over the peasant support in war collaboration and activities, they were firmly intrenched in the vast North China Plain, a region which is traditionally well known for its conservatism and good soldiers, and ready to wrest national power from the Nationalist government.[38] The agrarian reforms they have adopted have been generally carried on in two steps: (1) rent and interest-rate

[33] Cf. Hua Kang, *History of the Great Revolution in China, 1925–1927* (in Chinese) (Shanghai: Tsun-tsing Book Shop, 1932); Leon Trotsky, *Problems of Chinese Revolution*, trans. Max Schachtman (New York: Pioneer Publishers, 1932); and N. N. Roy, *Revolution and Counter-Revolution in China* (Calcutta: Renaissance Publishers, 1946).

[34] Cf. Kurt Bloch, "Warlordism: A Transitory Stage in Chinese Government," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (March, 1938), 694–95. Dr. Bloch was economist and financial adviser from 1933 to 1937 to the Nationalist government.

[35] Not only revolutionary measures but also a mere 25 per cent rent reduction program which had been started in a few provinces was stopped for good, owing apparently to the opposition of the landowning gentry, who gained the upper hand in the Nationalist government. Cf. Chang Pei-yu and Wang Yin-yuan, *Farm Tenancy Problems of China* (in Chinese) (Chungking: Commercial Press, 1943), pp. 18–20; Chee Kwon Chun, "Agrarian Unrest and the Civil War in China," *Land Economics*, XXVI (February, 1950), 21–22.

[36] It is interesting to note that this small Red region is exactly located in the boundary between Kiangsi and Fukien, where Fu I-ling found sixty-seven peasant revolts within some one hundred and eighty years (see n. 5). In 1936 the writer made an on-the-spot investigation of the agrarian situation there. Meanwhile, evacuation of the main Red armed forces had completely taken place, although guerrillas, still hiding in small bands in the jungles of the mountain ranges, harassed communication lines. The so-called "pacification programs" carried on under the direct supervision of Chiang's military headquarters were nothing but the taking-back of the paddy fields already allotted to the peasants and the restoring of ownership to the erstwhile landlords or "lentlords."

[37] A land law was adopted and promulgated in September, 1947, by the Communist party containing briefly sixteen articles. The fundamental purpose of this law, as prescribed in Article 1, is to replace the system permitting feudal or semifeudal exploitation with a system under which every tiller possesses his own field. But in the recently promulgated Agrarian Reform Law, however, the version of the purpose was changed to read (Article 1): "The landownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class shall be abolished, and the system of peasant landownership shall be carried into effect in order to set free the rural productive forces, develop agricultural production, and pave the way for the industrialization of the new China." The full text of the Agrarian Reform Law was reprinted in July 15 (1950) issue of *China Weekly Review*, pp. 124–26.

[38] Consult such field reports made by Claire and William Band in *Two Years with the Chinese Communists* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948) and Jack Belden in *China Shakes the World* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949). To this point, one question may be raised as to how much the Russian aid at that time may have contributed to the Communist military victory in North China and Manchuria. Since no firsthand, adequate information is available, the statement made recently by Derk Bodde is worth quoting. It reads: "Materially, indeed, whatever aid the Communists may have received from the Russians in Manchuria or elsewhere has been infinitesimal compared with the billions which we have vainly poured into the other side" (see *Peking Diary, a Year of Revolution* [New York: Henry Schuman, Inc., 1950], p. 263). Dr. Bodde, as a Fulbright fellow, stayed in Peking throughout the period of political change from September, 1948, to August, 1949.

reduction[39] and (2) land confiscation and redistribution. The latter is done through the peasants' association which comprises hired men, tenants, and small farm proprietors but no rich peasants or landlords. Great estates of the absentee landlords and bureaucrats and the excessive amount of land (i.e., the amount in excess of the ability to operate by the family's labor) owned by rich peasants are expropriated and allotted to landless peasants according to the number of persons in the family.[40] Although no hiring of agricultural labor is permitted, with the approval of the local authorities leasing out or even sale of farm land can be arranged, owing to the Communist policy of encouraging peasants to go to the cities.

In considering the present political development in China, one must bear in mind the fact that it is not easy, perhaps impossible, to introduce something entirely alien to the Chinese people, who are rich in cultural heritages and strongly conscious of their national pride. As for the Communist land reforms, however, the records of agrarian history, as indicated above, are indisputably in favor of such changes. Judged from the repeated declarations by Communist leaders that there will be no second land redistribution after the present one is done, their program apparently has not gone so far as the land systems advocated or practiced in history, although they never hide their ultimate goal of land nationalization and agricultural collectivization.[41] Since the emphasis of the present program is primarily placed on distribution rather than on equality of physical units, the new land system may be relevantly termed the *fen t'ien* (the "land allocation system"), along the line of the *ching t'ien* and the *chün t'ien* in past history.

Agrarian reforms alone constitute no over-all solution to China's age-old socio-economic predicament. The measure of land redistribution, though drastic and revolutionary as it may appear, may have expelled *temporarily* one of the two periodically haunting specters—an uneven distribution of landownership—but the shadow of the other—overpopulation—still hovers over China's good earth. Since the present population figure is estimated by government leaders at an unprecedented height of 475 million, it seems that the success or failure of the new regime will largely hinge upon its ability to carry on industrialization efficiently and rapidly enough so that the benefits gained from it would not be entirely absorbed by the increased numbers of the people.[42] To this point, perhaps, we have to wait for the future to provide a pertinent answer.

It may be pointed out that during the last half-century the agrarian movement in China has gradually become directed toward absentee landlords and bureaucrats rather than petitioning to the emperor or ruler for land reforms. The fact to be discussed in detail elsewhere[43] may be briefly mentioned in passing: that the first effect of the introduction of Western civilization and a money

[39] The fact, ironical to the Nationalists, is that what the Communists carry on is exactly the same 25 per cent rent-reduction program which was passed by the Kuomintang in 1926 and adopted in its land law in 1930. In spite of the fanfare which the Nationalists had given it, the program has remained on paper for the last twenty-five years.

[40] The new regime in Peking promulgated on June 30, 1950, the new Agrarian Reform Law modifying the measure toward the rich peasant. The law contains six sections and forty articles. Article 6 reads, in part: "Land owned by rich peasants and cultivated by them or by hired labor, and their other properties, shall not be infringed upon. Small portions of land rented out by rich peasants may be requisited with the approval of the people's government at provincial or higher levels." The landless or poor peasants so affected are to be granted loans for compensation.

[41] Mao Tse-tung *et al.*, *On the Present Situation and Our Tasks: Standard Edition* (East China: Liberation Publishers, 1948), pp. 11–16, 35–71, and 88–119.

[42] Reports received recently from China seem to indicate that the People's Government in Peking has put every bit of energy in the carrying-out of a gigantic program of industrialization which calls for the restoration of the prewar level of production in 1950 and the undertaking of a five-year plan of national construction beginning at 1951.

[43] Cf. the writer's doctoral dissertation entitled "Social Implications of Farm Tenancy in China," submitted to the Department of Sociology, the University of Chicago, 1950.

economy into China is the substitution of imported manufactured goods in great quantities for the homemade handicrafts. In this slow but steady process, the peasant's income has been lowered and rural economy drained, both of which bring forth a ruthless operation of usury, which, in turn, results inevitably in the peasant's loss of his farm. Furthermore, the new luxuries and comforts of Westernized urban life have, together with the increased rural disturbances due to impoverishment, effectively attracted the wealthy landlords and gentry to seek residence in the cities, and, consequently, the outlay so enlarged on the part of the absentee landlords and also the bureaucrats has to be met by raising their demands from the peasants in terms of rent, interest, or tax. It is from this point of view that the present Communist-led agrarian movement in China takes the form of a rural-urban conflict, the form characterized by Alvin Johnson as a true agrarian movement.

However, to say this is not to say much. The Communists are certainly no agrarianists per se; their fundamental aim is to industrialize the country and to foster a proletarian class which will lead the nation to socialism. If a peasant revolt may be called "the green rising" and a labor movement "the red rising," to use G. K. Chesterton's terminology,[44] the present social upheaval in China appears to be a bold attempt to combine these two, with the former encouraging the latter. The significance of its political triumph is that it has set up an outstanding example for the Communists in other countries of the Orient of how a revolution can be fought and won by co-ordinating and directing these two risings into an efficient campaign.[45]

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[44] Quoted from Bizzell, *op. cit.*, pp. 3–4.

[45] For instance, on return from an inspection tour from Southeast Asia, Anthony Eden wrote in an article to the *New York Times* dated January 20, 1950, that "the overwhelming triumph of Mao Tse-tung in China had transformed the whole position in the Far East. His methods have now become the blueprint for Communist plans and the pattern for Communist action throughout the Orient" (p. 3).

URBANISM AND POPULATION DISTRIBUTION IN CHINA[1]

FENTON KEYES

ABSTRACT

In China "most urban" is often contiguous to "most rural," while congestion is both a rural and an urban characteristic, with city growth and problems frequently increasing due to migrants from the country. Authorities disagree on the proportion of urban residents, but, depending on the region, they may total 10–29 per cent. Although industrialization appears remote and the Communists are committed to agrarian reform, it is likely that there will be an increase in the urban net as the Chinese co-operate with Russia on plans for the modernization of China and its integration with Russia and the Far East.

In the hope that it will result in a clearing-away of impedimenta, this paper is a preliminary investigation of community size and urbanization, undertaken as a prerequisite to the investigation of conditions in the field. The cultural factors are emphasized together with the strictly demographic because of the scanty amount of reliable statistical data in existence.[2] The problem of studying China's urban group, which is larger than the total population of many countries of the world, is complicated by a condition which is not confined to the Orient and which occurs in this country as well. In China it is often difficult to determine where villages merge into towns or towns into cities. In America the correlation of size with urban phenomena is more apparent, and the concomitants of population aggregation can be predicted with some degree of accuracy.[3] However, in both countries there is a common cultural thread which extends from the smallest community to the largest. The evidence of the continuum is an indication of the fact that cities and their related hinterlands comprise a functional whole, the smaller places in the hinterland possessing, in turn, subregions of their own.[4]

POPULATION DENSITY AND URBANIZATION

It is a commentary upon the divergence of the cultures of the United States and China that the areas surrounding population centers should be diametrically different. Industrialized America has extensive built-up suburbs around large cities which until recently were unrealistically classified

[1] Paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society held in Boston, April 22–23, 1950.

[2] The available information in English was studied, and the writer has drawn upon his observations and travels in China during the period December, 1944—April, 1946, when, as Chief Historical Officer, China Theater, he became acquainted with each major natural area of the country and was able to compare conditions in China with those in Burma and India.

[3] Fenton Keyes, "The Correlation of Social Phenomena with Community Size" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Yale University, 1942), *passim.*

[4] The larger the place, the farther its attraction is felt because it has more business and commercial facilities to offer. Valuable in this connection are L. H. Dudley Buxton, *China, the Land and the People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929), pp. 135–59; Owen Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1950), pp. 152–222. For information on Shanghai's orientation to the economic life of its hinterland see John E. Orchard, "Shanghai," *Geographical Review*, XXVI, No. 3 (July, 1936), 1–31; Ching-lin Hsia, *The Status of Shanghai* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1929), *passim;* Robert W. Barnett, *Economic Shanghai: Hostage to Politics, 1937–1941* (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1941), pp. 144–93. For studies at the other end of the urban spectrum see, *inter alia*, Chiao Chi Ming, *Mapping the Rural Community* ("Misc. Series," No. 4 [Nanking: University of Nanking], 1924), *passim;* Feng Rui and Yung Ping-hang, "A General Descriptive Survey of the Honan Island Village Community," *Lignan Science Journal*, X, Nos. 2 and 3 (August, 1931), 153–86; George B. Cressey, "The Fenghsien Landscape: A Fragment of the Yangtze Delta," *Geographical Review*, XXVI, No. 3 (July, 1936), 396–413; Ching-kun Yang, *A North China Local Market Economy* (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944), *passim.*

as rural because the "Census Bureau had only recognized political boundaries to follow."[5] Subsequent study of the problem developed the concepts of the "urban fringe" and the "urbanized area" to designate the densely populated unincorporated suburbs around large cities. In China, on the other hand, the situation is quite different. As a general thing, the most concentrated and highly developed agriculture is just outside the walls of cities, because night soil is the most important Chinese fertilizer and can be obtained in the largest quantities from cities. Land fertilized by generous amounts of night soil is extremely productive.[6] Winfield's description is graphic:

> The flow of nitrogen and other plant foods in the form of grain and produce from farms to cities and the return flow of feces from the cities back to the farm for use as fertilizers has resulted in a series of zones of fertility around the cities.... From an airplane, the city appears to be the center of a green oasis which fades gradually to the brown of the distant countryside. For centuries soil fertility has been built up near cities at the expense of foods brought to market from more distant zones.[7]

Because of these unusual ecological conditions, "the transition from the twentieth century to the Ming dynasty is often merely a matter of a few steps. Within sight of each other one may see huge modern factories and simple farmhouses thatched with straw."[8] As a result, areas which fall in the "most urban" category are often contiguous to those in the "most rural" classification. One can see that "to speak of a high or low density of population without reference, not only to the cultivated area, but also to the fertility and general character of that area, is of course meaningless."[9]

It can be seen that because of the extremely high density in many rural areas, congestion does not necessarily imply urbanization. Where the rural population is crowded together, urban figures lose much of their significance. The Famine Commission investigations in the rice-growing provinces of Chekiang and Kiangsu found the number of inhabitants to the square mile varying from 980 to 6,880.[10] In Shantung figures range from 1,800 to 3,000 and in the northern wheat-growing province of Chihli from 550 to 2,010. In the county of Fenghsien, twenty miles south of Shanghai, near the edge of the growing Yangtze Delta, Cressey found a population density of about 2,050 per square mile. Population was evenly distributed except for a few urban centers. Cressey stated: "The average population density of the Yangtze Plain, which includes all the level land below Ichang, is 1,277 to a square mile. In many parts of the delta this figure is doubled, as in the island of Tsungming in the Yangtze estuary, where there are 2,873 people for each square mile."[11] Buck found an average for China of 504, with the lowest density in the spring-wheat area (65) and the highest

[5] Henry S. Shryock, Jr., "Opportunities for Social Research in the 1950 U.S. Census of Population," *American Sociological Review*, XV, No. 3 (June, 1950), 420.

[6] Owen Lattimore, *Inner Asian Frontiers of China* (New York and London: Oxford University Press, 1940), p. 394. Discussing the symbiotic relationship between the urban residents and the farm lands contiguous to the city, F. H. King estimates that each million city dwellers account for more than 13,000 pounds of nitrogen, 2,700 pounds of phosphorus, and almost 4,500 pounds of potassium in the daily night-soil content (*Farmers of Forty Centuries* [New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., n.d.], pp. 75, 171–76); cf. Lattimore, *Pivot of Asia*, pp. 165–66.

[7] Gerald F. Winfield, *China: The Land and the People* (New York: William Sloane Associates, 1948), pp. 45–46; see also John Lossing Buck, *Land Utilization in China* (Nanking: University of Nanking, 1937), pp. 132, 143–44.

[8] George Babcock Cressey, *China's Geographic Foundations* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1934), p. 9.

[9] Ta Chen, *Emigrant Communities in South China* (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), p. 25.

[10] Walter H. Mallory, *China: Land of Famine* (New York: American Geographical Society, 1926), p. 15.

[11] Cressey, "Fenghsien Landscape," *op. cit.*, p. 402.

in the Yangtze rice-wheat area (974). Considering the density per square mile of crop area, Buck says:

> The density varies for the different agricultural areas from 858 in the Spring Wheat Area, where climate, soil, and topography are unfavorable for agriculture, to 2,636 in the Southwestern Rice Area where products from public lands make possible a dense population per square mile of crop area. Products from hill lands and a longer growing season explain the higher density of population of over 1,700 in the Rice Region, compared with that of over 1,100 in the Wheat Region. The densities for individual localities range from 212 in the Winter Wheat-Kaoling Area to 4,372 in the Southwestern Rice Area.[12]

In large measure, the high density areas result from an enormous population in the country as a whole, with only about one-fifth of the land suitable for agriculture at the present state of technology. Furthermore, a considerable amount of tillable land in use for farmsteads, roads, boundaries, ponds, and graves; for pasture; for woodland; for wooded pasture for fuel (grass and bushes); and for water area other than ponds, such as ditches, streams, and canals. In all China, the authorities now agree, there is only an inconsiderable amount of good land available for agriculture which has not yet been exploited or which could be cultivated economically.[13]

In spite of the existence of crowded rural districts, the densest population is in the towns and cities. Highest density is found where there is level, fertile land, other things being equal. The North China and Yangtze plains, with the two highest regional densities, have the greatest number of towns and cities and are, in fact, the most important areas of China, economically and politically.[14] Transportation routes and administrative centers affect the location of population concentrations and frequently offset unfavorable economic conditions.[15] Urban places tend to be relatively small in area because of the high population in proportion to the amount of fertile land. Also, it is a propensity of town and city sites to remain constant, particularly when walled. If a town or city has persisted, one can often trace its location back many centuries, to its settlement by military colonizers, not more than one or two days' cart travel from neighboring "compartments."[16] In the South Yangtze hills in particular, although in many other sections as well, human activities are restricted to the valley bottoms. As Cressey points out:

> The population is concentrated in strips on either side of the stream. Many villages are elongated with one or two main streets parallel with the stream or highway. . . . The concen-

[12] *Land Utilization in China*, p. 365.

[13] For summary of opinions see A. Kaiming Chiu, "Agriculture," in Harley Farnsworth MacNair (ed.), *China* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1946), pp. 466–70; John Lossing Buck, *Some Basic Agricultural Problems of China* (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1947), pp. 6–7.

[14] For graphic illustration of this see the correlation between the map, "Political Pattern," p. 41, and the map, "Population Problems," p. 43, in George Babcock Cressey, *Asia's Lands and Peoples* (New York and London: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1944); cf. Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, *The Government and Politics of China* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 10–11.

[15] Some towns and cities of importance are found which are predominantly "inland ports for the road traffic. These ports either serve as a place where one commodity is exchanged for another or mark more definitely the end of a long, perhaps desert journey" (Buxton, *op. cit.*, p. 139). Tachienlu is an entrepôt city which marks the meeting place of caravans and of several trade routes. See also Lattimore's studies of Inner Asia as well as E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., n.d.), *passim;* and Ch'eng Hsin Chao, "An Ecological Study of China from Segmentation to Integration" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, April, 1933), *passim.*

[16] In his *Inner Asian Frontiers*, pp. 39–42 *et passim*, Lattimore describes the "style" of Chinese history as the extension of the frontier by a regional structure of compartments each with a walled city and enough adjacent farm land to make a convenient unit of local trade, exchange, and administration. Frequently the cities that achieved importance were those located a day's journey, a "stage," from capitals, entrepôt cities, or other natural centers.

tration of the people in the valleys causes economic developments to follow the main rivers and extend up their tributaries. Detailed maps of population densities and economic interest would thus show a treelike pattern, but without leaves, for the hilly areas are practically uninhabited.[17]

The epitome of overfilled urban centers is a place like Canton, where scores of thousands live in boats, having spilled over on to the water because every scrap of land is in use. However, despite their shortcomings, cities attract residents because they are the traditional centers of government and business as well as defense against bandits and social unrest by virtue of inclosing walls and the presence of police and garrison troops. As a result, there is almost chronic urban congestion. Exceptions to this rule may occur in border regions or in places where wars or famines have caused mass evacuation or death.

THE CONSEQUENCES OF URBAN CONGESTION

So many people are attracted to cities that numerous problems result from congestion. "The city problems are not so much those created by the growth of factories and factory conditions as the more fundamental questions of finding employment, housing and decent environmental conditions for those who have crowded from an overpopulated countryside into these urban areas."[18] Unemployment or a substandard wage are frequently disastrous for the individual recently transplanted to urban life, in which family, clan, guild, and regional ties mean less than ever before. Even under the Chinese Reds, with their commitment to a planned economy and the destruction of the traditional administrator-landlord-banker-entrepreneur class, there will probably be a considerable time before effective measures can be devised to deal with the problems of urbanization resulting from the impact of Western industrialization. Overpopulation and the inevitable passage of time before productivity can be appreciably increased intensify the problems. Winfield's summary of urban crowding is a graphic one:

> The population density of Chinese cities is almost unbelievably high, especially since almost all houses are limited to one story. In Chengtu, some 600,000 people live in an area of less than twelve square miles inside the city wall, creating a density of 50,000 persons per square mile, as compared with about 22,500 per square mile in New York City. There are no such things as housing standards, and the accommodations in the worst slums of any American city are palatial compared to those occupied by the average . . . city dweller. . . . Residences are built around courtyards . . . arranged on narrow, dirty alleys flanked by high walls. These . . . become muck-filled rivulets when it rains.[19]

In industrial areas the single-room tenement serving as a living room, kitchen, and bedroom for one or more families is common. Dormitories are often overcrowded, with workers on different shifts obliged to share the bed and with families of from four to twelve persons crowded into two rooms. Only a few of the largest factories ever furnish housing for their employees. Complicating factors include wartime destruction and postwar increases in population, plus the continuous drift of labor from the rural areas, the shortage of building materials, and the uncertain business outlook resulting from the retarded economic recovery, the steady rise in the cost of construction, continuing inflationary pressure, and the burden of maintaining a huge standing army. Although urban problems are greatest in the congested coastal cities, conditions are comparable in inland cities of importance.

CHINA'S URBAN POPULATION

Official population figures in China are traditionally unreliable, and any attempt to determine its total urban population must resort to unofficial monographs.[20] It is Win-

[17] *China's Geographic Foundations*, pp. 326–37.

[18] J. B. Condliffe, *China Today: Economic* (Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1932), p. 85.

[19] *Op. cit.*, pp. 88–89.

[20] Min-ch'ien T. Z. Tyau, *Two Years of Nationalist China* (Shanghai: Kelly & Walsh, 1930), pp.

field's opinion that, "including those living in market towns, China's city dwellers form a vast group of over 100 million people—equal to more than two-thirds the entire population of the United States."[21] There is evidence that some of the studies tend to underestimate the urban population. A 1930 monograph emphasized the significance of a chamber of commerce as usually reflecting a size and importance which would justify urban status. The author said: "We may, with a fair degree of probability, assume that all the 2,335 localities possessing chambers of commerce should be classed as towns, and quite possible [*sic*], there is an additional number of populous commercial centers deserving the same rank although not as yet provided with chambers of commerce."[22] The number of places described as "towns" in the *Post Office Statistics* of 1920 was 1,910. An old China Hand has given his approval to the statement that "there are in China eighteen hundred walled cities."[23] All students of the problem have encountered the difficulty which Torgasheff has summarized as follows: "In assembling the population figures by towns, those with less than 25,000 inhabitants each were found to be most inaccurate . . . unevenly distributed by province and . . . casual in sources of information."[24] These smaller places and Arnold's quasi-cities, the "tens of thousands of walled villages," blur the beginnings of the spectrum of urbanization. The hundreds of market towns further complicate the problem of analysis, because they have both rural and urban features and, like many even larger places, lose a portion of their inhabitants each day when they go to till their fields in the surrounding countryside.

Buck's studies led him to conclusions that may be grounds for a rural-urban breakdown. He states that, although official data of 1932–33 classified 75 per cent of all households as rural and "most observers" believed that the rural population constituted 80–85 per cent of the total, his sample data in 1929–33, from 168 *hsien*, gave a distribution of 79 per cent in farm villages and hamlets, 11 per cent in market towns (where part of the population was engaged in agriculture), and 10 per cent in cities. The sparsest distribution of city dwellers was 5 per cent in the Yangtze rice-wheat area, with 12 per cent living in the market towns and 83 per cent in farm villages and hamlets. The highest concentration of city dwellers was 18 per cent in the spring-wheat area, with 8 per cent (the lowest found in any of his eight areas) in market towns and 74 per cent in farm villages and hamlets. In the double-cropping rice area 18 per cent lived in cities, but an appreciably higher proportion (11 per cent) of the population lived in market towns, leaving only 71 per cent in farm villages and hamlets. This would indicate not only a very dense population but an even higher degree of urbanism than in the spring-wheat region, since market towns would appear to fall more readily in the urban bracket than in the farm village and hamlet category. Lumping cities and market towns together, one finds that urban residents comprise from 16 to 29 per cent and residents of farm villages and hamlets from 71 to 84 per cent, depending upon the type of agricultural region. Buck feels that the farm population of the eight areas of China considered in his study amounts to between 400 and 600 million, so it is legitimate to posit considerable urban population for China as a whole.

Examining Torgasheff's groupings of city places, one finds the 467 cities he lists as

88–90, 412–15; Condliffe, *op. cit.*, p. 90; D. K. Lieu, *China's Industries and Finance* (Peking: Bureau of Economic Information, 1927), chap. iii *et passim*.

[21] *Op. cit.*, p. 83.

[22] B. P. Torgasheff, "Town Population in China," *China Critic*, III (April 3, 1930), 319.

[23] Julean Arnold, "The Commercial Problems of China," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CLII (November, 1930), 142.

[24] *Op. cit.*, p. 319; cf. Ch'eng, *op. cit.*, p. 57: "With the exception of . . . cities under the influence of western culture even places of more than 25,000 population resemble, in ecological structure, the village community. . . . Most . . . are nothing more than conglomerations of villages."

having 25,000 or more inhabitants broken down as follows: 112 cities of 100,000 and over with a total population of 30,880,400; 178 cities with from 50,000–100,000 population and a total of 11,356,400; and 177 cities with from 25,000 to 50,000 persons and a total of 8,064,700. His study attempted to list specific city places, and none were included which could not be specified by name and the size determined. He felt that the 50,000–100,000 group should probably include somewhere between 400 and 500 communities instead of 178. Let us arbitrarily take the figure 450 and hypothesize a population of 50,000 for the added 272 communities. This adjustment would add 13,600,000 for a total urban population in 739 cities over 25,000 of 63,901,500. Torgasheff himself feels a certain incompleteness in his figures, because, in addition to suggesting omissions in his 50,000–100,000 group, he comments that it is his "belief that China's town population is at present hardly less than 100,000,000, that is not less than twenty per cent of its population." In support of this claim he draws attention to a supposed urban population in Kwantung Province of between 40 and 45 per cent and one of 32 per cent in Kiangsu Province. A 1929 study, quoted by Tyau, which assumed the population of China to be just under 463 million, reported that 25.2 per cent of the households were nonfarm. Assuming that the average household consisted of 4½ persons, they arrived at an urban population of 64,284,313.

Tawney concludes that Torgasheff's estimate is too high and that a total of 75 million would be nearer the truth.[25] But in his opinion, as well, the urban population forms between 16 and 20 per cent of the total. In another study, reprinted by Condliffe, he reported that in the east-central, the northeast, and the north of China the percentage of households which were nonfarm were, respectively, 26, 21.5, and 16.

Because they show only a static picture, urban statistics fail to reflect the dynamic nature of Chinese urbanism. Under the impact of Westernization, in the last years of the Empire, and under the Republic, many places jumped into prominence when they gained significance as industrial centers. Some of these newly important places are on the coast and along the river valleys, where the export-import trade is an important economic factor or where overseas remittances from absent relatives are a significant source of income. Others have sprung up as the result of the extension of railroads and highways, particularly at junctions of trunk lines. This was especially noticeable in Manchuria, where point settlements developed along rail lines during the rush of immigration. In recent years the great historic towns, often former capitals like Peiping (Peking), Nanking, Hangchow, Kaifeng, Loyang, Sian, and Soochow, have been overtaken and passed by such cities as Shanghai, Hangkow, Tientsin, Dairen, Canton, Hong Kong, and Amoy, all of which were foci of Western influences and forces. However, it must be emphasized that internal migration played an appreciable role in the shifts in urban importance. Ta Chen has summarized the principal aspect of this as follows:

> Internally the commonest kind of migration, which has been in progress for several decades, is the rural-urban movement, which involves an unending exodus of the young people from the villages to the cities. To the cities in the river valleys and along the seacoast, such as Shanghai, Wusih, Hankow, Canton, and Tientsin, continuous streams of migrants have come from their homes in the hinterland villages. The cityward drift of population is persistent and quite widespread.[26]

A by-product of the impact of Westernization has been a certain amount of cul-

[25] R. H. Tawney, *Land and Labour in China* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1937), p. 110.

[26] *Population in Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), p. 57; see also Research Staff of the Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, *Agrarian China* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1939), pp. 18–21, 247–51; and Eleanor M. Hinder, *Life and Labor in Shanghai* (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944), pp. 68, 81–86, 127–28.

tural disorganization followed by processes of readaptation. Frequently distressing maladjustments and hardships have led to migration in hopes of effecting better economic conditions. Although some of the migrants sought to improve their lot in Manchuria and the Northwest, in Buck's study "fifty-nine per cent of the emigrant families moved to cities, the majority to work, or as refugees." Temporary migrations caused by seasonal unemployment or by failure of crops add to this drift to the towns. Refugee migrants provide cheap and abundant pools of labor which, in turn, accelerate municipal growth and thereby increase the attraction of the community not only in the immediately adjacent countryside but in the hinterland for many days' journey around. War, flood, famine, social unrest, seasonal unemployment, and the hasty implementing of Communist doctrines have underlain much of the astonishing urban growth of the last four decades. It can be seen that there is the "pull" of many city places, in view of their modernization and programs of economic reconstruction, their remittances from overseas Chinese, and the prevalence of security, law, and order. Furthermore, there is an appreciable "push" of the country toward the more urban places because of overpopulation, disorganized economic conditions, floods, and famines. Thus the importance of migrations to urban growth cannot be overlooked.

THE FUTURE OF CHINESE URBANISM

Under the Communist regime what is the future of the large cities? Will urbanism be encouraged or discouraged? Is there a possibility of a program based upon regionalism? The Chinese Marxist leaders of today are ambivalent on the subject of urbanism. On the one hand, they will concentrate on developing state-owned industrial centers in different parts of the country to be foci of urban settlement. On the other hand, their announced aim, at least since 1930, is to make the agrarian peasant play a role in the Middle Kingdom's revolution comparable to that of Russia's industrial workers.[27] Perhaps this is their single greatest contribution to Marxist theory. It is the logical result of years of guerrilla activity which has given them the view that, although the urban worker is important in creating a new society, the rural peasant is the principal factor in the revolution. In 1938 the Number One Communist stated in a speech that was studied by sympathizers and intellectuals all over China that

> the nature of the large cities and country villages in China today is very much different from those of any other capitalist nation. In a capitalist nation the city towers over the country villages. . . . But in a great modern semi-colonial nation, such as China today . . . although the large city occupies a leading position, it cannot exercise complete control over the villages and their surrounding country, because the city is small in comparison with the expanse of the country and its numerous villages. By far the greater amount of man power and material strength lies in the vast country, not in the city.[28]

This attitude may have the effect of freezing the rural picture substantially as it now exists. It is of interest in this connection that Buck has said: "China is, and must remain, an agricultural country in spite of all possible industrialization." The same authority concluded:

> Her resources, according to all present information, are scarcely enough for her own industrialization, although she may have surpluses for export of tin, tungsten, antimony and mercury. At best, she cannot expect to

[27] In Michael Lindsay, *Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China* (New York: International Secretariat, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950), p. 6, the historical background of this attitude is summarized. It is also of interest to note that the Chinese Communist party has given arms and military training to the peasantry on a scale which means that the party is committed to ruling in a way which will not antagonize the rural population (*ibid.*, p. 18).

[28] Mao Tse-tung, *The New Stage* (Chungking: New China Information Committee, 1938) pp. 25–26.

reduce her farm population to less than 50 per cent of her total population.[29]

The "ruralization" program of the Communists should not blind the observer to the urbanization program; there is plenty of evidence that many cities in key industrial and transportation areas will become more important than is now the case. In addition, it is likely that there will be attempts to augment farmers' incomes through the establishment of rural workshops, small-scale supplementary industries, and periods of work in urban factories during the slack farm season.[30] Despite a genuine and primary concern with the rural peasant and his community, it is significant that the training of science and engineering students is not neglected under the Communists' educational program; that others receive instruction in industrial and mining techniques; and that workmen's training classes have been set up in all industrial centers. The Communists are well aware that their model, Russia, has become strong through industrialization. This means programs of urbanization for Red China in the years to come.

At present the bulk of industrialization is centered in the coastal cities. Starting with the summer of 1949, the Communists have put on a concerted drive to evacuate people, educational institutions, and factories back from the water rims. As pronounced as the interior's lack of industrial centers is the need to relocate coastal factories now or until recently concentrated around Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton. The guidance of experienced foreign administrators and the investments by non-Chinese have been largely responsible for the growth and prosperity of these cities. Since they are far from raw materials, industry has had to look to foreign countries not merely for machinery but for staples which are in abundance in the interior and of which China is a leading producer. As a result of official help and financial aid, increased and improved electric power and transportation facilities, it is likely that both light and heavy industrial centers will develop in ever increasing numbers in each of the natural economic regions in China. Even preceding the completion of Communist plans for economic and urban development, the expulsion of foreign influences should force an end to the dominance of coastal cities, including Hong Kong.

We can anticipate not only additional cities in the urban net, widely distributed in terms of natural resources and regional needs, but also immediate action on the urban problem, which, as Peffer has pointed out, is actually "incomparably more complex" than even agrarian reform. As Peffer explains:

> Peasants can go on in their immemorial way for a long time no matter what happens, but even unindustrialized cities can be paralyzed when the normal flow of the economy is blocked or diverted. The wars and the inflation prostrated the cities. First of all, communications must be restored, so that food can come in and finished products go out in exchange. A currency must be introduced with enough backing to hold confidence. Production must be set in motion again so that men can earn a livelihood. All this must be done before a foundation can be laid for a new, modern industrial economy. In this respect the communists have not yet made much progress. . . . The communists have brought food into the cities—but only, it should be remarked, at the cost of what amount to forced levies on rural stocks.[31]

Despite the urgency to industrialize, the spread of urbanism must inevitably be slow, in view of the limited ability of the domestic

[29] *Some Basic Agricultural Problems in China*, p. 61.

[30] Hsiao-tung Fei and Chih-i Chang, *Earthbound China: A Study of Rural Economy in Yunnan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945), pp. 197–202; the Agrarian Reform Law promulgated in Peking, June 30, 1950, departed from policies of guerrilla days by protecting landlords' nonagricultural wealth in hopes they will invest it in industry and commerce; similarly, their urban and rural industrial holdings are to be untouched. Cf. Cheng Ch'eng-k'un, "Regionalism in China's Postwar Reconstruction," *Social Forces*, XXII, No. 1 (October, 1943), 1–20.

[31] Nathaniel Peffer, "China in the Long Haul," *Harper's Magazine*, CC, No. 1199 (April, 1950), 79.

market to absorb new manufactured goods because of the generally low standard of living together with a shortage of trained administrators and technicians. However, already negotiated loans and other programs of assistance from the U.S.S.R. should accelerate this long-overdue adjustment. At the very least we can expect trade and travel between the two countries to stimulate the appearance and rebirth of many communities in and near those areas in which Russian experts are working with Chinese officials to increase production and to broaden the economic base of the region. Railroad construction and the establishment of regular air routes should more closely tie together these areas with the rest of China as well as with Russia. The linking of Sinkiang, Tibet, and other frontier areas with the economies of both China and Russia inevitably will result in their more important and dynamic communities being added to the Chinese urban picture. One interesting by-product of the economic partnership between China and Russia will be, in effect, the weaving-together of their urban webs along the borders of the two countries. Like other satellite nations, China's trade has begun to flow through Russia to the rest of the world, including the United States.

There is a possibility that Chinese urbanism may be affected by China's intervention in other countries of the Far East. If Chinese aid to forces in revolt should assume significant proportions, it might involve railroad construction, port modernization, and a subsequent rise in importance of the communities affected. There is some evidence that China has designs not only on Korea but on Indochina, Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Nepal, and other neighbors as well. All in all, it appears that the next few decades will see more activity in the urban field than at any other time in China's history.

SKIDMORE COLLEGE

SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF ACTIVE UNIONISTS

TOIMI E. KYLLONEN

ABSTRACT

Clues to the functions actually served by a labor union are provided by comparison of other affiliations of active and inactive union members. Available data suggest that causes of union activity may lie in the union-management conflict, as is usually assumed. Activity in a labor union is similar to participation in other types of groups, with the notable exception of the family and kinship.

Sociological studies of labor unions thus far reported[1] have not provided adequate evidence on which to base an answer to the question: What functions does a labor union serve in the lives of its members? Such compilations of theories as Hartmann's *Industrial Conflict*[2] are less than completely satisfying because of the paucity of their specific evidence. The present study is designed as a contribution toward the answering of this question.

During the summer of 1950, interviews were conducted with 183 out of 208 employees "in the factory" of a mid-Missouri industrial plant making power- and communication-line equipment and tools. The plant is located in a town of approximately two thousand people. Questions asked during the interviews related primarily to membership and frequency of participation in social groups of three or more members. Of the 183 interviewed, 139 (71 per cent) said they were currently members of the local of IUE–CIO. Forty-six (33 per cent) of the union members said they attended union meetings at least once a month. The data which follow are based on an examination of the relative frequency with which persons of various social characteristics are found among those reporting regular monthly attendance at union meetings.

One union official estimated that average attendance at meetings is about forty. Methodologically it would be preferable to base the study on actual union attendance records. The advantage of using reported attendance at meetings as a measure of union activity is that it is fairly objective and readily available.

Personnel records were made available by the company. Pertinent data were complete on all questions of interest in this study for 116 out of the 139 union members. All of the 116 were employed continuously (i.e., without layoff) from June 1, 1949, to June 14, 1950. Interviewing was begun on the latter date.

The differences between the categories herein compared are in many instances statistically not significant. An alternative test of reliability, used here, is the consistency of direction of the findings.

OCCUPATIONS OF ACTIVE UNION MEMBERS

Many economists and some sociologists consider labor unions primarily conflict groups whose purpose is to wrest advantages from employers. If we assume that such is the case, we might expect active union members to be recruited more readily from the "have-nots," that is, from those lacking a favorable financial position. Table 1 shows that such is not the case in this local. Instead, the percentage of active union members rises steadily as the wage level rises, and the difference in percentage of active union members between the top and bottom

[1] Herbert A. Shepard, "Democratic Control in a Labor Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (January, 1949), 311–16; Caroline Baer Rose, "Morale in a Trade-Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (September, 1950), 167–74; Joseph Shister, "Trade-Union Government: A Formal Analysis," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LX (1945–46), 78–112.

[2] George W. Hartmann (ed.), *Industrial Conflict* (New York: Cordon, 1939).

wage levels is relatively small. These data tend to support the sociological principle that militancy is relatively more common among those who have already made some gains.[3]

Table 2 shows that among present members of the union the more active are those who have been in the union the longest. Those who joined the union recently are the least likely to attend meetings regularly. From one point of view the figures in Table 2 might be interpreted to indicate that those union members are most likely to be active who have seen the union gain them benefits over a long period of time.

It should not be assumed, however, that these active union members simply seek concessions without giving management something in return. Table 3 shows that they are most likely to come from the workers with the best production rating. Each worker's production rating is the ratio of his actual production to the standard rate established for that job classification by time-motion study. Not all job classifications lend themselves to establishment of incentive payments, and the figures in Table 3 relate only to those pay periods when the employees included were on incentive-paid work. The 116 union members covered by these data are those who were employed continuously (i.e., without any layoff) from June 1, 1949, to June 14, 1950. Employees with the "poorest" production rating are those who had a rating of 102 per cent of the standard or less for more pay periods than they had a higher rating. Employees with the "average" production rating had a rating of 103–10 per cent of the standard more often than they had either a higher rating or a lower one. Employees with the "best" production rating had a rating of 111 per cent or more of the standard more often than they had either an "average" rating or the "poorest" rating. Table 3 clearly suggests that workers who have the best production record are most likely to be active in the union.

Table 4 affords a further check on the conclusions suggested by Table 3. Approximately every three months each supervisor gives his written judgment on each employee under his jurisdiction. The judgments are

TABLE 1

PROPORTION OF UNION MEMBERS FROM EACH WAGE LEVEL ATTENDING UNION MEETINGS AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH

Hourly Wage	Total No.	No. Attending Once a Month	Percentage Attending Once a Month
$1.30–$1.89	44	17	39
$1.10–$1.29	39	14	36
$0.90–$1.09	33	11	33

TABLE 2

PROPORTION OF UNION MEMBERS ATTENDING UNION MEETINGS AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH, BY YEAR IN WHICH MEMBER JOINED THE UNION

Year Member Joined	Total No.	No. Attending Once a Month	Percentage Attending Once a Month
1947–50	34	4	12
1944–46	48	18	38
1942–43	56	24	43
No data	1	.....	.....

TABLE 3

PROPORTION OF UNION MEMBERS WITH SPECIFIED PRODUCTION RATINGS WHO ATTEND UNION MEETINGS AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH

Production Rating	Total No.	No. Attending Once a Month	Percentage Attending Once a Month
Poorest	44	13	30
Average	10	4	40
Best	38	17	45
No data	24	.....	.....

[3] Robin M. Williams, Jr., *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1947), p. 61.

indicated on a fifteen-point scale on each of eleven items. The rating dates are staggered, so that not all employees are reported on the same date. The latest rating reported was used in setting up Table 4. There is a noticeable central tendency and "halo" effect in the supervisors' judgments. Therefore data on only one item are reported here: "Quality of work." The figures in Table 4 indicate that those employees who turn out the highest quality of work are most likely to attend union meetings regularly.

One of the questions asked in the interviews was: "Do you do as some of the fellows do and get to work twenty minutes or half an hour early, and then sit around and talk a while before you start working?" The question was included as a measure of each worker's participation in informal, friendly groups around the plant. Of the 48 union members who say they do not get to work at least fifteen minutes early, 31 per cent say they attend union meetings every month. Of the 91 union members who say they do get to work at least fifteen minutes early every day, 34 per cent say they attend union meetings every month. The difference is smaller than that reported in other comparisons.

TABLE 4

PROPORTION OF UNION MEMBERS WHO ATTEND UNION MEETINGS AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH, BY LATEST MERIT RATING ON "QUALITY OF WORK"

Latest Rating on Quality of Work	Total No.	No. Attending Once a Month	Percentage Attending Once a Month
10–15	31	15	48
9	38	12	32
1–8	47	15	32

The data thus far reported suggest two general conclusions: (1) Active union members come from all wage levels, from all production-rating categories, from workers of a wide range of skills, from both union members of long standing and those who joined recently, and from both those who participate in informal groups around the plant and those who do not. (2) Workers on the higher wage levels, with higher production ratings, with higher merit ratings, and of longer union membership are the most likely to be active in the union. Active union members thus tend to represent the cream of the crop from management's point of view.

FAMILY AND KINSHIP AMONG ACTIVE UNION MEMBERS

The analysis of the interview data indicated that kinship plays a predominant role in the lives of these workers. The data were therefore examined to see if any relationship exists between active membership in a labor union, on the one hand, and membership and participation in kinship groups, on the other. The findings point consistently in one direction: those who lack a complete pattern of family-children-kin are more likely to be active members of the union. Burling, in a psychiatric analysis of labor unions, has suggested that a labor union may in fact function as a father to the individual worker.[4] While this may sound fantastic, the evidence to be reviewed here certainly tends to support the conclusion that those lacking in some way in family and kinship relationships are more likely, once in the union, to become active.

There is, first of all, the fact that single union members are more likely to be active than are married members. Out of 13 single men union members, 38 per cent attend union meetings every month; only 31 per cent of the 116 married men union members attend at least once a month. The same general pattern appears within the married category when the childless union members are compared with union members who have children. Of the 23 childless married union members, 11 (48 per cent) attend union meetings at least once a month; only 27 (28 per cent) out of 96 married union members with children attend at least once a month.

[4] Temple Burling, "Disruptive and Cohesive Forces in Job Situations," in Hartmann, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

Table 5 shows that the same pattern is also apparent when union members are compared on the basis of frequency of visiting with relatives or being visited by them. Table 5 shows that, the more often a union member visits with, or is visited by, relatives, the less likely he is to attend union meetings regularly. In the light of these figures it is easier to see why unions typically gain urban workers much more rapidly than workers in small-town factories: the person living in a small town usually is in closer communication with his kin.

TABLE 5

PROPORTION OF UNION MEMBERS ATTENDING MEETINGS AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH, BY FREQUENCY OF VISITS BY OR WITH RELATIVES

No. of Visits by or with Relatives	Total No.	No. Attending Once a Month	Percentage Attending Once a Month
Less than once a month	26	11	42
At least once a month	28	10	36
Once a week or more	85	25	29

TABLE 6

PROPORTION OF MARRIED ACTIVE UNION MEMBERS AMONG UNION MEMBERS IN EACH AGE CATEGORY

Age	Total No.	No. Attending Once a Month	Percentage Attending Once a Month
18–25	17	5	29
26–35	38	14	37
36–45	39	16	41
Over 45	22	1	5

Two lines of evidence seem to contradict the general conclusion suggested by the data just reviewed. Table 6 shows the proportion of active union members who are married among union members in each age category. Single men and all the women are excluded here because each category is too small to yield subcategory samples of any reliability. The proportion attending union meetings at least once a month increases from age eighteen to forty-five. This trend fits in with the previously reported finding that, the longer a man is a union member, the more likely he is to attend meetings regularly. But the figures are contrary to what we might expect from the analysis of family and kinship relationships, namely, that, as a man grows older, has children, and develops a well-established family pattern, his interest in the union declines. If we reason along this line, the results summarized in Table 6 run counter to expectations.

The extremely small percentage of active union members among those over the age of forty-five does not fit into the trend shown in the rest of Table 6. It is difficult to interpret this finding in any way that would be consistent with our previous conclusions. This datum does form a consistent pattern with the evidence to be considered in the next section on other social activities. There it will be shown that active union members are more likely to come from the ranks of those with energy to spare for other social activities. In line with that evidence we might reasonably expect older men to be less often active in the union.

TABLE 7

PROPORTION OF UNION MEMBERS ATTENDING AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH, BY DATE OF BIRTH OF YOUNGEST CHILD

Year of Birth of Youngest Child	Total No.	No. Attending Once a Month	Percentage Attending Once a Month
1945–50	38	12	31
1932–44	43	12	28
Before 1932	19	5	26

Also inconsistent with our previous conclusions is the situation presented in Table 7: the presence of very young children in the family goes with higher frequency of union attendance.

Preferable would be examination of each of these factors in turn, with the influence

of other factors held constant by experimental controls. Use of statistical methods of controlling factors, such as partial correlation, is impractical in a report such as this; Chapin and others have demonstrated that satisfactory use of experimental controls requires samples running into the thousands,[5] a procedure impossible in the present instance. A replication of the study in a large industrial plant, or large local of a union, would be desirable.

UNION ACTIVITY AS A SOCIAL ACTIVITY

The inconsistencies in the data thus far presented may be resolved if we assume that kinship relationships are only one factor in the situation. Analysis of data on other aspects of their lives indicates that active union members tend to be generally active socially. Several lines of evidence support this general conclusion.

There is, first, the fact that active union members are more likely to come from the ranks of those who attend other formal organizations with some regularity. Out of 78 union members who say they attend at least one other formally organized group at least once a month, 29 (37 per cent) attend union meetings at least once a month. By contrast, only 17 (28 per cent) of the 61 union members who do not attend any formally organized group at least once a month attend union meetings regularly.

A second finding supporting the conclusion relates to card-playing. Out of 26 union members who say they play cards at least once a month, 10 (38 per cent) say they attend union meetings regularly. But among the 113 union members who play less often or not at all, only 36 (32 per cent) attend union meetings at least once a month.

Union members are also more likely to come from the ranks of those who follow the small-town custom of going downtown to "visit" on Saturdays. Of those who visit downtown at least once a month, 36 per cent (21 out of 58) attend union meetings regularly. Only 31 per cent (25 out of 81) who do not follow this custom say they go to union meetings at least once a month.

Those who say they go fishing with others are more often active union members than those who do not. Seventy-eight union members say they go fishing with others at least once a month in season. Of these, 29 (37 per cent) say they attend union meetings at least once a month. Sixty-one union members say they do not go fishing with others or go less often than once a month. Seventeen (28 per cent) of this category attend union meetings regularly.

Sixty-two union members report church attendance at least once a month. Twenty-one of them (34 per cent) say they attend union meetings at least once a month. Seventy-seven union members say they go to church less than once a month, or not at all. Of these, 25 (32 per cent) go to union meetings at least once a month.

All these figures are based on the interviewees' report of their own social participation. The consistency of the results might therefore be criticized on the ground that they reflect *not* actual participation but rather the claiming of social participation. While the criticism may hold true in some cases, a more plausible explanation of the consistency of the findings is that the more active persons are in a position to participate more easily than the nonactive persons. For example, forty union members live in rural areas or in towns other than that in which the union local is situated. They excuse their nonattendance at union meetings by pointing to the distance and the difficulties of transportation. It is noteworthy that 44 per cent (44 out of 99) of the local members of the union say they attend meetings at least once a month; but only 5 per cent (2 out of 40) of the union members living out of town say they attend union meetings regularly. Furthermore, those who were interviewed while they were assigned to either the second or the third shift (i.e., 4:00 P.M.–1:00 A.M. or 10:00 P.M.–7:00 A.M.) regularly complained of the disruption of their social life and the impossibility of attending evening

[5] F. Stuart Chapin, *Experimental Designs in Sociological Research* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947).

meetings of the union. Shepard confirms this general conclusion by his finding that union solidarity and participation decrease as members move to residential areas at a greater distance from the union hall.[6]

SUMMARY

One hundred and thirty-nine union members from a small-town factory were interviewed concerning social group memberships. The plant's management made available their personnel files, and the pertinent records were found to be complete for 116 union members who had worked continuously (i.e., without a layoff) from June 1, 1949, to June 14, 1950. Forty-six union members say they attend union meetings at least once a month. The data suggest four conclusions: (1) These active union members come from all wage levels, from all production-rating levels, from all skill levels, from both recent and long-time union members, and from both those who participate in informal groups around the plant and those who do not. (2) Active union members are recruited somewhat more readily from the higher wage levels, higher production-rating levels, higher skill levels, and from union members of longer standing. (3) Active union members are recruited somewhat more readily from the single than from the married, more readily from the childless married than from the married with children, and more readily from those not in frequent contact with relatives than from those with strong kinship ties. (4) Active union members are recruited somewhat more readily from those who are already active otherwise socially—who attend other formally organized groups, play cards with others, visit downtown on Saturday, go fishing with others, and attend church fairly regularly.

The data support the following general conclusions regarding the functions of the labor union: (1) Active membership in the labor union tends to be an expression of mental and/or physical superiority, just as is an above-average record on the job. (2) Active membership in the labor union may represent a seeking for the type of relationship ordinarily found in the complete family. (3) Active membership in the labor union tends to serve the same functions as active membership in any other social group.

[6] *Op. cit.*

UNIVERSITY OF MISSOURI

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF MARRIAGES IN MASSACHUSETTS

THOMAS P. MONAHAN

ABSTRACT

The nature of remarriages in the United States has changed, and their relative number varies significantly with time and place. Allowances should also be made for nationality composition and migratory marriages. Percentagewise, marriages have not become earlier in Massachusetts. The crude average age at first marriage has gone up, fluctuating most in recent years. However, a refined method of calculation (limited to census years) produces a contradictory result and suggests a possible decline since 1900. All in all, the custom of "early" and extensive marriage seems to have altered little during the century.

Sociologists are nearly all in agreement that the average age at first marriage in the United States has been declining since before the turn of the century. American colonists are also supposed to have married even earlier than today; and in the mid-1800's, it follows, the average age at marriage must have increased significantly. One can also find generalizations about changes in marriage age concurrent with depressions and wars.[1]

A great deal has been written upon the question, and numerous theories relating to marriage age have been propounded. But on close scrutiny it becomes apparent that very few statistical studies have been made, and fewer still can be accepted as scientific evidence. Moreover, they are based on marriages of special groups, in certain localities, and/or at particular dates, or on indirect information relating to population by marital status and age. These studies have little or no general value, although they are the basis of broad sociological generalizations. In spite of its demographic and sociological importance, the subject of age at marriage (and other marriage attributes) has been greatly neglected in this country. Because of this neglect, and the use of improper methods and data, we have yet no clear and precise statistical knowledge of the pattern of marriage age or how it has changed with the times.

Fifty years ago writers frequently remarked upon the *increasing* age at marriage and sometimes produced statistical evidence of it.[2] Notwithstanding this, after 1910 it became popular to assert the exact opposite, and "contrary to popular belief" became a standard phrase in the literature. Actually, a study of marriage records themselves indicates that there has been no significant long-term change in the basic pattern of age at marriage in this country.

One very surprising thing becomes manifest when one examines the literature dealing with marriage trends: the various investigators nearly all ignored the mass of statistical data on marriage which exists in state and city government reports. One such state, Massachusetts, has continuously published information on age at first marriage for over one hundred years. The purpose of this article is to present the results of an analysis of the Massachusetts data, omitting the aspect of relative age at marriage. Because a detailed discussion of methodological problems and marriage data is given elsewhere, these matters will be treated only generally here.

MASSACHUSETTS MARRIAGE RECORDS

Under an Act of 1842 the state of Massachusetts began the collection of marriage

[1] Additional references and confirmations of statements made in this article will be found in the writer's forthcoming book entitled *The Pattern of Age at Marriage in the United States*. Unknown categories were eliminated in calculations on these Massachusetts data, and some of the charts are based on computations to .or divisions.

[2] F. S. Crum, *The Marriage Rate in Massachusetts* ("Publications of the American Statistical Association," Vol. IV; New Series, No. 32 [December, 1895]), pp. 331 and 333; W. B. Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions* (New York: Century Co., 1906), p. 156.

statistics.[3] Records prior to 1843 do not contain information on age and other matters. For the first time, for the year ending April 30, 1844, average ages at marriage were published, and in the years following tables appear on relative age at marriage by five-year age divisions, according to four marital status combinations, a system attributed to Quetelet.

Registration did not operate efficiently from the start. Clerks of some towns made no reports, and the clergy were negligent and resisted making returns. Boston did not co-operate until 1849. For the first few years the statistical details were seriously deficient. In 1849, 11 per cent did not return their age, 21 per cent did not report their marital status, and 36 per cent did not declare their place of birth. The recording of all three items improved very much the following year. The returns with unknown ages and unknown marital status dropped to 1 per cent of total cases (each) by 1856 and to less than 0.3 per cent by 1870. For the last half-century the records have been practically complete.

Gradually more and more control was exercised over marriage and its registration. In 1860 males and females under the ages of twenty-one and eighteen years, respectively, were required to produce written consent of parents or guardians, and the clerk was permitted to request an affidavit on age. Marriages of males under eighteen years and females under sixteen years and "expedient" marriages required the approval of a probate judge.[4] The amount of falsification of age by youthful persons because of these legal restrictions can only be surmised. As early as 1844 residents of Massachusetts were known to cross into near-by states to avoid public notice and the delay occasioned by the publication of the marriage banns.[5] The law of 1860 required such persons to record their marriages upon returning to the state; and in 1881 it was further stipulated that the marriages of residents out of state in order to escape the provisions of Massachusetts law were legally void. In 1911 a five-day advance notice to wed was required.

Massachusetts has long been regarded as a state foremost in the vital statistics field. The many legal provisions that have been made over the years regarding the control and registration of marriages have no doubt improved the record. Even lacking verification of the data, it may reasonably be supposed that these records have been reliably gathered and compiled for almost a century.

METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS

First marriages.—W. F. Willcox in 1893 called attention to a primary methodological problem in his study of the Michigan marriage tables. He wrote:

> It is impossible, therefore, to derive from Michigan records any clue to the average age at which marriage is first entered by either sex, and *a fortiori* any measure of the postponement of marriage which has almost certainly been in progress. . . . The important question is, at what age is marriage contracted for the first time?[6]

As R. R. Kuczynski has also said, "Both from the economic and social viewpoint [remarriages] differ, on the whole, from first marriages."[7] Moreover, the proportion of

[3] Secretary of the Commonwealth, *Annual Report Relating to the Registry and Returns of Births, Marriages, and Deaths in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1843——), now recently entitled, *Annual Report on the Vital Statistics of Massachusetts* (hereinafter cited as "*Annual Report*").

[4] United States Works Projects Administration, Historical Records Survey, *Guide to Public Vital Records in Massachusetts* (Boston, 1942), pp. 294 ff.; and *Annual Report* (1858), p. cxliv.

[5] City of Boston, Registry Department, *Annual Report on Births, Marriages, and Deaths* (Boston, 1850), p. 8; *Annual Report*, III, xiii; IV, 27; V, 22–25; etc.

[6] Secretary of State, *Annual Report Relating to the Registration of Births, Deaths, and Marriages* (Lansing, Mich., 1893), pp. 87 ff.; W. F. Willcox, "Marriage Rate in Michigan, 1870–1890," *Publications of the American Statistical Association*, IV (March–June, 1894), 7. In 1940 Willcox raised the same devastating question regarding all divorce studies that have been made (see his *Studies in American Demography* [Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1940], p. 350).

[7] "The Analysis of Vital Statistics. I. Marriage Statistics," *Economica*, V (new ser.; May, 1938), 139.

first marriages fluctuates significantly from area to area, time to time, and class to class within a society. It should also be noted that the character of remarriage is not constant and has drastically changed in this country, the divorced group replacing the widowed in importance. Any calculations on marriage (or divorce) data, to be meaningful, must separate first from remarriages.

The failure to separate first marriages, even yet, is a principal defect of American data and studies. Most research, including doctoral dissertations, can be dismissed on this account. Some writers are so oblivious to the question that they do not even identify their data in this regard. The great majority of statistical tables on marriage in city, state, and federal reports are almost entirely devoid of meaning because they deal only with all marriages; and thus a mass of data has been hopelessly lost. Even marriage-prediction studies have not been refined for first marriage, so that the meaning of the whole is confused and the predictive conclusions cannot be said to refer to persons married for the first time only.

Further refinement of records to isolate primary marriages, a first marriage for both parties, might show other important differences. Detailed statistics of this kind, however, are not often published by state agencies.

Nationality.—The changing nationality complexion of our population makes any statement regarding changes in the underlying American pattern of age at marriage highly uncertain. By reason of their number, and cultural transmission to their children, the immigrants' heritage, grafted upon the American, reacted in time to modify our basic pattern. Moreover, the nationality of the immigrants changed from time to time. It is important to note the shift in nationality type around 1900, whereafter the rural, Catholic, southeastern European, earlier-marrying peoples came to predominate. If a tradition of early marriage was passed on to the offspring of these groups, a downward age influence could have entered in, contrasting with the habits of the pre-1900 offspring who were derived mostly from North European stock. Many of the "new" immigrants settled in the Northeastern States, including Massachusetts. The possibility of a nationality influence on age at marriage cannot be ignored. Much research would have to be done to clarify this point.

The delay incident to migration and getting established in the New World, prior to starting a family, might be expected to have increased the average age at marriage of the foreign-born. Their peculiar concentration in the marriageable years, however, renders a wholly reliable conclusion uncertain. What information we have indicates that the average age at first marriage is highest for the foreign-born and lowest for the native-born of native parents, with the children of foreign parents in the middle position. Exceptions to this can be found according to nationality: the Italian-born brides, one of the "new" classes, married earlier than the native-born brides in Upper New York State in 1920.[8]

This means, of course, that if one wishes to approach the native behavior, allowances must be made in interpreting averages which include variable proportions and types of foreign-born, depending on their relative numbers and the local nationality type.

Migratory marriages.—In so far as migratory marriages differ by age and other attributes from the rest, their inclusion or omission from state totals can produce serious distortions. And, if there have been important shifts in the relative significance of this factor, a trend study of a particular state can be placed in serious doubt. This problem can be solved only by reallocation of out-of-state marriages; but, lacking a national program, it is not likely that much can be accomplished, and the data of a number of states must remain inadmissible therefor. Because of legal provisions in Massachusetts, and the absence of much comment on couples entering or leaving the state to be married, it is not likely that this problem

[8] New York State Department of Health, *Annual Report of the Division of Vital Statistics* (Legislative Doc. 47 [Albany, 1921]).

weakens the Massachusetts data. Some caution, however, should still be held regarding marriages of nonresidents in Massachusetts, especially during war periods, since the state has a military training camp in its borders. The concurrence of the crude marriage rates for Massachusetts and the United States very greatly minimizes the possible importance of this point.[9] In addition, the crude marriage rate over the century has a regularity about it and some fluctuations which are understandable.

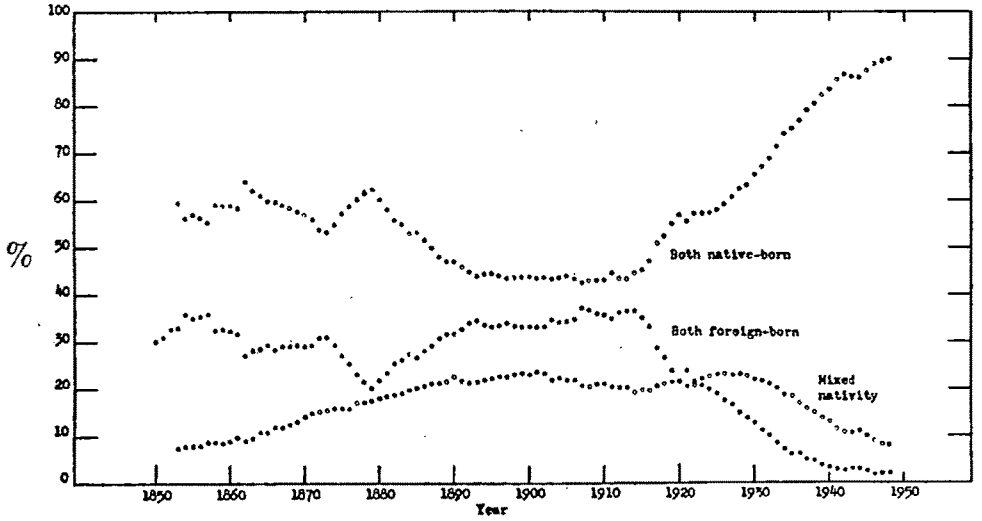

FIG. 1.—Percentage Massachusetts marriages by nativity

MASSACHUSETTS MARRIAGES

Nationality.—One hundred years ago marriages in which both parties were native-born accounted for almost 60 per cent of all marriages, while nearly 10 per cent were of mixed nativity, and both parties were of foreign nativity in 30 per cent of the cases. From 1875 to 1885 there was a drop in jointly foreign-born marriages to 20 per cent, then a recovery to the former level; thereafter this type continued to account for over one-third of all marriages until 1914, when (coincident with the war and subsequent immigration restriction) the proportion began to drop steadily, amounting to only about 2 per cent in recent years. The proportion of marriages in which both were native-born showed a reciprocal kind of fluctuation, declining to about 45 per cent of all marriages in 1890, holding this level until 1914, and thereafter rising constantly until in 1948 almost 90 per cent of the marriages were of this type.

The relative proportion of native-born males marrying foreign-born females, and vice versa, has shifted over the years. At the start the proportion of each type of mixed marriage was the same; for fifteen years following the Civil War native-born females, more often than native-born males, took a foreign spouse; from 1880 to 1910 the situation was reversed, with the native-born male more often taking a foreign-born spouse; but from 1910 to date it has been the native-born female again who has more often wed a foreign-born mate. The percentage which these mixed-nativity marriages represented in the total rose steadily and regularly from 8 per cent at the beginning to over 20 per cent of all marriages in the 1890's and 1900's. The decline in this type of marriage began in 1930, lagging about one-half generation behind the previous decline in the jointly foreign-born marriages.

[9] *Annual Report;* National Office of Vital Statistics, *Vital Statistics—Special Reports,* Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (September, 1948).

There is nothing in these data to indicate the known change in nationality type which may be quite important. And, since these percentages refer to all marriages, they do not indicate what the condition might be regarding first marriages only over the years. It might be surmised that fewer and fewer marriages of the foreign-born were first marriages in recent years.

Percentage of first and primary marriages.—The proportion of marriages in which both parties were married for the first time (primary) and marriages in which either party was married for the first time has varied similarly over the years. Of course, generally 90–95 per cent of all first marriages of either sex are primary marriages. Throughout the hundred years, with the exception of 1946–48, the percentage of all first marriages was higher for the females than for the males. This means that, compared to the females, males remarried more often, choosing never-married females, and that remarriage was less likely for the female.

The differential in the percentage of all first marriages of the two sexes has diminished over the years. In the earlier decades the females showed about 6 per cent more first marriages than the males; after 1880 the difference in the percentages decreased down to 1 per cent in 1914; and since then it has varied between 1 and 2 per cent, with the female figure remaining higher. It might be conjectured that the upsurge in postwar divorces and war widowhood (both occurring in the more marriageable ages) equalized the chances for remarriage of the sexes in 1946–48 as a whole, so that more female than male marriages were remarriages in these years.

The improvement in mortality and the rising divorce rate could also account for the convergence of the male and female percentages of first marriages. Mortality improvement would allow more and more males as well as females to remain in the married state longer and not become widowed until past the marriageable ages, whereas the rising divorce rate would shift those remarrying to the younger, more marriageable years. This kind of reasoning would have to be substantiated, however, to ascertain whether the two influences equalize each other or whether remarriages as a whole are younger in recent decades. It is known that there has been a reversal in the proportion of the widowed and divorced classes constituting the remarriage group, with the divorced becoming increasingly more important. The decline in the size of the family, resulting in widows with fewer

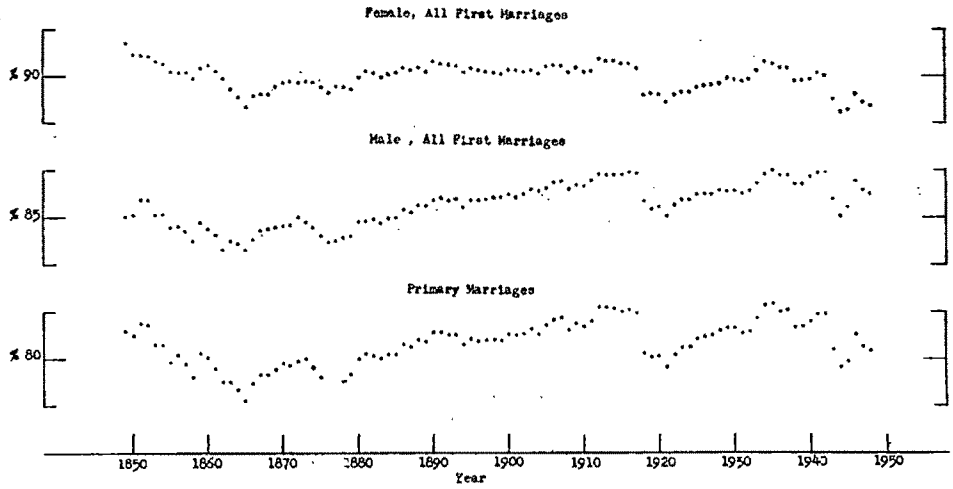

FIG. 2.—Percentage Massachusetts first marriages by sex and type

dependent children, may have increased their chances of remarriage. Whether there has been a change in the male attitude about accepting a previously married wife can only be supposed.

The primary (first-first) marriages have ranged from 76 to 86 per cent; male all first marriages, from 82 to 90 per cent; and female all first marriages, from 87 to 92 per cent. The proportions of first marriages have varied appreciably in recent decades, as they did at the beginning of the period. From 1850 to 1864 there was a gradual drop in the proportion of first marriages followed by a recovery in the proportion up to 1873, when another dip occurred. The reason for the first movement is not apparent, although the increase of widowhood during the Civil War may have accentuated the drop in first marriages. The second dip in the 1870's might be attributed to a decline in immigration and economic depression. An abrupt drop also occurred in 1918, owing no doubt to the influenza epidemic and deaths from the first World War, creating an increase in widowhood and also (as a consequence of wartime marriage rates) some depletion of marriageable single persons.

The advent of the recent depression did not retard first marriages, but retarded remarriages instead, up until 1937. The surge of marriages in the early years of World War II, and later the absence of eligible men on duty in the armed forces, caused another sharp drop in the proportion of first marriages in 1943–45; and the recovery to the former high level had not yet occurred in 1948.

These Massachusetts marriage data indicate: (1) the proportions of first marriages of the different types have greatly varied over the years; (2) the variations reflect the major social changes; and (3) the marriage movements in one year can influence the proportions of first marriages occurring in subsequent years. The methodological necessity to study a particular type of marriage should be apparent from this.

Percentage of first marriages in age groups.—The organization of Massachusetts marriage data by percentages in age groups is suggestive but should be interpreted with great caution. The change in the numerical concentration of marriages by age is obviously misleading in that marriages at one age leave fewer eligibles for the next age, although this point is sometimes ignored.[10] The more meaningful comparison is that which shows the change in the marriage rate by age. Whereas the percentage distribution is extremely peaked, the marriage rates (after a rapid rise at the legal age for marriage) show a much more gradual change in the marriage behavior from age to age.

The changing age distribution of the population is a very important consideration concerning marriage ages organized in this way. An "older" population with the same marriage rates as a "younger" population, age for age, would be expected to show a greater proportion of older marriages percentagewise. Changes in the mortality and fertility pattern and the cessation of immigration have created such an "older" population in Massachusetts.

Most analysts of percentage distributions of marriages by age have had no such considerations in mind. Hence, in the same unrefined sense, the changes in the percentage distributions of the marriages by age group in this populous state of Massachusetts are in flat contradiction to frequently alleged changes.

There have been variable movements in these percentages but nothing to indicate a long-term trend to earlier marriage. The new shift to younger marriages since 1940 cannot yet be vouchsafed as an established trend and can only be accepted, for the time being, as a short-term fluctuation.

Up to 1900 there was a visible drop in the percentage of males married in the age group twenty to twenty-four but no significant trend from 1900 to 1940; while in the next important age group, twenty-five to twenty-nine, there was an upward rise in the percentage of such marriages up to

[10] See P. Glick and E. Landau, "Age as a Factor in Marriage," *American Sociological Review*, XV (August, 1950), 519–20.

1900 and again no significant trend from 1900 to 1940. The older age groups of males showed the same general trend as did the twenty-five to twenty-nine group. The increase of youthful male marriages under the age of twenty was of slight moment, moving from about 2 per cent of all first marriages in the 1850's to almost 4 per cent in the late 1920's and early 1930's.

The percentage of females who married at ages twenty to twenty-four moved slightly downward up to 1900 but evidenced no important change from 1900 to 1940. The neighboring age groups moved inversely: up to 1900 there was a decline in the percentage married under the age of twenty but a rise in the percentage married in the twenty-five to twenty-nine group; from 1900 to 1940 there was a variable but slight rise in the percentage married under twenty years of age but a decline in the percentage married from twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age. The percentage of females married at thirty years and over has gradually risen throughout, accounting for one out of every eight first marriages of recent date but only one out of every fourteen first marriages a century ago.

Even comparing the recent tide of youthful marriages since 1940, percentagewise, there were more first marriages in the younger ages in the 1850's, and there were definitely fewer first marriages in the older age groups. One cannot see in these data any convincing trend to earlier marriages from 1890 to 1940, as is often claimed, although allowance should be made for the changing age distribution, nationality comparison, and other population factors.

The hue and cry of "child marriage" of the 1920's seems extravagant in view of the continuously small percentage of first marriages in the young age groups.[11] "Child marriages"—technically speaking, marriages of females at the age of fifteen and under and males at seventeen years and under—rarely exceeded 0.5 per cent of all first marriages and more often amounted to less.

[11] F. S. Hall and M. Richmond, *Child Marriages* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1925).

Child marriages of females (upon whom most concern centered) varied from 0.3–0.4 per cent in the late 1800's to 0.1–0.2 per cent at the turn of the century, rising again to 0.4 per cent in the 1920's, but receding once more to 0.1–0.2 per cent in recent years. The frequent testimonies of youthful marriages in the old days are not substantiated by these marriage data.

The crude average age at first marriage.—These simple averages are open to the objections just mentioned: distortion due to the changing age distribution, nationality composition, and other factors. But nearly all writers have only these crude averages in mind when they refer to changes in marriage age. In Massachusetts, as in a number of other states, such averages derived from marriage data contradict the generally held conclusions.

With some fluctuations there has been an apparent over-all rise in the crude mean and median age at first marriage for both sexes from 1850 to 1900; and, in the more variable period from 1900 to 1940, there has been no decided change in the averages. Starting with 1890, there has been a noticeable rise and fall in the averages down to 1914. The first war and postwar years evidenced another rise in the averages, but from 1922 to 1932 the averages declined again. Once more the averages rose, late in the depression, and started another decline just prior to 1940. The shifts in these averages never exceeded a range of one year. Since World War II the averages have remained low, but, if we exclude 1947–48, the mean ages were no lower than in 1890, and the median ages only moderately lower than in 1890.

What the crude averages would show when refined for the native-born whites of the "old" nationality stock could only be learned from a carefully controlled study of the original records. If Massachusetts immigrants delayed their marriages, as might be expected, and if the "new" South European immigrants (and their children) are an earlier-marrying group, the crude averages of the native stock in the earlier decades might reasonably have been lower than

TABLE 1*

AVERAGE AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Median		Mean		Year	Median		Mean		Year	Median		Mean	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female	Male	Female
1845†	25.0	22.7	26.1	23.9	1880	25.6	23.1	26.6	24.1	1915	25.8	23.2	27.0	24.4
1846†	25.0	22.4	26.0	23.6	1881	25.6	23.1	26.5	24.1	1916	25.9	23.3	27.0	24.5
1847†	24.8	22.3	25.9	23.3	1882	25.5	23.1	26.6	24.1	1917	25.8	23.3	27.0	24.5
1848†	24.8	22.2	25.8	23.3	1883	25.6	23.2	26.6	24.2	1918	26.4	23.7	27.9	25.1
1849	25.1	22.5	26.1	23.6	1884	25.6	23.2	26.6	24.2	1919	26.3	23.6	27.5	24.9
1850	25.2	22.5	26.2	23.6	1885	25.9	23.3	26.8	24.3	1920	26.3	23.6	27.4	24.9
1851	25.2	22.4	26.2	23.4	1886	26.0	23.3	26.9	24.3	1921	26.6	23.5	27.7	24.8
1852	25.1	22.4	26.2	23.3	1887	25.9	23.3	26.8	24.3	1922	26.6	23.6	27.7	24.9
1853	25.0	22.4	26.0	23.3	1888	25.9	23.3	26.8	24.3	1923	26.3	23.4	27.4	24.7
1854	24.9	22.4	26.0	23.3	1889	25.9	23.4	26.9	24.4	1924	26.2	23.3	27.4	24.6
1855	25.0	22.6	26.1	23.6	1890	25.9	23.4	26.8	24.5	1925	26.2	23.3	27.4	24.6
1856	24.8	22.5	26.0	23.4	1891	25.9	23.3	26.8	24.4	1926	26.1	23.3	27.3	24.6
1857	24.9	22.6	26.0	23.5	1892	25.8	23.3	26.8	24.4	1927	26.1	23.3	27.2	24.6
1858	25.0	22.6	26.2	23.6	1893	26.0	23.4	26.9	24.5	1928	26.0	23.2	27.2	24.5
1859	24.9	22.6	26.1	23.5	1894	26.0	23.4	26.9	24.5	1929	26.1	23.3	27.2	24.5
1860	25.1	22.7	26.2	23.6	1895	26.0	23.5	26.9	24.5	1930	26.0	23.2	27.1	24.5
1861	25.1	22.5	26.3	23.5	1896	26.1	23.5	27.1	24.5	1931	26.1	23.2	27.3	24.5
1862	25.1	22.5	26.3	23.4	1897	26.1	23.5	27.1	24.6	1932	25.8	23.1	27.1	24.3
1863	25.7	22.8	26.8	23.7	1898	26.3	23.6	27.2	24.6	1933	26.0	23.3	27.2	24.4
1864	25.5	22.8	26.6	23.7	1899	26.5	23.7	27.4	24.8	1934	26.1	23.5	27.2	24.6
1865	25.7	22.9	26.7	23.8	1900	26.5	23.6	27.4	24.7	1935	26.3	23.6	27.3	24.6
1866	25.5	22.8	26.5	23.9	1901	26.5	23.7	27.4	24.8	1936	26.4	23.7	27.5	24.9
1867	25.5	22.8	26.6	23.8	1902	26.4	23.6	27.3	24.7	1937	26.4	23.7	27.5	24.9
1868	25.5	22.9	26.6	23.9	1903	26.4	23.6	27.3	24.7	1938	26.3	23.6	27.5	24.9
1869	25.3	22.9	26.5	23.9	1904	26.4	23.6	27.4	24.8	1939	26.3	23.7	27.4	24.9
1870	25.3	22.9	26.4	23.8	1905	26.3	23.5	27.3	24.7	1940	26.2	23.6	27.3	24.9
1871	25.3	22.7	26.3	23.7	1906	26.1	23.5	27.1	24.6	1941	25.8	23.5	27.1	24.8
1872	25.1	22.8	26.3	23.7	1907	26.0	23.4	27.1	24.5	1942	25.2	23.2	26.9	24.6
1873	25.1	22.8	26.3	23.8	1908	26.0	23.4	27.2	24.6	1943	25.2	23.2	27.1	24.8
1874	25.4	22.9	26.5	23.9	1909	26.0	23.4	27.2	24.6	1944	25.1	23.2	27.1	24.8
1875	25.2	22.9	26.4	23.9	1910	25.9	23.4	27.1	24.6	1945	25.4	23.2	27.1	24.8
1876	25.4	23.0	26.6	24.1	1911	26.0	23.4	27.2	24.6	1946	25.4	23.2	26.8	24.5
1877	25.3	22.9	26.4	24.0	1912	25.8	23.3	27.0	24.6	1947	25.0	23.0	26.6	24.3
1878	25.4	23.0	26.5	24.1	1913	25.8	23.2	26.9	24.4	1948	24.9	22.9	26.5	24.2
1879	25.8	23.1	26.7	24.1	1914	25.7	23.1	26.9	24.4					

* In all recent decades the center points of the under-twenty age group were more nearly 18.6 and 19.1 years for the females and males, respectively, instead of 17.5 years for both—which latter figure was used by the Massachusetts registrar in his calculations of the crude averages ([1882], p. 43). In the calculation of the mean age for the early years, when single years under age twenty were not reported in full, the more accurate center-point values were used for the under-twenty age group. From 1890 onward single-year age data were available to age twenty and were used: by subtracting the value of remarriages occurring before age twenty from the aggregate, using an assumed age value of 19.5 for remarriages. Some errors were found in the Massachusetts reports and in Bailey's *Modern Social Conditions*.

† See text. Year ending April 30, 1845, etc. Calendar years begin in 1849.

those shown up to 1900 and in the decades since 1900 slightly higher (if we exclude the "new" emphasis). Thus the basic American pattern of age at marriage might have increased regularly over the years, according to the crude averages. Information on New Jersey primary marriages, both parties native-born and white, revealed a possible slight increase in the crude average age at first marriage.[12]

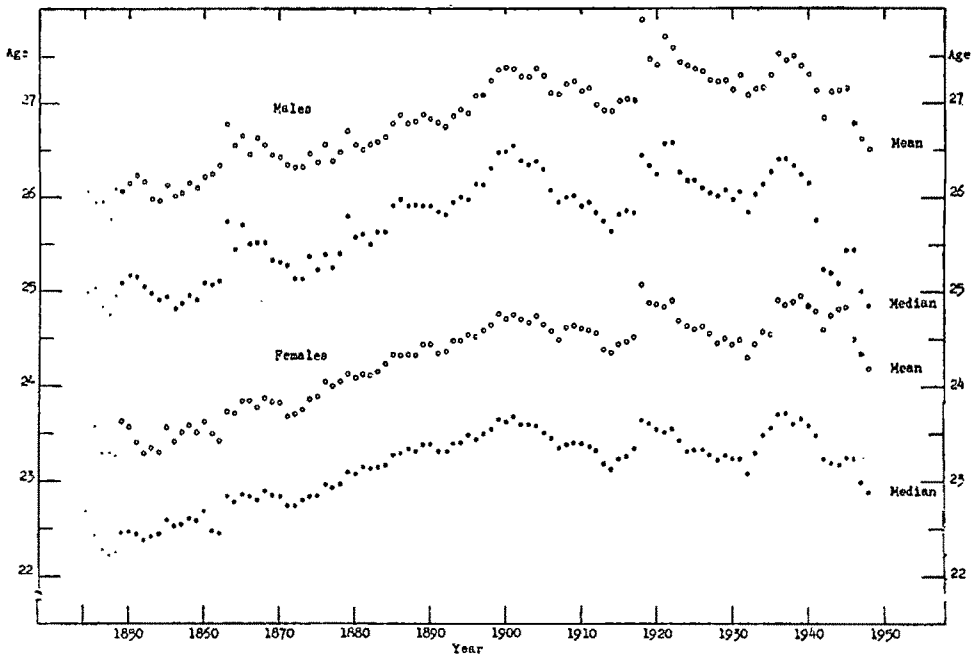

FIG. 3.—Average age at first marriage in Massachusetts

It should be noted that the crude average ages rose steadily until 1900, and this same period was marked by a clear increase in primary marriages and male first marriages and a decrease in the proportion of native-born marriages where both parties were native-born. The gradual decline in the averages from 1922 to 1932 was also at a time when primary native-born marriages began a steady proportional rise.

The true average age at marriage.—The ordinary averages of ages at marriage do not correctly measure the age expectancy of marriage. The expectation of life is never calculated by averaging the ages of those who die each year, and such a calculation is just as improper for measurement of marriage. The correct method of determination has been fully explained by Kuczynski, who has demonstrated how simple averages may produce a completely misleading picture.[13] Simply stated, the method uses age specific marriage rates to determine the pattern of marriage by age, which may also be refined for mortality losses.

The method requires data on the number of first marriages and the never-married

[12] For the study of New Jersey records see n. 1 above.

[13] *Op. cit.*, p. 162. Similar actuarial methods have been used on population and population-marriage data in this country, but these studies cannot be accepted as wholly valid. See Metropolitan Life Insurance Co., *Statistical Bulletin*, July and September, 1929, May, 1942, and May, 1945; W. H. Grabill, "Attrition Life Tables for the Single Population," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XL (September, 1945), 364–75; Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1947); and Monahan, *op. cit.* Cf. also Bureau of the Census, "The Wartime Marriage Surplus," *Population*, Series PM-1, No. 3 (November 12, 1944).

(single) population by single years of age for each sex. In this country the necessary population data appear only at decennial intervals, and no tables exist prior to 1890. The use of state data on marriages is also open to some question, especially because of migratory marriages.

TABLE 2

THE MEAN AGE AT FIRST MARRIAGE IN MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Male		Female	
	Crude	Refined	Crude	Refined
1890.....	26.8	28.4	24.5	25.5
1900.....	27.4	28.6	24.7	25.4
1910.....	27.1	28.0	24.6	24.8
1920.....	27.4	27.1	24.9	24.3
1930.....	27.1	28.1	24.5	25.5
1940.....	27.3	26.7	24.9	24.3

The use of age-group data has been objected to, and it is known that telescoping marriage ages in this way can significantly distort the calculated average ages.[14] The tabulation of state population data on marital status into ten-year age groups in earlier decades and the practice of states to report marriages by age group present serious disqualification of available data to which this refined method might be applied.

With the above reservations respecting the results, the Kuczynski method was applied to the Massachusetts marriage data.[15]

While the crude mean ages at first marriage for the six years show a very slight upward trend, the refined averages show a downward trend as well as greater variation. Examination of the calculations indicates that by relating the first marriages by age to the single population available for marriage, the Kuczynski method equalizes the population base and thus discounts the youthful marriages of the early decades and gives more weight to the youthful marriages

[14] Kuczynski, *op. cit.*, p. 149; Monahan, *op. cit.* See also R. R. Kuczynski, "Demography—Science and Administration," *Eugenics Review*, XXXVII (April, 1945), 12–22.

[15] Results are according to gross nuptiality (not refined for mortality) (see Kuczynski, *op. cit.*; Monahan, *op. cit.*).

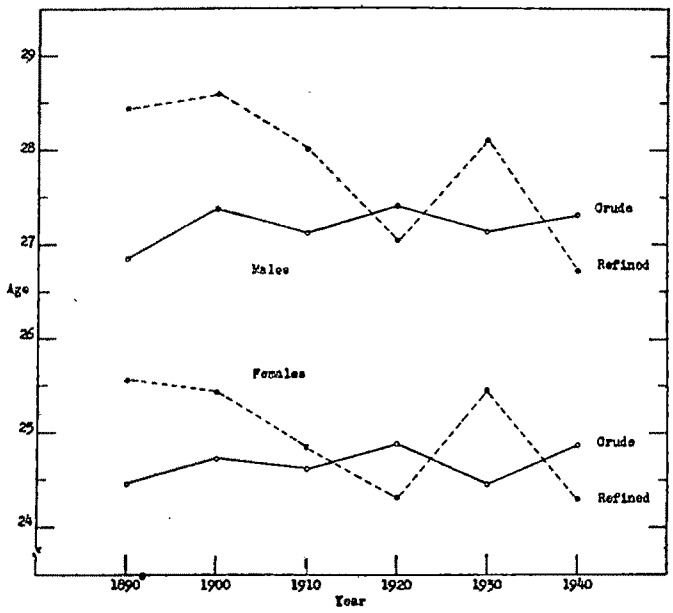

FIG. 4.—Mean age at first marriage in Massachusetts

of recent decades, and vice versa for the older marriage ages. The crude averages increased from 1890 to 1920, decreased from 1920 to 1930, and rose again from 1930 to 1940. The true averages showed the exactly opposite fact.

In a different calculation crude-age specific marriage rates of 1890 and 1910 were applied to the population base in 1940. Thus measured, the female crude average age at first marriage appears not to have increased, and the male average shows a slight decline. The control of the population base changed the direction of the trend, but not so strongly as shown by the refined method.

SUMMARY

Provided the data and the calculations do not mislead us, and the decennial years are representative (which is somewhat doubtful) of normal times, one might conclude that the true mean age at marriage has declined about a year of age in Massachusetts since 1890 and the marriage propensity has increased about 5 per cent.

At the same time it should be remembered that no such refined considerations as those outlined in this article were ever implied in nearly all writings on the subject. Hence the crude and customary averages contradict the conclusions of authorities that the age at first marriage has declined in this country. If we accept the present age pyramid of the population as the reality, with its occupational, urban, and nationality aspects, one might say that the simple average age at first marriage has gone up in Massachusetts and most probably in the United States.

For a large segment of the available data, especially before 1890, simple averages are all that can be calculated. It should be recognized that such averages are only

TABLE 3

CHANGE IN THE MARRIAGE RATE IN MASSACHUSETTS

Year	Males				Females			
	First Marriages per 1,000 Population Ages 15–54		Per Cent Ever-Married (Aged 45–54)	Per Cent Marrying (Refined Rate)	First Marriages per 1,000 Population Ages 15–54		Per Cent Ever-Married (Aged 45–54)	Per Cent Marrying (Refined Rate)
	Total	Single Only			Total	Single Only		
1890.....	32.0	56.5	90.3	87.9	26.8	61.3	87.8	82.7
1900.....	25.6	55.1	88.5	86.4	25.2	58.9	85.8	81.0
1910.....	26.6	58.5	87.3	88.7	26.5	63.3	84.0	84.4
1920.....	29.2	69.2	86.1	92.8	28.7	74.1	82.7	90.1
1930.....	20.0	46.9	86.6	84.3	19.2	49.5	83.4	78.1
1940.....	31.5	71.9	87.1	94.7	30.1	76.7	85.1	91.5

The true marriage rate.—The actuarial method just described also produces a truer picture of change in the propensity to marriage. Compared to the refined method, other measures appear to be exaggerations. From 1920 to 1930, for instance, the relative drop in the crude rates was over 30 per cent, but the actuarial calculation (which shows the proportion who will eventually marry under prevailing age specific marriage rates) indicated only about one-third that great a change had taken place. Using the percentage ever-married in the age group forty-five to fifty-four as an index of marriage propensity at an enumeration date is most inaccurate.[16]

[16] For a discussion of various marriage rates see Theodore Caplow, "A Critical Study of American Marriage Rates" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Minnesota, June, 1946).

rough approximations which must be used with great caution.

In view of these results, it is apparent that sociological theories and explanations of changes in marriage behavior have proceeded far afield on the basis of faulty and inadequate facts. It might be wiser, as well as scientific, to admit our uncertain and approximate knowledge than to give the appearance of reality to our findings. The cultural heritage of the group principally determines the pattern of age at marriage. In this country the custom of "early" and extensive marriage, although sensitive to social changes, seems to have altered very little since early times.

PHILADELPHIA

CRIMINOLOGICAL RESEARCH AND THE DEFINITION OF CRIMES

DONALD R. CRESSEY

ABSTRACT

The concept "crime" must be restricted to behavior which is so defined by the criminal law, yet assumptions of proper scientific methodology make it necessary to define rigorously the phenomena under investigation in criminology. Owing to lack of causal homogeneity within the general category "crime" and within the legal categories designating specific crimes, these two propositions present an apparent contradiction. The contradiction can in part be resolved by definition of homogeneous units *within* these categories, but for complete resolution definitions of homogeneous units must transcend legal categories.

Criminology, in its attempts to become scientific, has continually encountered the problem of defining the behavior which should be included within the scope of its research. This problem usually is verbalized in the form of doubts about the scientific significance of "legal definitions" of criminal behavior generally or of "legal definitions" of specific types of criminal behavior, and it has arisen in connection with logical problems of methodology in criminological research. Over twenty years ago it was pointed out that in criminology, as in all science, research projects must be designed in such a way that universal generalizations are produced.[1] The position is that a generalization, to have scientific significance, must be universal in the sense that it includes all cases of the phenomenon under investigation, thus permitting the discernment of exceptions and making possible the refinement of generalizations. Although the old adage that "the exception proves the rule" (which in a sense amounts to saying that exceptional cases need not be taken seriously as counterarguments or as cases which invalidate generalizations) allows investigators to overlook negative cases, it is no longer possible to treat such exceptions so casually.[2] In order to search for such exceptional cases, which would disprove any generalizations produced, it is first of all necessary to define rigorously the phenomenon which is being studied.

Such rigorous definition, in the case of criminology, amounts to clarification of the concept "crime" and of concepts designating specific crimes. Since concepts constitute the definitions of what is to be observed and are the variables between which empirical relations are to be sought, it is apparent that the choice of concepts guiding the collection and analysis of the data studied in criminology will determine the fruitfulness of criminological research.[3] By conceptual clarification the explicit character of data subsumed under a given concept is revealed, and for criminology this means that it determines whether or not cumulative theory will be developed. Data organized in terms of crudely defined concepts cannot be compared in significant respects, and a scientific methodology by which generalizations are revised upon the appearance of negative instances is impossible when such concepts are used.

In recent criminology this kind of methodology has in general been followed by those criminologists who have sought general explanations, either from the point of

[1] F. Znaniecki, "Social Research in Criminology," *Sociology and Social Research*, XII (April, 1928), 307–22. See also A. R. Lindesmith, *Opiate Addiction* (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1947), pp. 12–14; J. Michael and M. J. Adler, *Crime, Law and Social Science* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1933), p. 168.

[2] Cf. Kurt Lewin, *A Dynamic Theory of Personality* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1935), pp. 18–24: "[Such exceptions] do not in any way 'prove the rule' but, on the contrary, are completely valid disproofs, even though they are rare; indeed, so long as one single exception is demonstrable."

[3] Cf. Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 87.

view of the person or from the point of view of the group, for all criminal behavior, and the generalizations made have been in regard to crime defined as behavior punishable by law.[4] Sutherland, for example, introduced the concept "white-collar crime" into criminology in order to provide instances which were exceptions to generalizations regarding the cause-and-effect relationship between social and personal pathologies and crime.[5] It was observed that the concept "crime" had been used in a restricted sense by "pathology theorists," and it is concluded that their generalizations should be modified, probably in the direction of the differential association theory. The clarification of the concept made explicit the character of the data subsumed under the legal category "crime."[6]

A recent statement to the effect that the introduction of the white-collar-crime concept promises confusion rather than clarification in criminology completely overlooks the pertinent issue, namely, that a scientific generalization must be a generalization about a rigorously defined class.[7] A long period of legal experience with the concept "crime" has provided such a definition.[8] A generalization, in contrast to a statistical comparison or correlation, must be a generalization about crime in the technical legal sense, since to speak of crime as something other than that is a contradiction in terms. If behavior is not legally defined as crime, then it is not crime, no matter what degree of immorality, nonconformity, or "disappointingness" (to use Sheldon's term) is exhibited.[9]

However, another argument, apparently also arising because of concern for the methodological procedure outlined, has been that crime (generally) as legally defined is not useful for scientific research and generalization, since, though norms might be rigorously defined, it is not a homogeneous class in other than a legal or a technical sense.[10] That is, the concepts of crime and of specific types of crime are precise and clear enough to elicit explicit and desired responses from law-enforcement authorities,

[4] See the discussion by E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1947), pp. 10–27.

[5] E. H. Sutherland, *White Collar Crime* (New York: Dryden Press, 1949), pp. 3–13, 29–55.

[6] "Sutherland's re-examination of the received concept of 'crime' provides an instructive instance of how such clarification induces a revision of hypotheses concerning the data organized in terms of the concept. He demonstrates an equivocation implicit in criminological theories which seek to account for the fact that there is a much higher rate of crime, as 'officially measured,' in the lower than in the upper social classes. . . . We need not pursue Sutherland's analysis further to detect the function of conceptual clarification in this instance. It provides for a *reconstruction of data* by indicating more precisely just what they include and what they exclude. In doing so, it leads to a liquidation of hypotheses set up to account for spurious data by questioning the assumptions on which the initial statistical data were based" (Merton, *op. cit.*, p. 88).

[7] E. W. Burgess, "Discussion" of Frank E. Hartung, "White-Collar Offenses in the Wholesale Meat Industry in Detroit," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (July, 1950), 25–34.

[8] Cf. Jerome Hall, "Prolegomena to a Science of Criminal Law," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review*, LXXXIX (March, 1941), 549–80, and Paul W. Tappan, "Who Is the Criminal?" *American Sociological Review*, XII (February, 1947), 96–102.

[9] Tappan, *op. cit.*; cf. also Hartung, *op. cit.* The same kind of problem arises in respect to the definition of "criminals." In general, problems of the use of the concept "criminal" are relevant to the present discussion in so far as some authors consider as criminal only those who have committed a crime, others consider as criminal those who have behaved in an antisocial manner, and a third group considers as criminal only a small portion of those who have committed crimes. From the point of view of the approach by which "the criminal" is considered as a social or personality type there is merit in the use of the concept in the third manner, since criminality plays a relatively slight part in the life-histories of most criminals. But, again, the use of the concept in this manner does not direct our research toward most of the pertinent problems of criminology. It is recognized that to move from the concept "crime" to the concept "criminal," even in a legal sense, is difficult because the criminal law does not define for us the length of time a person remains a criminal after he has committed a crime.

[10] Cf. Burgess, *op. cit.*, and Thorsten Sellin, *Culture Conflict and Crime* (Social Science Research Council Bull. 41 [New York, 1938]), pp. 20–21. This argument is very different from the one which confuses "deviant behavior" and "crime."

but they are not precise enough for scientific research. The most noted proponent of general explanations in criminology has himself pointed out that "it is not likely that a general explanation of all crimes will be sufficiently specific or precise to aid greatly in understanding or controlling crime. In order to make progress in the explanation of crime it is desirable to break crime into more homogeneous units."[11] Although burglary, robbery, embezzlement, and rape are all crimes, it is almost obvious that they are not homogeneous in respect to causation, and it is even conceivable that specific legal definitions of these crimes (e.g., of burglary) do not delimit categories which are homogeneous in regard to their causal or genetic characteristics.

In an attempt to deal more effectively with criminal *law* theory, legal scholars have made significant definitions of logically homogeneous units both *within* the area of crime generally (e.g., the division into crimes *mala in se* and *mala prohibita* and into crimes involving strict liability and those not involving it) and *within* a specific category of crime such as larceny.[12] Sociologists have similarly suggested procedures for studying "sociological units" rather than "legal units" within the broad field of crime and within the definitions of specific types of crime.

The typological approach to offenses and offenders is one such procedure, though it has been used in criminology almost exclusively in connection with criminals, not crimes.[13] This approach has, however, been used in defining homogeneous units within a specific offense category rather than within the whole area of crime. For instance, Riemer has differentiated between six sociological types of offenses within the legal category "embezzlement," as that crime is defined in Swedish criminal law,[14] and Lottier has differentiated between embezzlements committed by lone offenders and those committed by groups of offenders.[15]

A second procedure suggested by sociologists for breaking crime into homogeneous units is the study of "behavior systems." These systems of criminal behavior also are defined in such a way that they become homogeneous *within* the legal definition of crime and in such a way that they do not strain the traditional use of the concept. "Professional theft," for example, has been shown to be a behavior system within the broader legal category of theft.[16] This procedure also has proved valuable in the study of drug addiction,[17] circus grifting,[18] white-collar crime,[19] and, from the point of view of control, larceny.[20]

However, since a behavior system in crime is, among other things, an integrated unit including traditions, a feeling of belongingness, codes, and *esprit de corps* among participants, it is immediately apparent that the entire area of crime cannot be studied in this manner. Moreover, the principal concern when dealing with behavior systems is with explanation of the system as a unit, not with the processes or mechanisms involved when a person becomes a member of the system.[21] In order to derive scientifically significant categories for etiological study of cases of criminal behavior which is less systematic than that involved in a behavior system, and in order to make, subsequently, scientifically significant generalizations about such behavior, it is necessary in many

[11] Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, p. 218.

[12] Jerome Hall, *Theft, Law and Society* (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1935).

[13] See, e.g., A. R. Lindesmith and H. W. Dunham, "Some Principles of Criminal Typology," *Social Forces*, XIX (March, 1941), 309–14.

[14] Svend Riemer, "Embezzlement: Pathological Basis," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXXII (November–December, 1941), 411–23

[15] S. Lottier, "Tension Theory of Criminal Behavior," *American Sociological Review*, VII (December, 1942), 840–48.

[16] E. H. Sutherland, *The Professional Thief* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937).

[17] Lindesmith, *op. cit.*

[18] Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, pp. 226–29.

[19] Sutherland, *White Collar Crime.*

[20] Hall, *Theft, Law and Society.*

[21] See the discussion by Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, pp. 218–30.

instances to *combine* legal categories of crime. As indicated above, this must be done in such a way that the tradition-bound use of the term describing the specific crime is not strained, otherwise the phenomenon under investigation no longer falls within the domain of "criminology," using a strict construction of that term. Such a procedure has been developed for study of the legally defined crime of "embezzlement" and the type of behavior which embezzlement entails. It is anticipated that this procedure can be used in the study of other types of criminal behavior.

In the course of an attempt to derive a sociological theory of embezzlement by interviewing all prisoners confined for that offense at the Illinois State Penitentiaries at Joliet it was almost immediately discovered that the legal category did not describe a homogeneous class of criminal behavior. Persons whose behavior was not adequately described by the definition of embezzlement were confined for that offense, and persons whose behavior was adequately described by the definition were confined for some other offense. When this was discovered, the term neither was so construed as to make it meaningless from a legal point of view nor was it modified by implication in such a way that it no longer precisely defined a scientifically significant category of behavior. If a person criminally violates financial trust and is sentenced to the penitentiary for confidence game, even if he has behaved in the same manner as one who criminally violates a trust and is sentenced to the penitentiary for embezzlement, the use of the concept "embezzlement" to denote his behavior would not only result in numerous legalistic complications such as those encountered by psychiatrists when they write of "infant criminality," but a generalization about this kind of "embezzlement" would be scientifically useless, since another investigator would be unable to search for negative cases.[22]

Consequently, the legal definition, as such, was abandoned, and in its place two criteria for inclusion of any particular case in the investigation were established. First, the person must have accepted a position of trust in good faith. This is almost identical with the requirement of the legal definition that the "felonious intent" in embezzlement must be formulated *after* the time of taking possession. All legal definitions are in agreement in this respect. Second, the person must have violated that trust by committing a crime. These criteria permit the inclusion of almost all persons convicted for embezzlement and larceny by bailee and, in addition, a proportion of those convicted for confidence game and forgery. Each of these four offenses involves a violation of financial trust, and some of the offenses in each category are violations of positions of trust which were accepted in good faith.[23] The

[22] The literature on "embezzlement" is replete with examples of the vague use of the concept in this way, and as a result there has been practically no progress toward the cumulative development of a theoretical explanation of the type of behavior which embezzlement entails, and even the factual conclusions of empirical studies are not immediately comparable in all respects. Bonding companies, for instance, ordinarily use the term to denote the behavior of all fidelity and surety bond defaulters (United States Fidelity and Guaranty Company, *1001 Embezzlers* [Baltimore: Author, 1937], and *1001 Embezzlers, Post War* [Baltimore: Author, 1950]; Virgil Peterson, "Why Honest People Steal," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXXVIII [July–August, 1947], 94–103). It also has been used to denote the criminal behavior of all persons employed in banks (L. A. Pratt, "I Catch Bank Embezzlers," *Collier's*, CXXII [November 20, 1948], 51, and *Bank Frauds, Their Detection and Prevention* [New York: Ronald Press Co., 1947]). In one instance the concept has been used in such a way that it included swindlers as well as embezzlers (Riemer, *op. cit.*). The varied usage of the term is due to oversight on the part of some investigators, but it is also due in part to the existence of a variety of legal definitions among the states and foreign countries. For example, in Swedish law, "embezzlement" includes some of the offenses which the laws of some of our states define as confidence game or obtaining money under false pretenses, and in New York there is no embezzlement, that type of offense being included in a broad definition of "larceny."

[23] An examination of the records of persons confined in the penitentiaries for issuing fictitious checks and for conspiracy also was made, but the behavior of none of the fourteen persons confined

phenomenon under investigation was therefore defined as "criminal violation of financial trust." The use of this new concept had the effect of providing a rigorous definition of the behavior under investigation, so that a generalization could be made about all instances of the behavior, but it did not do violence to the legal definition of "embezzlement" or of the other three crimes.

To illustrate the inadequacy of the use of legal concepts, as such, in scientific generalization about embezzlement we need only refer to the varied usage of legal terms by the state of Illinois in sentencing men to its penitentiaries. First, this state uses "obtaining money by means of confidence game" to cover a multitude of offenses including, in order of frequency used for commitment, the issuing of a fraudulent check, obtaining money or property by some other trick in which advantage is taken of the confidence which the offender has established in the victim, and the criminal conversion of money or property accepted in good faith while acting in a fiduciary capacity. The last type of behavior is fundamentally different, sociologically, from that in which a man "sells air" or issues a check on a nonexistent account, and it is obviously much closer to embezzlement than it is to classical confidence game. However, in such cases it is frequently difficult for a defendant to prove that "criminal intent" was absent at the time the money or property was accepted and that instead it was present only after the property had come into his legal possession. Often the defendant is not interested in producing such proof.

Second, the definition of forgery is in Illinois more precise than that of confidence game, but again some forgeries are more closely related to embezzlement than they are to other forgeries. Those forgeries committed in situations where the criminal is trusted (i.e., a forged check is accepted by a victim) are no more homogeneous sociologically than crimes called "confidence game" are homogeneous because the person is similarly trusted. In many instances, one forges as a part of his embezzlement, so that the prosecuting attorney has, in effect, the choice of prosecuting him for either or both crimes. The behavior of a bank teller who, for example, forges a customer's name on a withdrawal slip made out in the amount of $100 and then pockets the money is logically identical, using the concept "criminal violation of financial trust," to embezzlement by a teller who simply indicates that a $100 withdrawal has been made when in fact it has not been made.

Third, larceny by bailee and embezzlement are legally distinguishable in Illinois (this is not true in all states), but the legal distinction is relevant for scientific purposes only in the way that the legal distinction between forgery and embezzlement is relevant. The legal differentiation hinges on the nature of the trust relationship—whether of trustor-trustee or of bailor-bailee—but such differentiation is unnecessary if the trust-violation concept is used instead of the legal categories. Again, the matter of legal proof presents perplexing problems, since it is difficult to prove in court, for example, whether one who rented an automobile and absconded with it actually intended to abscond with it at the time he rented it (confidence game) or whether he rented it in good faith and then later decided to abscond with it (larceny by bailee).

Fourth, not even the relatively precise definition of embezzlement is used consistently in the state. We encountered four different cases in which persons convicted for embezzlement had obviously intended to "beat" their victims at the time they accepted the position of trust. In one such case, which demonstrates the legal importance of proving the presence of criminal intent at different periods, a man was convicted for embezzlement after selling a truckload of merchandise belonging to his employer. He confessed to the interviewer that this was the seventh or eighth time he

for those offenses met the criteria. Meeting the criteria were 4.8 per cent of the 104 forgery cases, 16.1 per cent of the 124 confidence-game cases, 88.9 per cent of the 36 embezzlement cases, and 94.1 per cent of the 17 larceny-by-bailee cases.

had obtained a fictitious driver's license and applied for a truck-driving job with the intention of absconding with merchandise. Had the state been able to prove this, it probably would have convicted him for confidence game. The case was not used in the research, since it was not subsumed under the sociological concept.

Further citation of cases encountered in the Illinois penitentiaries will clarify our position. (1) A lawyer in legal possession of a client's money, which he was to use to pay off a mortgage for the client, converted the money to his own use and was convicted for embezzlement. Another lawyer in legal possession of a client's money, which he was to use to purchase real estate in tax-foreclosure proceedings, converted the money and was convicted for confidence game. (2) A real estate broker converted deposits which had been made with him for the purchase of real estate and was convicted for confidence game, while another real estate broker converted similar deposits and was convicted for embezzlement. (3) A porter who converted the money he was to deliver to the bank for his employer was convicted for larceny by bailee, and another porter who did the same thing was convicted for embezzlement.

Neither legal nor behavioristic differences are present in these cases, yet the conviction was for different offenses. In contrast to this there are, as indicated above, obvious legal differences in some cases, though the behavior is identical when the trust-violation concept is used.

In summary it is on the one hand necessary, because of democratic and legal tradition, to restrict the use of the word "crime" to behavior which is so defined by the criminal law, and on the other hand it is necessary, because of assumptions of proper scientific methodology, to define rigorously the phenomena under investigation in criminology. Owing to lack of homogeneity within the general category "crime" and within the categories designating specific crimes, these two positions present an apparent contradiction. The contradiction can in part be resolved by definition of homogeneous units within the category "crime" and within the specific crime categories, but the entire area of crime is not subject to such treatment. A further procedure for clarification of concepts and the subsequent definition of homogeneous units which transcend but do not contradict definitions of specific crimes has been outlined.

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THE ACCURACY, EFFICIENCY, AND VALIDITY OF A PREDICTION INSTRUMENT[1]

ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

ABSTRACT

Prognostic instruments were developed to predict the recidivism of white male juvenile delinquent probationers, and predictions were made for a follow-up sample of cases. The results suggest that an accurate and efficient prediction instrument calls for a small number of stable items from efficient factors having a relatively high association with the criterion. These items are then used to predict an event in a population homogeneous with respect to the differences in factors controlling the event.

The central problem of the theory of prediction is to make the best prediction for each case.[2] This paper examines the formal properties and dimensions of an actuarial prediction system which makes the best prediction for each case. Aspects of the theory of prediction are tested in predicting the recidivism of juvenile delinquent probationers.[3]

The best prediction for each case is made by minimizing the total error of prediction for the population as a whole on the principle of maximum probability. Best prediction is achieved when maximum accuracy and efficiency of a prediction instrument are obtained, and valid prediction results when accurate and efficient predictions are made through time. In this research ways of increasing the accuracy, efficiency, and validity of a prediction instrument were investigated.

It is assumed that a prediction instrument is devised to decrease the errors which result from the forecast of human behavior in specific situations. An efficient prediction instrument must, therefore, demonstrate a gain in precision over predictions made without the knowledge which the prediction instrument provides. Two indexes were used to test the precision of prognostic instruments—the accuracy and the efficiency of a prediction instrument. The index of *accuracy* is defined as the proportion of cases correctly predicted. The percentage reduction in the error of prediction was selected as an index of *relative predictive efficiency*.[4] This measure may be defined as the ratio of the difference between errors in prediction from A and B to error of prediction from A, where B utilizes more or less information than A. It is operationally defined here as the ratio of the difference between error in prediction from the total violation rate and score groups of the prediction instrument to the error of prediction from the total violation rate.

The formal properties of the predictors (stability, efficiency, and extent of association with the criterion) and two dimensions of the prediction system (size of a prediction battery and homogeneity of the population) are examined, as bearing on valid prediction. The hypothesis is that, in the long run,

[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge the helpful suggestions of Dr. E. W. Burgess and Lloyd E. Ohlin.

[2] See Paul Horst *et al.*, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1941), pp. 258–59: "The best estimate is defined as that which is obtained by the best method of prediction. The best method of prediction is defined to be that method, which, if applied to all members of the population selected in random order, will yield the least amount of error for the population as a whole."

[3] The substantive findings for this study of the prediction of delinquent recidivism will be found in Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "The Accuracy, Efficiency, and Validity of a Prediction Instrument" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949).

[4] See Horst *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–14, and Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (March, 1949), 441–52, for a discussion of this index.

maximum accuracy and efficiency of a prediction instrument is obtained when a small number of stable items from efficient factors having a relatively high association with the criterion are used to predict an event in a population homogeneous with respect to the differences in factors controlling the event. The formal properties and dimensions of the actuarial prediction system which make for valid prediction are investigated by application to the prediction of delinquent recidivism. Prognostic instruments were developed to predict the recidivism of white male juvenile delinquent probationers of the Cook County Juvenile Court in 1943 and 1944. The prognostic instruments were constructed on the basis of the formal properties of the predictors and for prediction batteries of varying size in an original sample of 736 cases.[5] To test the validity of the prediction instruments, predictions were then made for differential risk groups in a follow-up sample of 374 cases.[6]

FORMAL PROPERTIES OF THE PREDICTORS

Predictors used to construct the prognostic instruments were selected on the basis of an item analysis. To insure the selection of statistically reliable predictors, an item analysis procedure was employed which minimizes fluctuations in score values of items in subsequent samples. The significance of the difference between the mean violation rate of a subcategory of a factor and the mean violation rate of the sample was selected as the mode of item analysis. Subcategories were selected as predictors when the sampling reliability of the subcategory was greater than .01—a technique of item analysis which, under the assumption of a stable universe, increases the sampling reliability of the predictors and the scoring procedure.

Statistically significant predictors employed in this study in the construction of prediction instruments are presented in Table 1. The predictors are classified into two main types: (1) *Favorable predictors* are subcategories of a factor with a mean violation rate significantly less than the mean violation rate of the sample. (2) *Unfavorable predictors* are subcategories of a factor with a mean violation rate significantly greater than the mean violation rate of the sample. Statistically reliable favorable and unfavorable predictors were further differentiated according to the formal properties of stability, relative efficiency, and extent of association with the criterion.

THE USE OF STABLE PREDICTORS

Errors in prediction occur when sample statistics, computed from one random sample, are applied to other random samples. These errors are presumably greater than the error which would exist if the population distribution were known. In predicting delinquent recidivism we never know the population distribution. It is therefore not possible to determine exactly which factors, selected from one random sample of recidivists, are to be applied to other random samples to minimize errors in prediction.

We may minimize errors resulting from the application of sample statistics to subsequent samples by employing stable items as predictors. Stable predictors are subcategories of a factor which are consistently observed to be associated with the criterion under investigation. Unstable predictors are subcategories of a factor which are not consistently observed to be associated with the criterion. Stable predictors have greater sampling reliability, since they consist of items which are observed to be statistically significant in repeated sampling trials in the same or different time periods. The most crucial aspect of stability, however, is stability through time, as predictions are generally made through time. Items which show a stable relationship with the criterion through time should therefore yield more

[5] To obtain the score groups of the prediction instrument, a simple scoring procedure was adopted. Items designated predictors were assigned a weight of one. All other items were scored zero. The score distribution was the range obtained from the summation of the score weights for each case.

[6] For a discussion of the sample design see Reiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–27.

TABLE 1

SIGNIFICANT UNFAVORABLE PREDICTORS USED TO CONSTRUCT EXPECTANCY TABLES

Factor No.	Factor Designation	Predictor	Critical Ratio	Tschuprow's *T*
1.....	Residential mobility	Less than three years at present address	3.1	.12
2.....	Family constellation	One natural parent and siblings	3.0	.09
3.....	Marital relationship between parents	Open breach or gross incompatibility	3.5	.13
4.....	Family moral pattern	Unfavorable moral ideal and/or techniques of control	3.3	.13
5.....	Economic status of family	Dependent	3.4	.12
6.....	Age of younger parent at marriage	Thirty-one or over	3.2	.11
7.....	History of delinquency in family	Delinquent siblings	3.2	.12
8.....	Ordinal position re sex of sibs	One or more sibs of opposite sex older	3.2	.11
9.....	Age of delinquent at first offense for which probation was given	Fourteen years or less	5.7	.21
10.....	Age of delinquent at first recorded offense	Fourteen years or less	6.3	.25
11.....	Time interval between delinquencies	Less than four years	3.9	.....
		Four years or more	4.2	.18
12.....	Institutional experience	Previous institutional experience	4.7	.15
13.....	Educational attainment	Grade school	5.7	.18
14.....	Educational retardation	Retarded or in special class	2.8	.08
15.....	Scholarship record	Fair or poor grades	3.1	.15
16.....	Truancy of delinquent	Frequently truant	3.0	.....
		Usually truant	4.5	.18
17.....	Deportment record in school	Poor or very poor	3.5	.13
18.....	Psychiatric examination	Psychiatric social worker examination	6.3	.....
		Institute for Juvenile Research examination	6.3	.25
19.....	Adequacy of personality controls	Relatively inadequate ego controls	5.7	.....
		Relatively inadequate super-ego controls	4.4	.23
20.....	Recommendations for treatment	Place delinquent in adequate community environment	3.8	.....
		Place delinquent in closed institution or psychotherapy	7.1	.24

valid prediction than items which have an unstable relationship with the criterion in time.

To test the hypothesis, five items designated as stable predictors were selected. Items were classified as stable predictors in this research when the item was observed to be statistically significant and the direction of association was the same in at least two research studies predicting the recidivism of juvenile delinquents. Since these studies of the same or related delinquent populations were undertaken at different times, it is assumed that these items demonstrate stability through time. The results of prediction from this battery were compared with predictions made for a battery of five unstable predictors. Items were classified as unstable predictors in this research when the item was not consistently observed to be associated with the criterion or when there was conflicting evidence as to the direction of association (i.e., whether a favorable or unfavorable predictor) in at least two research studies and/or samples from the same or related populations.[7]

A comparison of the accuracy and efficiency of prediction from stable and unsta-

[7] The five factors selected as stable predictors are factors 5, 16, 17, 19, and 20 in Table 1. Factors 1, 2, 6, 7, and 8 in the table were designated unstable predictors.

ble predictors in the original expectancy sample shows that the accuracy and the efficiency of prediction are greater when stable predictors are used.[8] While there is a drop in the accuracy and efficiency of prediction from the expectancy to the validation sample, stable predictors also yield more accurate and efficient prediction in the follow-up sample. The accuracy of prediction is 68.5 per cent for stable items used as predictors as compared with only 62.3 per cent for unstable items used as predictors. Since the average success rate for the delinquent population is 64.7 per cent, prediction from unstable items provides less accurate prediction than prediction from the average success rate. This is more readily apparent in a comparison of the two modes of prediction in the follow-up sample as summarized by the percentage reduction in the error of prediction. The reduction in error is +10.6 per cent for prediction from stable predictors. In prediction from unstable predictors, it is −6.1 per cent (see Table 2). The negative reduction in error indicates that the amount of error resulting in prediction from unstable items is greater than the error which would result in prediction from the over-all success rate. Our observations therefore suggest that stable predictors achieve more efficient prediction than can be obtained in prediction from unstable predictors.

TABLE 2

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF TEN PREDICTION INSTRUMENTS IN EXPECTANCY AND VALIDATION SAMPLES ACCORDING TO THE ACCURACY AND EFFICIENCY OF THE INSTRUMENTS

Prediction Battery	Expectancy Sample		Validation Sample		Critical Ratio of Difference in Accuracy, Expectancy, and Validity Samples
	Per Cent Accuracy of Prediction*	Per Cent Reduction in Error of Prediction	Per Cent Accuracy of Prediction*	Per Cent Reduction in Error of Prediction	
4 unfavorable stable and efficient predictors	71.2	+12.0	70.9	+17.4	.12
5 unfavorable stable and efficient or inefficient predictors	72.3	+15.4	68.5	+10.6	1.32
7 unfavorable stable and efficient or inefficient predictors	73.4	+18.7	68.7	+12.1	1.62
13 unfavorable stable and efficient or inefficient predictors	74.2	+21.2	69.5	+14.3	1.65
18 unfavorable stable or unstable, efficient or inefficient predictors	74.7	+22.8	68.7	+11.4	2.12
6 unfavorable stable predictors with high association with the criterion	73.8	+19.9	67.9	+ 9.1	2.03
9 unfavorable inefficient predictors	72.8	+17.0	65.2	+ 3.0	2.62
6 unfavorable stable or unstable predictors with low association with the criterion	68.1	+ 2.5	62.8	− 5.0	1.73
5 unfavorable unstable predictors	67.8	+ 1.7	62.6	− 6.1	1.73
4 unfavorable stable and inefficient predictors	70.1	+ 8.7	60.7	−11.4	3.10

* The accuracy of prediction from over-all success rate is 67.3 per cent in the expectancy sample and 64.7 per cent in the follow-up sample.

[8] It should be noted that the stable and unstable predictors are in general those with relatively high and low associations with the criterion, respectively. Our comparisons are therefore in part comparisons of extent of association with the criterion as well as comparisons of the stability of predictors. We are perhaps testing corollary hypotheses in this case.

ASSOCIATION WITH THE CRITERION

In a prediction battery two types of independent variables make for efficient prediction—the prediction variables and the suppression variables. Prediction variables

are factors which have appreciable correlations with the criterion. By contrast, the suppression variables have negligible correlations with the criterion but appreciable correlations with the other independent variables. To obtain efficient prediction, a high multiple correlation should exist between the prediction variables and the criterion in the universe for which predictions are made.

In predicting types of human activity, it is usually impossible to find a small set of *independent* prediction variables which are appreciably associated with the criterion. Items with a low association with the criterion therefore are often selected to comprise a prediction battery on the assumption that they make for valid prediction, since the multiple correlation of the items in the battery with the criterion will tend to be higher than the average of the individual item correlations. But this practice obscures the fact that, in general, a high multiple correlation between the prediction variables and the criterion exists when individual item correlations with the criterion are high.[9] More accurate and efficient prediction is achieved in the present research from items with a high rather than a low association with the criterion.

A comparison was made between prediction from a battery of six predictors, each with a relatively high association with the criterion, and prediction from a battery of six predictors, each with a relatively low association with the criterion.[10] In the original expectancy samples more accurate and efficient prediction of delinquent recidivism is achieved when a battery of predictors, each with a relatively high rather than a relatively low association with the criterion, is used. While the accuracy and the efficiency of prediction are not so great in the follow-up as in the original samples, a similar situation exists (see Table 2). In fact, the battery of predictors, each with a relatively low association with the criterion, yields a negative efficiency in prediction (−5.0 per cent). An actual excess in the amount of error results in prediction from the original expectancy sample as compared with prediction from the over-all violation rate. Our observations, therefore, indicate that a small number of predictors, each with a relatively high association with the criterion, provides more valid prediction than the same number of predictors, each with a relatively low association with the criterion.[11]

THE USE OF EFFICIENT PREDICTORS

Predictors selected on the basis of an item analysis vary considerably in their ability to predict the criterion. Conventional modes of item selection do not provide for the selection of predictors from the items meeting the criterion of significance adopted. Furthermore, the level of significance chosen for the inclusion or exclusion of an item from a battery is somewhat arbitrary. A distinction among the significant predictors was therefore introduced on the basis of the predictive discrimination of the factor, i.e., the relative predictive efficiency of the factor. *Inefficient predictors* do not individually yield efficient prediction. They may contribute to efficient prediction as one of a set of predictors. In contrast *efficient predictors* taken individually yield efficient prediction. Efficient and inefficient predictors differ primarily in that efficient predic-

[9] Theoretically, both sets of items may contribute to a single prediction battery, providing they contribute to the battery as prediction or suppression variables. An empirical test of the contribution of items having a low association with the criterion to a battery of items having a relatively high association with the criterion is made in the section on reduction of the number of variables in prediction.

[10] The predictors are presented in Table 1. The six predictors with a relatively high association with the criterion are factors 9, 11, 13, 16, 19, and 20. The six predictors with a relatively low association with the criterion are factors 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, and 8. These latter items are, with the exception of item 5, unstable predictors. Item 5 is designated a stable predictor (see n. 7 above).

[11] A similar conclusion is obtained in an examination of the parole expectancy tables of George B. Vold, where comparisons are made between an equal number of predictors having high and low associations with the criterion (see Ohlin and Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 445).

tors discriminate within their distribution so as to serve as a predictive instrument.[12]

Theoretically efficient predictors should yield more valid prediction than inefficient predictors, since they have greater discriminative ability with respect to the criterion predicted. To test the hypothesis, four factors observed to be efficient predictors were selected and a prediction instrument constructed. The accuracy and the efficiency of prediction from this battery were compared with predictive accuracy and efficiency for a battery of four inefficient predictors.[13] Prediction from four efficient predictors yields more accurate and efficient prediction in the original and follow-up samples than prediction from four inefficient predictors (see Table 2).

Of particular importance is the efficiency achieved with the use of efficient as compared with inefficient predictors in the follow-up sample. Inefficient predictors yield a substantial negative efficiency in the follow-up sample (−11.4 per cent), while efficient predictors yield a moderate positive efficiency in the follow-up sample (+17.4 per cent). A comparison of predictive efficiency in the follow-up and the original expectancy samples shows that inefficient predictors yield a marked decrease in efficiency (a drop from +8.7 to −11.4 per cent), while efficient predictors yield a small increase in efficiency (an increase from +12.0 to +17.4 per cent).[14] We would therefore conclude that efficient predictors yield more valid results than do inefficient predictors.

[12] It can be shown that a necessary and sufficient condition for a factor to discriminate in this manner is that, for at least one subcategory of the factor, a prediction of B is made when A is predicted for the remainder of the subcategories (in the type case of prediction for a dichotomous criterion).

[13] The four factors selected as inefficient predictors were factors 9, 11, 13, and 15 in Table 1. The four items selected as efficient predictors are factors 16, 17, 19, and 20 in Table 1.

[14] It is beyond the scope of this paper to analyze the reasons for the increase or decrease in efficiency in the follow-up sample. For a discussion of this question see Reiss, *op. cit.*, chap. ix.

It was suggested that inefficient predictors may nonetheless contribute to efficient prediction as part of a set of predictors. To test the hypothesis, a prediction instrument employing efficient and inefficient predictors was constructed. The instrument was based on the four efficient and four inefficient predictors employed in the above comparisons. Five predictors were added to this battery.[15] The instrument therefore employed four efficient and nine inefficient predictors.

A comparison of the error of prediction from the expectancy rates of the combined efficient and inefficient predictors with the error from the use of either efficient or inefficient predictors was then made. Greater accuracy and efficiency of prediction was obtained from the combined efficient and inefficient predictors in the original expectancy sample.

In the follow-up sample more accurate and efficient prediction is achieved in prediction from the combined efficient and inefficient predictors than in prediction from inefficient predictors only. Prediction from the combined efficient and inefficient predictors, however, is less valid than that from efficient predictors. The reduction in the error of prediction is +17.4, +13.5, and −11.4 per cent for the efficient, combined, and inefficient prediction batteries, respectively, in the validation sample (see Table 2). These observations suggest that efficient predictors may yield more accurate and efficient prediction in the long run than a combination of efficient and inefficient predictors.[16]

[15] The five additional items selected as inefficient predictors are presented in Table 1 as factors 3, 4, 5, 7, and 12.

[16] The poorer results obtained with the use of both efficient and inefficient predictors in the follow-up sample seems to be in part a function of the size of the predictive battery. This is consistent with our observations below that a drop in efficiency *may* be a function of an increase in the number of predicting variates. The lower efficiency may also be a function of the nature of the predicting variates in the set. That is, they may be poor estimates of the population parameter.

REDUCTION OF THE NUMBER OF VARIABLES IN PREDICTION

Most prediction studies begin with a large number of items presumably prognostic of the event to be predicted. By means of an item analysis, a number of the items are generally eliminated, since they do not meet the level of statistical significance adopted. Predictions are then usually made employing a large battery of predictors.

Theoretically, the greater the number of predictors, the greater the probability one will achieve perfect prediction. But, as the ratio of the number of predictors to the number of cases in the original sample increases, there will generally be a tendency for the accuracy and efficiency of prediction to decrease in subsequent samples. An optimum number of variables exists for a given upper limit of predictability existing in a population with a given sample size. In actual practice we are unable to determine the optimum number of variables, since the upper limit of predictability is unknown. We shall therefore examine the validity of prediction for batteries of varying size, recognizing that not all the criteria for the selection of the initial battery and the addition of predictors to the battery are met. The multiple correlation of the items in each battery is unknown. Furthermore, it is not possible to standardize or hold constant the extent of association with the criterion, and stability may be considered relatively "constant" only in the batteries of thirteen or less efficient or inefficient predictors. Since the mode of selecting predictors for the battery of four efficient predictors yields valid prediction, we shall examine the effect of adding stable and inefficient predictors to this battery. We propose to demonstrate that the addition of such items contributes materially to the efficiency of prediction in the original but not the follow-up samples.

In Table 2 are presented the efficiency of prediction in expectancy and follow-up samples for four, seven, and thirteen stable and efficient or inefficient predictors. When seven predictors were used, three inefficient and stable predictors were added to the original battery of four efficient and stable predictors.[17] Similarly, six inefficient and stable predictors were added to the battery of seven predictors to construct a prognostic instrument employing thirteen predictors.[18] Finally, five inefficient and unstable predictors were added to the battery of thirteen predictors to obtain a prognostic device employing eighteen predictors.[19]

A comparison of the accuracy and efficiency of these four batteries shows that the addition of predictors to an original battery of stable and efficient predictors increases the accuracy and efficiency of prediction in the original sample. Adding stable or unstable inefficient predictors to the original sample increases predictive efficiency from 12 per cent for the battery of four stable and efficient predictors to 22.8 per cent for the battery of eighteen inefficient and efficient stable or unstable predictors (see Table 2).

Comparisons in the validation sample (Table 2) show that the addition of predictors in general decreases the accuracy and efficiency of prediction. The highest accuracy and efficiency of prediction is obtained for the four efficient and stable predictors (+17.4 per cent reduction in the error of prediction). In general, our observations suggest that the addition of stable or unstable inefficient predictors to a battery of efficient and stable predictors decreases predictability in the follow-up sample. The effect of adding inefficient predictors to an efficient battery of predictors is to decrease the sampling stability of the predictions.[20]

[17] The three stable and inefficient predictors are factors 11, 12, and 14 in Table 1.

[18] The six stable and inefficient predictors are factors 3, 4, 5, 10, 15, and 18 in Table 1.

[19] The five unstable inefficient predictors are factors 1, 2, 6, 7, and 8 in Table 1.

[20] It is not known whether the addition of stable and efficient predictors with a relatively high association with the criterion will further increase the accuracy and efficiency of prediction in the long run. An examination of data used to predict recidivism of parolees indicates such may be the case. The addition of a relatively large number of such predictors should, however, materially reduce pre-

THE USE OF HOMOGENEOUS POPULATIONS IN PREDICTION

Prediction studies in criminology usually deal with a socially heterogeneous sample of offenders and risk groups. This may seriously impair the validity of prediction for a population. Social groups within a delinquent or criminal population often do not have the same probability of producing the event predicted. Or, if they do, the predictors selected may not differentiate in like manner with respect to the criterion predicted. The heterogeneity of offenders in a population may obscure the ability of predictors to reflect distinctions between differential risk groups within the population. It seems more logical to predict for such differential risk groups than to attempt a rational weighting of the factors which differentiate the groups, since we usually cannot determine an efficient set of weights which take into account both the differences in factors which control the probability of occurrence of the event and the differential association of predictors with the event. Furthermore, differentials between such risk groups are generally attributable to assignable causes, and predictions should more logically be made for these groups. Accuracy and efficiency of prediction should be greater for homogeneous groups classified according to the differences in factors which control the event than for combined risk groups.

To test the hypothesis, a sample of all Cook County probationers was selected and predictions made. Examination of this sample of probationers disclosed that the population consisted of differential risk groups where factors could be isolated which controlled the probability of probation violation. The probability of probation violation differed significantly for the Negro and white probationers in the original sample of probationers. The mean violation rate of the white probationers was 32.7 per cent. In the Negro group it was 41.7 per cent. An examination of the predictors selected to predict the recidivism of juvenile probationers likewise disclosed that the predictors do not differentiate in like manner for white and Negro probationers. For example, no association was observed between marital status of parents and outcome on probation for the Negro population, while significant association was observed for the white probationers. The extent of association with the criterion also varied for individual items. The association of the factor of adequacy of personality controls with success and failure on probation was .23 and .30 in the white and Negro populations, respectively. Similar variation was observed for many of the items employed as predictors.

Predictions for the 390 Negro male delinquent probationers in the sample of Cook County probationers therefore were made and compared with the predictions for 1,110 white male delinquent probationers.[21] Comparison of the efficiency of prediction for the Negro, white, and combined Negro-white groups is presented in Table 3. The efficiency of prediction for the Negro cases when predictions are made from the combined Negro-white group is also presented.

Comparing the results of prediction in the three predictive batteries, we observe that the efficiency of prediction in the validation sample is greater in the combined Negro-white sample than for the white alone but less than the efficiency for the

dictability in the long run. Adding predictors to an original battery of predictors decreases the sampling stability of the predictions by (*a*) decreasing the stability of score groups in the prediction instrument and (*b*) increasing the ratio of predictors to the cases for which predictions are made. Size of battery is always a relative concept. It is always a function of the number of cases for which predictions are made. The optimum number of variables for efficient prediction will be small with respect to sample size.

[21] The two groups are not of the same sample size, since the sample of Negro probationers has less than one-half the number of cases in the white sample. The sample of Negro probationers is somewhat small for efficient prediction, as random fluctuations in the index of predictability may be quite large for samples of less than six hundred cases. The comparisons are perhaps more valid in the expectancy than in the validation samples. It is doubted, however, whether random fluctuations in the index of predictability are sufficiently large to invalidate the comparisons.

Negro alone.[22] There is also a tendency for the efficiency in prediction to increase for the white and combined groups in the original sample but to decrease for the Negro group. This may be attributed to the fact that the extent of association of the predictors with the criterion varies in the three populations.

If the combined Negro-white samples are used to predict for the Negro and white samples, prediction for the white is the same as prediction for white alone. Prediction for Negro cases from the combined Negro-white sample is the same as prediction for Negro alone only when four stable and efficient predictors are used.[23] In prediction for the other batteries there is a marked tendency for the efficiency of prediction to decrease in the original and follow-up samples. The effect of predicting from the combined Negro-white samples is to obtain the same efficiency in follow-up samples in predicting for the white alone but to decrease efficiency in predicting for the Negro alone.

These observations, therefore, suggest that higher efficiency in prediction from the combined Negro-white sample of probationers does not demonstrate efficiency of prediction increases for either the Negro or the white group. The effect of predicting from the combined samples is either to achieve the same and/or to decrease the efficiency of prediction for both groups. The data likewise suggest that prediction is more accurate and efficient for Negro and white alone than prediction for the combined Negro-white probationers. More accurate and efficient prediction therefore is probably obtained when predictions are made for populations homogeneous with respect to

TABLE 3

A COMPARISON OF PREDICTIVE EFFICIENCY ACCORDING TO THE PERCENTAGE REDUCTION IN THE ERROR OF PREDICTION FOR WHITE, NEGRO, AND COMBINED NEGRO-WHITE SAMPLES*

Prediction Battery	Per Cent Reduction in Error of Prediction							
	Prediction for White		Prediction for Negro		Negro Prediction from Negro-White		Prediction for Negro-White	
	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2	S_1	S_2
4 unfavorable stable and efficient predictors	12.0	17.4	22.7	27.6	22.7	27.6	15.4	20.5
7 unfavorable stable and efficient or inefficient predictors	18.7	12.1	22.7	27.6	8.2	15.5	15.4	13.1
13 unfavorable stable and efficient or inefficient predictors	21.2	14.3	15.5	36.2	12.7	24.1	18.5	16.8

* Samples are designated S; S_1 is the expectancy sample and S_2 the validation sample in each battery for white, Negro, and combined Negro-white groups.

[22] The rather marked higher efficiency of prediction for the Negro cases in all batteries of the follow-up sample may be a function of the small number of cases (126) in the Negro validation sample.

[23] This finding may be contrary to our hypothesis and later conclusions as to the nature of predicting variates and the prediction system. It suggests that homogeneity may not be a necessary criterion of a prediction system when a small number of stable and efficient predictors having a relatively high association with the criterion are chosen as predictors. Such variables are more likely to be "fundamental" attributes of activity in the behavior predicted.

the differences in factors controlling the event.[24]

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A major problem in prediction is to make the best prediction for each case. Theoretically, the best prediction is obtained by minimizing the total error of prediction for the population as a whole on the principle of maximum probability. An investigation into the possibility of achieving the best prediction by examining modes of increasing the accuracy and efficiency of a prediction instrument was undertaken.

The observations made in the present research suggest that valid predictions are made from a prediction instrument when a small number of stable items from efficient factors having a relatively high association with the criterion are used as predictors. These attributes of the factors are not, however, independent, since stability and efficiency are in part functions of the extent of association of a factor with the criterion. The predictive value of items having a relatively high association with the criterion can nonetheless be further assessed in terms of the relative stability and efficiency of the factor. Only stable items from efficient factors with a relatively high association with the criterion apparently make for valid prediction. Size of the prediction battery is likewise in part a function of the nature of the predicting attributes as well as a function of a given upper limit of predictability existing in a population with a given sample size.

Our observations suggest the addition of inefficient predictors to a battery of efficient predictors decreases the efficiency of prediction in follow-up samples. Further investigation is needed on the effect of adding efficient predictors to such batteries in an attempt to determine the relative effect of the addition of predictors to a battery in samples of a given size. Present research suggests that, in samples of from four to eight hundred cases, several predictors from efficient factors with a relatively high association with the criterion provide the most valid prediction. Finally, our observations suggest that valid prediction is a function of the homogeneity of the population with respect to differences in factors controlling the event predicted. Predictions are apparently more valid when the stability of the system for which predictions are made is insured by controlling factors which affect the system (at least for time intervals). One mode of achieving the stability of the prediction system is to make predictions for populations where differences controlling the event are minimized.

Finally, it should be observed that the attributes of the predictors (stability, efficiency, and extent of association with the criterion) are related to the stability of the event predicted in time. Fluctuations in the occurrence of the event predicted will undoubtedly affect the predictability of the items selected by the relative measures of stability and efficiency. Such fluctuations require an examination of techniques for controlling changes in the prediction system.

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[24] These observations are consistent with similar conclusions for Vold's predictions for prison, reformatory, and combined prison-reformatory groups. An examination of the efficiency of prediction for the prison and reformatory groups and for the combined prison-reformatory groups shows that the results for prison or reformatory group alone are superior to that in the combined group in four out of six comparisons. In two instances no discrimination is obtained in prediction for either group (see Ohlin and Duncan, *op. cit.*, p. 446).

MATE-SELECTION AMONG NEW YORK CITY'S CHINESE MALES, 1931–38

SHEPARD SCHWARTZ

ABSTRACT

In an attempt to test the hypothesis that in a given society endogamous norms and sentiments operate differentially for various social groups, the marriage license applications filed in New York City during the years 1931–38 by 254 Chinese males and their brides were examined. From these data it appeared that pronounced differences in the patterns of mate-selection characterized each of the community's chief occupational groups—"laundry-workers," "restaurant-workers," and "merchants." Moreover, the number of grooms in each of the groups was disproportionate to their number in the community's population.

The present report describes certain aspects of mate-selection by Chinese males in New York City during the years 1931–38. It is based on data on 254 marriages which occurred during this period in which one or both participants were officially recorded as "Chinese." It is specifically concerned with the relationship between the occupational and nativity characteristics of the grooms in these marriages and the racial and nativity characteristics of their brides.

It has long been recognized that endogamous norms and sentiments exist in all human societies and constitute important areas of social control. In relatively recent investigations, however, Merton,[1] Wirth and Goldhamer,[2] and Slotkin[3] have directed attention to the fact that in any given society these segregation devices operate with greater or less effectiveness according to the social group. Merton, for example, illustrates his theoretical formulations with an analysis of Negro-white intermarriages. These he classifies into sixteen types, depending on race, sex, and class attributes, and goes on to discuss the relative frequency with which these different types may be expected to occur. In the study of Negro-white marriages in Boston, Wirth and Goldhamer examine some of Merton's hypotheses in the light of their empirical data. Elsewhere in their study they suggest that nativity and certain types—in addition to classes—of occupation may hinder or facilitate the operation of endogamous norms.

The data on which the present report is based were abstracted in 1941 from the marriage registers of the Manhattan office of the New York City clerk, at which time a lag of more than two years existed between the date of filing of marriage certificates and their entry in registers. Shortly after 1941 the use of these registers was abandoned, and public access to marriage records of any kind was restricted.[4] Since marriage certificates are recorded separately in each of New York City's boroughs, the sample analyzed here constitutes what is probably only a large fraction of all such marriages occurring in New York during this period. To the extent, however, that all the registers for the period were inspected item by item, no other sampling procedure was involved.

New York City's Chinese community has, throughout its history, functioned as a culturally enclaved economic outpost, to which the natives of certain districts in eastern Kwangtung Province come, work for a period of years, make remittances to their families, strive to accumulate capital, and ultimately return to China. These immigrants, for obvious reasons, are usually

[1] R. Merton, "Intermarriage and the Social Structure," *Psychiatry*, IV (1941), 361–74.

[2] L. Wirth and H. Goldhamer, "Negro-White Intermarriage in Recent Times," in *Characteristics of the American Negro*, ed. O. Klineberg (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944).

[3] J. Slotkin, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage in Chicago," *American Sociological Review*, VII (February, 1942), 34–39.

[4] The writer is indebted to Mr. Philip Hines, then deputy city clerk, for permission to consult these registers.

males entering the prime of their economically productive years. As a result, the atmosphere of the community is distinctly frontier-like.

As enumerated by the 1930 Census, New York's Chinese population contained about 10,000 persons. Males exceeded females in the ratio of more than eight to one. There was a total of fewer than 500 complete conjugal families. Unmarried males fifteen years of age and older numbered 5,112; unmarried females in the same age group, 122. One person in 3 was a married male whose wife resided in China. Only slightly more than 20 per cent of the total population had been born in the United States.[5]

Similar concentrations characterized the population's occupational distribution. And these are of particular importance, for the social structure of New York's Chinese community is such that an individual's occupation serves very largely to determine both the degree and the nature of his participation in its culture and his exposure to the culture of the larger urban community.

As is indicated in Table 1, more than 90 per cent of the total male population ten years of age and older were gainfully occupied. Of this total of 7,674 workers, 40 per cent worked in laundries, either as employees or as nominal proprietors, and 45 per cent were engaged in some form of restaurant work. The remaining 15 per cent of the male working population—with "retail or wholesale dealers," "salesmen," "clerks," and "professional or semiprofessional persons" constituting about two-thirds of the total—formed a kind of "merchant group," whose primary economic function consisted of satisfying the distinctive consumer needs of the community. Unlike this "merchant group," whose members largely lived in Chinatown and worked in its stores or offices, the restaurant- and laundry-workers were scattered throughout the metropolitan area, residing in general proximity to their places of employment and participating in the activities of Chinatown only during their one day a week of consecutive leisure.

For the purposes of this report these three occupational groups, regardless of variations within them, are treated as distinct segments of the community's social structure. As referred to below, "laundry-workers" subsumes both proprietors of laundries and and their employees. Restaurant owners, cashiers, waiters, cooks, and dishwashers are all characterized as "restaurant-workers." All other gainfully occupied males, ranging from porters, clerks, and truck drivers at one extreme, to merchants, physicians, political officials, and newspaper editors at the other, are treated as members of a "merchant group."

In contrast to most other states in which

TABLE 1

GAINFULLY OCCUPIED CHINESE MALES TEN YEARS OF AGE AND OLDER, NEW YORK STATE, 1930, BY TYPES OF OCCUPATION*

Occupation		No.
Agriculture		9
Forestry and fishing		.....
Extraction of minerals		.....
Manufacturing and mechanical industries		152
Transportation and communication		140
Trade		513
Retail merchants	100	
Wholesale merchants	66	
Salesmen and others	347	
Clerks	126	
Public service		6
Professional service		142
Domestic and Personal Service		6,586
Laundry owners	671	
Laundry operatives	2,333	
Restaurant keepers	307	
Cooks, waiters, and others	3275	
Total		7,674
Not gainfully occupied		574
Total		8,248

* *U.S. Census, 1930.*

[5] *U.S. Census, 1930.* These data are for New York State, of whose Chinese population 87.1 per cent resided in New York City. It is probable that the state-wide data somewhat more exactly describe the "natural area" of New York City's Chinese community than do the data for New York City itself.

considerable numbers of Chinese reside, New York State imposes no legal prohibitions on intermarriage, and the comparatively liberal, highly urban atmosphere of New York City is such as to reduce the imposition of severe social sanctions against such marriages. As Adams has noted, however, "the body of custom and tradition that [Chinese immigrants] bring with them from their native land is such . . . as to be very unfavorable to marriage with non-Chinese."[6] As regards New York's Chinese community, these endogamous sentiments may be extended to include an emphatic preference for marriage between Chinese of Asiatic origin; between China-born and American-born Chinese a quasi-caste relationship is articulated in reciprocal derogatory stereotypes, in distinctive and exclusive associations, and in the general attitude of China-born males that American-born Chinese girls do not make good wives.

Despite endogamous sentiments, a population characterized by such abnormal sex ratios as was New York's Chinese community in 1930 would normally be expected to resort to considerable out-group marriage. This expectation is amply fulfilled. Of the 254 marriages in our sample for 1931–38, slightly more than 26 per cent were with non-Chinese females.[7] Large as this figure is, however, it represents a considerable decline in the rate of such marriages. In both 1908–12 and 1920–24, the earliest periods for which data are readily available, interracial marriages had exceeded intraracial marriages (Table 2). From 1925 on, however, both the incidence and the proportion of interracial marriages decreased steadily. It is probable that this decrease was related both to the diminishing, but still overwhelming, excess of males over females in the general population (Table 3) and to the reduction in the number of male Chinese students temporarily residing in the metropolitan area.

In Table 4 are presented occupational distributions for Chinese males in New York State in 1930 and for Chinese grooms marrying specific "racial" categories of brides in New York City in 1931–38. It is immediately apparent that the various occupational groups did not marry in proportion to their total numbers in the population. Laundry-workers and restaurant-workers are strikingly underrepresented among the grooms, respectively constituting 36.4 and 42.2 per cent of the total male population of approximate marriageable age but only 16.1 and 30.3 per cent of all grooms. The "merchant group," on the other hand, is even more strikingly overrepresented, forming only 14.4 per cent of the total marriageable male population but contributing 42.1 per

TABLE 2

MARRIAGES OF CHINESE IN NEW YORK CITY, BY PERIODS, 1908–12 AND 1920–38, WITH NUMBER AND RATE OF INTERRACIAL MARRIAGE*

Period	No. of Marriages Involving Chinese	Interracial Marriages	Per Cent of Interracial Marriages
1908–12....	18	10	55.5
1920–24....	49	27	55.1
1925–29....	127	51	40.2
1930–34....	142	49	33.8
1935–38....	141	29	20.7

* *U.S. Census, 1930.*

TABLE 3

MALES PER 100 FEMALES AND MALES FIFTEEN YEARS OF AGE AND OVER PER 100 FEMALES FIFTEEN AND OVER, FOR CHINESE POPULATION OF NEW YORK STATE, 1910–40*

Year	Males per 100 Females	Males Fifteen Years of Age and Over per 100 Females
1940.....	602	396
1930.....	872	1,402
1920.....	879	1,562
1910.....	2,266	3,061

* *U.S. Census.*

[6] R. Adams, *Interracial Marriage in Hawaii* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), p. 142.

[7] There were no cases in our sample of marriages between Chinese females and non-Chinese males.

cent of all grooms. It will be observed, however, that these disproportions did not apply uniformly to the various categories of grooms, for laundry-workers and restaurant-workers are much more adequately represented among the grooms of white brides and of Negro brides than among the grooms of Chinese brides. Indeed, the only category in which laundry-workers married in numbers approximating their expected proportion is as grooms of Negro brides.

large number of marriages between laundry-workers and Negro women. Differential acculturation and unequal opportunity for meeting non-Chinese women are of manifest importance. It is probable also that the enforced residence of restaurant- and laundry-workers outside Chinatown is accompanied by some relaxation in the sanction of endogamous norms. A third series of hypotheses arises in the differential success of the various occupational groups in what is appar-

TABLE 4

NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY SPECIFIED OCCUPATIONS OF CHINESE MALES, TEN YEARS AND OLDER, NEW YORK STATE, 1930,* AND OCCUPATIONS OF CHINESE GROOMS MARRYING SPECIFIC CLASSES OF BRIDES, NEW YORK CITY, 1931–38

Occupation	Chinese Males, Ten and Over, New York State 1930		Chinese Grooms New York City 1931–38		Chinese Grooms of Chinese Brides		Chinese Grooms of White Brides		Chinese Grooms of Negro Brides	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Laundry-workers and owners	3,004	36.4	41	16.1	28	15.1	8	15.1	5	33.3
Restaurant-workers and owners	3,484	42.2	77	30.3	44	23.7	24	45.3	9	60.0
Occupations other than laundry and restaurant	1,186	14.4	112	44.1	92	49.5	19	35.8	1	6.7
Not gainfully occupied	574†	7.0	24*	9.5	22	11.7	2	3.8	....	.....
Total	8,248	100.0	254	100.0	186	100.0	53	100.0	15	100.0

* *U.S. Census.*

† Since this includes all males ten years of age and older, the actual percentage of marriageable males is, of course, much smaller.

‡ Of those, 2 were recorded as "unemployed," 1 "not given," and 21 as "students." The vast majority of these appear, from their birthplaces and addresses, to be persons temporarily studying in New York and are probably irrelevant to the present study.

Expressed simply as frequencies, the most common type of interracial marriage was between restaurant-worker grooms and white brides, of which there were 24 instances. This was closely followed by marriages between "merchant-group" grooms and white brides, of which there were 19 cases. In marriages with Negro brides, restaurant-workers accounted for 9 out of 15 cases, being followed by laundry-workers, who accounted for 5.

A number of plausible, but not entirely conclusive, explanations are available for the high incidence of interracial marriage among restaurant-workers and the relatively

ently an intense competition for brides. Of special interest in this connection is the fact that, during the years covered by our data, Chinese residing in the United States as "treaty merchants" were permitted free entry for their wives. Not until 1943, however, was this privilege extended to include the wives of "American citizens of the Chinese race." It is certain that these "treaty merchants" were concentrated almost exclusively in what we have defined as the "merchant group," since they could not engage in restaurant or laundry occupations without running the risk of deportation. We have no data to indicate how considerable a

part of the "merchant group" was made up of the especially favored "treaty merchants," but their presence within it undoubtedly served in some degree to reduce the pressure toward out-group marriage.

It is necessary, however, to express the incidence of our various types of intermarriage not only as frequencies but in proportion to the numbers of the various occupational groups in the general population. Here a somewhat different pattern emerges. Restaurant-workers constitute 45.3 per cent of the grooms of white brides and 60 per cent of the grooms of Negro brides, at the same time that they constitute 42.2 per cent of the total adult male population. Their overrepresentation in interracial marriages must consequently be interpreted with considerable reservation. It is also noteworthy that the "merchant group," while indicating a clear tendency toward intraracial marriage as against interracial marriage, nevertheless contributed more than twice their expected proportion of grooms of non-Chinese brides.

We have previously mentioned that country of birth constitutes an important factor in mate-selection. This is reflected in the data presented in Table 5, where the nativity of Chinese grooms marrying Chinese brides is given by the place of birth of the latter. The tendency for individuals to marry mates of like origin, as indicated by these data, is significant at the 0.01 level of probability.

In Table 6, the occupation and country of birth of grooms marrying various types of brides are presented. There are, unfortunately, no data available for determining the proportions that these categories form in the total population. We are, consequently, limited simply to describing mate-selection in these different groups and to comparing them with one another.

It is of interest that for each of the occupational-origin categories of grooms certain relatively clear modal patterns of mate-selection are apparent. With one notable exception there is a tendency in all categories for grooms to marry Chinese brides of like origin. In those cases, however, where this does not occur, "merchant-group" grooms tend to marry Chinese brides of unlike origin, while laundry-worker and restaurant-worker grooms tend more often to marry non-Chinese.

This may be illustrated by comparing American-born grooms in the "merchant group" with grooms among American-born restaurant-workers. In each case slightly less than half of all grooms married American-born Chinese brides. Whereas, however, of the remaining 26 "merchant-group" grooms, 16 married Chinese women of unlike origin, 11 of the remaining 17 restaurant-workers married non-Chinese brides.

TABLE 5

ORIGIN OF CHINESE GROOMS MARRYING CHINESE BRIDES, BY ORIGIN OF BRIDES
NEW YORK CITY, 1931–38

Grooms	Brides			
	China-born	American-born	"Other"-born*	Total
China-born	59	35	5	99
American-born	29	45	4	78
"Other"-born*	3	4	2	9
Total	91	84	11	186

* With the exception of persons born in Canada, who are classified as "American-born," this category includes all persons born otherwhere than China or the continental United States.

The operation of endogamous norms is, perhaps, most apparent among China-born grooms in the "merchant group." Of 59 grooms in this category, 34, or nearly 60.0 per cent, married China-born Chinese brides; 16 married Chinese brides whose origins differed from their own; and 9 married white brides. This may be contrasted with mate-selection among the China-born restaurant-workers, for whom there seem to be no clear endogamous norms. Of 38 grooms in this group, 15 married white brides, 14 married American-born Chinese brides, 5 married China-born Chinese brides, and 3 married Negro women. A similar, but somewhat less striking, loss of

normative sanctions appears to characterize the China-born grooms among the laundry-workers. However, 10 of the 26 grooms in this category married Chinese brides of similar origin. Of the remainder, 6 grooms married American-born Chinese women, and 5 each married white and Negro brides. As regards American-born laundry-worker grooms, the number of persons in this category is so small as almost to prevent any attempt at analysis. It may be observed, however, that, in general, mate-selection in this group conforms closely to the pattern described above for American-born grooms of the "merchant group."

TABLE 6

OCCUPATION AND ORIGIN OF CHINESE GROOMS BY ORIGIN OR RACE OF BRIDES
NEW YORK CITY, 1931–38

Groom	Bride					
	Chinese			Non-Chinese		Total
	China-born	American-born	"Other-" born*	White	Negro	
Merchant occupations:						
China-born	34	12	4	9	0	59
American-born	13	22	3	9	1	48
Restaurant occupations:						
China-born	5	14	1	15	3	38
American-born	6	15	0	6	5	32
Laundry occupations:						
China-born	10	6	0	5	5	26
American-born	6	5	0	3	0	14
Not gainfully occupied:						
China-born	10	3	0	2	0	15
American-born	4	3	1	0	0	8
Other*	3	4	2	4	1	14
Total	91	84	11	53	15	254

* With the exception of persons born in Canada, who are classified as "American-born," this category includes all persons born otherwhere than China or the continental United States.

The present report describes certain aspects of mate-selection prevailing among males in New York City's Chinese community and explains them in terms of the differential operation of the community's endogamous norms. Examination of a sample of 254 marriages which occurred during the years 1931–38 leads to the following conclusions:

1. Apparently strong sentiments exist in favor of marriages in which race and country of birth of bride and groom are identical.

2. Despite these sentiments, a considerable amount of deviant mate-selection occurred, probably as a result of the community's unbalanced population composition.

3. The community's three major occupational groups—"merchants," "laundry-workers," and "restaurant-workers"—were disproportionately represented among the grooms in our sample. Grooms in "merchant" occupations were strikingly over-represented, the others underrepresented.

4. In marriages with non-Chinese women, however, grooms in "restaurant occupa-

tions" tended slightly to exceed, and grooms in "laundry occupations" more nearly to approximate, their expected proportions.

5. Subclassified on the basis of country of birth, each of the community's major occutional groups exhibited distinctive habits of mate-selection.

6. With the exception of China-born restaurant-workers, the largest number of whom married white brides, the mode in each of the six chief origin-occupation groups was the marriage of grooms to Chinese brides of their own country of birth.

7. In those cases where modal behavior did not occur, however, "merchant-group" grooms tended to marry Chinese brides of origin other than their own, while grooms in "restaurant" and "laundry" occupations tended to marry non-Chinese brides.

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

CONFLICT AND CONTROL FUNCTIONS OF HUMOR

RICHARD M. STEPHENSON

ABSTRACT

Sociological analysis of humor has focused primarily upon its control and conflict functions. Such studies have been concerned principally with race and ethnic differences. However, an analysis of jokes concerning social and economic differences as revealed by anthologies of wit and humor demonstrate that their primary function is not conflict. On the contrary, such jokes function as control mechanisms expressing the common value system and minimizing the notion of class or status conflict and consciousness.

Philosophers and professional humorists, as well as psychologists, sociologists, and students of human anatomy, have long attempted to develop a comprehensive theory of humor. Their speculation has focused upon the function of humor. Functional analysis has been conducted at three levels of abstraction: physical, psychological, and social. At the physiological level, wit has been considered both as a primary human emotion which humor functions to exercise and as a derivative function of other more fundamental physiological processes such as the release of kinetic reaction. Psychological functions have received a variety of expression, including ego assertion, inhibition release, and the conception of humor as a mechanism of aggression, projection, and displacement. Social functions have been interpreted largely in terms of intergroup conflict and social control.[1] Considerable confusion has resulted from a focus upon one level to the exclusion of the others and from a failure to distinguish between the three levels of abstraction. This confusion has been compounded by the insistence that one function within a level explains the essence and nature of all humor. In reality, all levels of analysis contribute to the understanding of humor, and humor may have a variety of functions depending upon the situation and the level of abstraction.

With these conditions in mind, it is the purpose of this paper to examine the conflict and control functions of humor in our society as they are found in situations involving social stratification. Conflict and control by no means exhaust all social functions of humor, but they do serve as convenient classifications for sociological analysis of most types of humor.[2] Patently, such classification and analysis do not exclude the presence of other psychological and physiological functions.

The conflict function of humor is expressed largely by means of irony, satire, sarcasm, caricature, parody, burlesque, and the like. The particular adaptability of humor as a conflict weapon lies in the fact that humor may conceal malice and allow expression of aggression without the consequences of other overt behavior. In this capacity, analysis of humor is particularly revealing of tensions and attitudes which may not be expressed in any other form. Conflict humor not only functions to express aggression but serves to strengthen the morale of those who use it and to undermine the morale of those at whom it is aimed.

[1] George W. Crile's *The Origin and Nature of the Emotions* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1915), pp. 90–109, offers a physiological hypothesis. See Sigmund Freud's interpretations in A. A. Brill (ed.), *The Basic Writings of Sigmund Freud* (New York: Random House, 1938), Book IV, pp. 633–803, for a psychological analysis. A sociological treatment is found in Antonin J. Obrdlik, "'Gallows Humor'—a Sociological Phenomenon," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVII (March, 1942), 715–16, and John H. Burma, "Humor as a Technique in Race Conflict," *American Sociological Review*, XI (December, 1946), 710–11.

[2] A critique of the conflict-control theory is offered by Milton L. Burrow, "A Content Analysis of Intergroup Humor," *American Sociological Review*, XV (February, 1950), 88–89.

The control functions of humor may be expressed in a wide variety of humor types. As a means of social control, humor may function to express approval or disapproval of social form and action, express common group sentiments, develop and perpetuate stereotypes, relieve awkward or tense situations, and express collective, *sub rosa* approbation of action not explicitly approved. Humor as expressed in the controlled laugh or smile may serve as a means of communication, signaling the intent and nature of the communicating parties. In this capacity it functions as a means of approach to interpersonal contact and interaction, indicates safety or friendship, and signalizes approval, disdain, and other forms of attitude and feeling.

Examination of wit and humor as it is expressed in jokes and cartoons will reveal a wide variety of subject matter. However, it is significant that certain situations and groups receive more attention than others. This is especially evident in jokes using ethnic or racial minorities as subjects, and analysis of conflict and control functions is here confined primarily to these groups. Mere number, however, does not indicate the extent and type of conflict or control. For example, most collections of jokes contain a larger number of stories concerning Englishmen than Jews. Also, the general recognition of the conflict nature of ethnic or racial jokes, especially those concerning Negroes and Jews, has resulted in a decrease in the more obviously invective wit in the public agencies of communication such as the radio, movies, and cartoons. Yet, neither of these facts necessarily indicates a decrease in aggression or control in minority-group relationships.

The same principle operates in stratification humor, for, while collections of wit and humor contain a large number of jokes under a variety of headings, it is difficult to find any consistent classification which is concerned with stratification and status or class differences. Magazines and periodicals which are oriented to specific audiences may, however, provide a larger number of such jokes than more general mediums. For example, political, labor, or business publications usually contain a disproportionate number of jokes and cartoons in their own special fields, while a magazine such as the *New Yorker* presents a preponderance of jokes, largely satirical, which use "society" and upper class as a target. Moreover, certain humorists and cartoonists such as Arno, Thurber, and Hoff have developed specific techniques which focus upon a single class or stratum.

In order to obtain a selection as general and unbiased as possible and at the same time to examine jokes which are in the public domain, collections of "wit and humor" have been used for analysis in this paper. Although such collections are selective, of necessity, themselves, they present a fairly representative cross section of American humor and, since they are of undetermined origin, are the least prejudiced for purposes of this study.[3]

A cursory examination of anthologies of jokes will reveal a considerable number of stories which might be classified as involving stratification situations. The principal emphasis of such jokes is upon status, and the subject matter is concerned primarily with income and occupation. Consistent with both the conflict and the control functions, there is a general tendency to stereotype. The laborer is characteristically lazy and seeks to avoid work; the businessman is overbearing and of doubtful veracity. The rich are idle, tightfisted, and vain; the poor are lazy, ignorant, and stupid. One's first impression is that jokes of this nature reveal a high degree of conflict and that they function to express this conflict. However, a closer inspection of the content and meaning

[3] The following anthologies were selected: J. H. Johnson, Jerry Sheridan, and Ruth Lawrence (eds.), *The Laughter Library* (Indianapolis: Maxwell Droke, 1936); Marcha Lupton (ed.), *The Treasury of Modern Humor* (Indianapolis: Maxwell Droke, 1938); Lewis and Faye Copeland (eds.), *10,000 Jokes, Toasts and Stories* (New York: Garden City Publishing Co., 1946); and Mildred Meiers and Jack Knapp (eds.), *Thesaurus of Humor* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1940).

of these stories reveals that the function of control is primary and that, if expressed at all, conflict is mild and subsidiary.

Although a consciousness of occupational and economic differences is demonstrated in stratification jokes, this is neither the focus nor the point of the humor. Rather, the tendency is to minimize these differences and their effects on social structure and to maximize the expression of American values as embodied in concepts of equality, ambition, initiative, opportunity, enterprise, and the like. There is a general propensity to ridicule the top and bottom of the status hierarchy in a kind of leveling offensive consistent with American values. It is significant to note, however, that although ridicule is aimed at both the top and the bottom, it is selective even at these extremes. At the top of the hierarchy, the new-rich and the old aristocracy are the target of special ridicule. At the bottom, the servant or unskilled laborer of ethnic or racial origin foreign to the "American type" is the focus. In all cases, a consistent stereotype of these positions in the stratification system is developed.

Qualities which are contrary to generalized American values are ridiculed in nearly all jokes concerning the American "aristocracy," particularly the old New England stock. The stereotype developed is that of studied snobbishness, overeducation, exclusiveness, and emphasis upon family background. The verse which has immortalized the Cabots as those who "speak only to God" is characteristic. Achieved status as a positive value is expressed in those jokes which deride any form of ascribed status. This is especially notable in jokes which devaluate family as a criterion of status. This is illustrated by the familiar story wherein an impeccably attired youth presents to a prospective employer a sheaf of letters which laud his family background, name, and connections. The employer glances over the letters, looks up, and snorts, "Young man, we do not contemplate using you for breeding purposes." Other jokes and stories suggest that "Americans don't spring from anybody; they spring at 'em"; that "a man who has nothing to boast of but his ancestors is like a potato because the best part of him is under ground"; or that "a man may have a wonderful family tree but the crop may be a failure."

Studies of American communities have demonstrated that family background and connections are important subjective indexes of status. Yet the American people are peculiarly ambivalent toward this situation. Here the joke may function to perpetuate a creed rather than illustrate a reality—a very common characteristic of stratification jokes.

In many jokes aimed at deflating the American "aristocracy" a tacit approval of and preference for money-making and success in business over cultural refinement and good breeding is expressed. Advanced education, precise speech, impeccable attire, family tradition, and cultivation of the arts are frequently ridiculed. This is especially notable in situations where the subjects have the cultural characteristics of "old family" without the financial resources which often accompany such positions:

> "They are a very prominent family. Their furniture goes back to Louis XIV, their silverware to Henry VIII. . . ."
>
> "Yes, and their automobile goes back to the finance company tomorrow."

Such emphasis tends to reflect faith in the practical value of money and the superfluity of advanced education and refinement. However, in keeping with the tradition of "equality" the barbs are aimed primarily at "culture and refinement" as they function to set barriers between groups. A significant and somewhat ambivalent attitude toward these characteristics is demonstrated in jokes which ridicule the new-rich in their attempt to assume the style of life characteristic of upper status. In such situations, Mrs. Newrich is prepared to buy "a Van Gogh, that new French car," hires a tutor to teach her son the "most foreign" language, and exchanges a Louis XIV bed for a

Louis XVI because the former is too short for her husband. The humor in such situations is seen in the attempt to be something one is not or in trying to assume characteristics which one cannot have by virtue of his previous experience. These jokes thus function to express the value of being one's self, average, and "just like anybody else," despite differences in wealth.

An explicit and special attitude toward wealth is demonstrated in stratification jokes which focus on economic differences. Whereas the old-family traditions are rather consistently subjected to ridicule, wealth, as such, is not. Most jokes dealing with high income or great wealth ridicule display of wealth and lack of charity and generosity. Thus, St. Peter tells the Wall Street broker who has given a penny to a homeless vagabond, a poor widow, and a hungry newsboy to "Take your three cents and go to hell"; and the tramp replies to the wealthy banker who has given him a penny and asked how he fell so low, "I had your fault, I was too extravagant." On the other hand, Mrs. Moneybags simply throws her jewels away when they get dirty and wouldn't think of wearing last year's diamonds, while her husband not only has built a beautiful swimming pool filled with imported water but has an empty one as well for his friends who don't swim. Ascribed wealth is generally condemned and is usually expressed in situations involving the rich man's son. The fact that high income or great wealth itself is not deprecated is more positively illustrated by jokes which ridicule division of wealth or the social reforms suggested by Communists, Socialists, and other "radicals." The classic situation is to be found where the reformer is willing to "divide the wealth" until division means "his pigs," "his dollars," or "his two pairs of pants." Such schemes are presented as somehow foreign to American values and to Americans and indicative of a lack of initiative or ambition, inherent indolence, or unjustified discontent on the part of the reformer.[4] In any event, such reformers are not to be taken seriously. Thus, the foreign agitator who finally gets his audience of one to agree with him gets off his soap box muttering, "Bah! Vat iss the sense of talkink to you!"

While there are many jokes about the rich of a nonethnic or racial orientation, there are few concerning the poor which are not racial or ethnic in connotation. There are virtually none concerning poverty, as such. Where poverty is the subject of humor, it serves as ironical commentary on the lack of charity of the rich or the absence of initiative and ambition in the poor and is illustrated by jokes employing the tramp, the "hillbilly," and the foreign-born slum dweller.

Jokes aimed at the lower classes most generally use subjects foreign to the "American type." Most jokes in which manual laborers or servants are the butt of the story use subjects of foreign origin or minority race. The general exception to this tendency is found in jokes involving tramps. Although such jokes are no longer popular, the tramp used to be a principal object for jokes and comic situations.[5] It is significant, however, that the tramp was usually a medium for laughing at the pretensions and strivings of people of high status rather than the butt of the joke. Jokes which use servants or laborers of foreign origin as their subject stereotype them as stupid or ignorant. Such jokes evidence considerable hostility and conflict as well as control, and, although they involve low status positions, they focus primarily upon alleged ethnic or racial characteristics of the subjects.

When the position is occupied by a subject who cannot be identified racially or

[4] An expression of this position and evidence of a purposeful use of the control function of humor is illustrated by a series of cartoons and comments released by the National Association of Manufacturers to newspapers on a national level a number of years ago. The release featured a rural, "down-to-earth" character who commented on proposed changes in the status quo and on the national scene in general.

[5] Homer Croy, *What Grandpa Laughed At* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1948). Croy also mentions the presence of a large number of "title-hunter" jokes around the turn of the century which ridiculed the attempt to acquire status by marriage.

ethnically, the point and purpose of the story tend to change. The object of these jokes is to raise rather than to lower the position in keeping with the general trend to deny or to minimize the importance of status differences. This is accomplished by use of the technique wherein the joke "backfires" on the employer so that he, rather than the servant or laborer, becomes the butt of the story:

"I want a man to do odd jobs about the house, run on errands, one who never answers back and is always ready to do my bidding," explained a lady to an applicant for a post in the household.

"You're looking for a husband, not a servant!" replied the applicant.

While there are a relatively large number of jokes concerning various aspects of status and economic differences, there is a studied avoidance of any connotations of class and class consciousness or conflict in stratification jokes. The single exception is found where the story is set in England. Extremes in political orientation or assertion of basic splits in the social order are subjected to ridicule. The avowed absence of class conflict or consciousness has itself become the subject of humor.[6] The radical or "left-winger" is frequently the subject of humorous derision, and the Communist or Socialist described as "a person who has given up hope of becoming a capitalist," "a fellow who thinks there's more wrong with the country than with him," or "one who wants to share his nothing with everybody else."

Stratification jokes which most closely approach the conflict function and which express elements of consciousness of group identification and conflict are found in situations involving businessmen, on the one hand, and laborers, on the other. Conflict is found largely in jokes about workingmen. Jokes concerning businessmen tend to focus upon the manner in which they have attained success in business. Although the use of sharp business practices has been a stereotype applied to the Jewish businessman, it is by no means confined to him. Nearly all jokes about bankers question their honesty, and success in business is often ascribed to practices not publicly condoned. Thus, the man who cleans out the bank is either the janitor or the president, and the secretary who tells her boss that someone wants to know the secret of his success is asked: "Is he a journalist—er—or a detective?" And in the same spirit: "The secret of success is pluck, but it's getting difficult to find anyone to pluck," and "If you are a good chiseler, you can carve out a career for yourself." Such jokes may function primarily as a compensatory mechanism for those who tell them. However, it is important to note that there is an element of tacit approval in nearly all these jokes. Outright dishonesty is not encouraged. (The successful broker advises his son that he had better read up on corporation law, since "it will amaze you to discover how many things you can do in a business-like way and still be honest"; and we should not be too harsh on Jones for plundering the big corporation, for, "you must remember that the corporation was pretty busy itself.") This tacit approval of practices which are not supported by public morality closely approximates a control function described by Myrdal.

When people are up against great inconsistencies in their creed and behavior which they cannot, or do not want to, account for rationally, humor is a way out. It gives a symbolic excuse for imperfections, a point to what would otherwise be ambiguous. It gives also a compensation to the sufferer. The "understanding laugh" is an intuitive absolution between sinners and sometimes also between the sinner and his victim. The main "function" of the joke is thus to create a collective surreptitious approbation for something which cannot be approved explicitly because of moral inhibitions.[7]

Virtually all jokes concerned with unskilled or skilled laborers who cannot be

[6] A recent cartoon appearing in a national magazine pictures a man and wife reading their evening paper. The wife looks up from her paper and asks, "Are we capital or labor?"

[7] Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), pp. 38–39.

identified with any particular minority group use wages and hours as the subject for humorous situations. Either the worker or the manager may be the butt of such jokes, depending upon who is telling the story rather than the joke content. From the point of view of the employer the worker traditionally is trying to avoid work and rest on the job. From the laborer's point of view, the employer is overworking and underpaying him:

"That man is doing twice as much as you are."

"I know. I keep telling the poor sap, but you can't learn him nothing."

Similarly, the worker who has a splinter in his finger won't pull it out on his "own" time, and the laborer who has been blown up in an explosion is "docked" for the time he spent in the air. Where the worker is identified racially or ethnically, the point of the joke is likely to focus on stereotyped conceptions of his group rather than on wages or hours.

If the worker is excessively slow and lazy, he may be personified by the Negro; if particularly pugnacious or obstinate, by the Irish. Thus the more invective and slanderous wit is directed against minority groups rather than the American working man. However, the wage-hours theme is not confined to minority groups but is expressed generally in jokes where the worker is not specifically identified. This theme probably represents the most obvious conflict within the stratification system. Yet, even here one does not find the sort of hostility and conflict, the condensations and stereotypes, encountered in racial or ethnic jokes.

When jokes involving stratification situations are taken as a group, it is evident that their primary function is not conflict. The kind of joke found in anthologies of wit and humor reveals, rather, an adherence to a set of values regarded as the traditional American Creed. The emphasis minimizes the importance of economic differences, stresses the notion and value of equality, ridicules the concept of any basic conflicts, asserts the soundness of the American system, and emphasizes the virtues of charity, initiative, and ambition. Deviations from these values receive the balance of directed agggression rather than any conception of an inherent conflict within the culture itself. In this sense, it is evident that jokes which have been included in anthologies and thus entered into the public domain function largely as control mechanisms. Conflict, dissatisfaction, and aggression, where present in humor involving stratification situations, must be sought in other sources, many of which do not appear in printed form and seldom reach anthologies of wit and humor.

RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

NEWS AND NOTES

American Association on Mental Deficiency.—The seventy-fifth annual meeting of the association will be held at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City on May 23–May 26, 1951. Comprised of medical, educational, psychological, and other authorities professionally concerned with mental deficiency (as well as interested laymen), the association in convention will deal with the various aspects and problems relating to the care, treatment, and training of the mentally retarded. The latest developments and experiments in these fields will be presented.

American University.—Robert T. Bower, formerly associated with the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University, has been appointed director of the Bureau of Social Science Research of the American University in Washington, D.C.

Boston University.—The department of sociology and anthropology, in co-operation with the Massachusetts Society for Social Hygiene, offers a summer workshop in sex guidance in family life, for three weeks starting July 9, 1951. Co-leaders of this workshop will be Perry Dunlap Smith, of the North Shore Country Day School, Illinois, and Professor Herbert D. Lamson, who gives marriage counseling at Boston University. In addition to local staffs of the university and the Society for Social Hygiene, there will be visiting lecturers. This workshop is designed for teachers, administrators, parents, librarians, nurses, social workers, religious workers, guidance counselors, and any others who wish orientation and techniques in this field. The workshop will carry graduate or undergraduate credit, depending upon the work done.

Brooklyn College of the City of New York.—The following promotions in the department of sociology and anthropology are announced: Feliks Gross to associate professor; LeRoy Bowman to assistant professor; and Robert Ehrich to assistant professor.

Part-time visiting professors and the seminars they will offer during the spring semester 1951 in the graduate division of the department are: William Spencer Bernard, executive director, Citizens Committee on Displaced Persons, "Minority Groups in the United States"; Samuel H. Flowerman, of the American Jewish Committee, "Techniques of Social Action"; Joseph K. Folsom, of Vassar College, "The Modern Family"; John V. Murra, of Vassar College, formerly of the University of Puerto Rico, "Culture and Personality"; and Clarence Senior, of the Government of Puerto Rico, "Techniques of Social Surveys."

Jerome Himelhoch, of New York University, has accepted a position at Brooklyn College as instructor in the department of sociology and anthropology.

Joseph J. Jablow, instructor, has taken a leave of absence from March 9, 1951, until January 31, 1952, to serve as the director of the UNESCO Technical Assistance Mission to the government of Liberia. Mrs. Alta Gusar Jablow has also withdrawn from the departmental faculty, in order to accompany her husband and to serve as a professor in the College of Liberia.

Sidney Herbert Aronson, formerly of Harvard University, has joined the staff to offer courses in general sociology and minority groups. Mr. Aronson was formerly director of research for the B'nai B'rith Anti-defamation League.

Gerald Mitchell Henderson, of the University of Pennsylvania, has joined the staff to offer courses in general anthropology and the North American Indian.

University of Chicago.—Everett C. Hughes will teach in the summer school of Columbia University.

The faculty conducting the summer program on Human Behavior in the City from June 25 to September 1, 1951, consists of Ernest Burgess, Herbert Blumer, William F. Ogburn, Albert J. Reiss, and W. Lloyd Warner. The program includes courses on human ecology, the city, technology and social change, crime, and the family. In addition, there are general background courses, including social status and learning, social attitudes, collective behavior, social trends, and research seminars. Address all inquiries to Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1126 East Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

The University College and Committee on Human Development offer a three-quarter course entitled "Making the Most of Maturity." The course consists of individual consultation, discussion, and study organized around a series of lectures and films. Major topics included are health, nutrition, employment, financial planning, the use of leisure time, participation in social and community life, spiritual life, and a philosophy for the middle and later years.

Consideration is given to the physical and psychological changes which occur normally in aging and their effect on individuals; the maintenance of maximum health; the adjustments which must be made in the family as children become independent; attitudes about employment and retirement; development of substitute activities in preparation for retirement; and planning for future financial needs in view of present inflationary trends. All topics are dealt with from the point of view of the men and women in the course. Expert counseling is available in all fields covered by the course. Participants have an opportunity to take a variety of aptitude tests. Individual consultation in the fields of financial planning, vocational guidance, health, nutrition and diet, personal and family problems, etc., is also offered to those who request it. These services are included in the fee of $25.00 per quarter. The course is limited to thirty persons. Classes are meeting weekly at University College, 19 South La Salle Street. Summer vacation will be from June 15 to September 15.

A similar course will be offered a second group for a month during the summer. It will meet full time, five days per week, on a workshop basis on the University of Chicago campus. Living arrangements in university residence halls will be available for out-of-town participants.

The program staff consists of Robert J. Havighurst, chairman, Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago; Jack Weinberg, M.D., adjunct in psychiatry, Michael Reese Hospital, and assistant professor of psychiatry, University of Illinois; Ethel Shanas, research director, Study of Later Maturity, University of Chicago; and Mary Hollis Little, executive secretary, "Making the Most of Maturity," University of Chicago, to whom all requests for information should be directed.

Florida State University.—J. J. O'Connell, M.D., Diplomate of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology, has been appointed to the staff of the School of Social Welfare, Florida State University, as professor of psychiatry and psychiatrist at the Human Relations Institute. Dr. O'Connell has had clinical, hospital, and teaching experience in Canada, where he was psychiatric consultant to the R.C.A.F. during World War II.

University of Frankfurt.—Max Horkheimer, who is well known in this country as founder and first director of the Institut für Sozialforschung, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Universität, has been elected dean of the philosophical faculty.

In May, 1950, the Institut für Sozialforschung received a grant of DM. 204,300 from the High Commissioner for Germany toward its research work in social psychology, especially "the study of social attitudes as a contribution to tolerance and co-operation," and the training of students in mod-

ern fact-finding techniques of social research. The grant was turned over to the Ausschuss zur Gründung des Instituts für Sozialforschung (Committee for the Establishment of the Institute of Social Research), which consists of the President (Rektor) of Frankfurt University and professors of the faculties of philosophy, law, economics, and the natural sciences. In order to enable the institute to begin its work without delay, the university made available several rooms in the building of the Kuratorium (Senckenberganlage 34), and, later on, part of the constantly growing staff was accommodated in some remodeled rooms in the otherwise destroyed old building of the institute (Senckenberganlage 35).

In the meantime the Gesellschaft für Sozialforschung (Society for Social Research), the Municipality of Frankfurt am Main, and HICOG co-operated in raising funds for a new building. These funds (around DM. 400,000, including the lot) permitted construction to start last November. The building is now up to the second floor. It will have twenty-one rooms, including a large reading-room, three seminar rooms, five offices for the senior staff, and nine for assistants and students. The research staff—eight full-time and ten part-time members and the clerical help—consists largely of students who are thus receiving practical training. Since several members of the senior staff are professors at the university, the students can use part of their work for their Doctors' theses.

At present the institute's work is centered in two main projects. The first one is a survey of German attitudes toward other nations, especially the United States. Groups of ten to fifteen people of all walks of life, of various age and occupational categories, are asked to discuss their opinions about Germany, the United States, and Great Britain. The sessions last from one to two hours, are recorded on wire, transcribed in shorthand, and typed. The transcriptions serve as material for the quantitative and qualitative analysis which is now under way. It is hoped that suggestions for the improvement of mutual understanding between the countries can eventually be formulated on the basis of this analysis. While most of the discussions take place in Frankfurt and environs, additional small research outfits were set up in Hamburg, Augsburg, and Munich so as to include various characteristic sections of the country. As the work progresses, experts from the United States are invited for consultation on specific aspects of the studies. Just now, Dr. Herta Herzog, of New York City, is working on problems of evaluation.

The second project is the German version of the "Studies in Prejudice" published, under Max Horkheimer's editorship, by Harper and Brothers in 1950. Four volumes of the series are being translated into German in abridged form and are being supplemented by material pertaining to German problems; the materials will be integrated into one single volume. The work is being done by a team of five students under the supervision of the institute. It is hoped that this attempt will be followed by similar ones, thus promoting cross-fertilization between American and European sociology.

Among a number of other projects, plans are being made for the study of specifically German problems, such as the integration of expellees into German life and the problem of reconstruction.

Gerontology.—The first Southern Conference on Gerontology, devoted to the problems of America's aging population, was held at the University of Florida in Gainesville on March 19 and 20, 1951. In attendance were approximately one hundred persons professionally interested in the subject, drawn largely from Florida and the other southern states. The three principal sessions of the conference were devoted to the demographic, biological and psychological, and social and economic aspects of the subject, respectively. Plans are being made for a second conference on the same subject to be held in Gainesville in the spring of 1952.

Group Farming Research Institute.—The institute is planning a field study of the

French and western European communities of work. In spring and early summer of this year the study, which is directed by Henrik F. Infield, will be of techniques of social evaluation as discussed in the winter 1950–51 issue of the institute's bulletin, *Cooperative Living*, in the essay "The Urban Cooperative Community." The investigation will make use of a set of research devices developed by the institute in former studies.

Dr. Infield will be assisted by Mrs. Claire Huchet Bishop, author of *All Things Common*, a book based on her visit last year to thirty of the communities. Mrs. Bishop is the recipient of the institute's grant-in-aid for 1951, totaling $1,000.00.

Harvard University.—Beacon Press announces the publication of the following works of Pitirim A. Sorokin: *Altruistic Love: A Study of American Good Neighbors and Christian Saints* (1950), *Social Philosophies of an Age of Crisis* (1950), and *Explorations in Altruistic Love and Behavior* (1950).

The Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism, directed by P. A. Sorokin, is concentrating its research at the present time and in the near future on detailed and experimental study of the techniques of efficient altruization of human conduct and stimulation of creativity, beginning with an experimental study of the techniques of Yoga and Zen-Buddhism, passing through the techniques of Basil, Theodore the Studite, Pachomius the Great, Benedict, Bernard and the Cistercians, John Clumacus, John Cassian, Isaac the Syrian, Francis of Assisi, Ignatius Loyola, François de Sales, and others, and ending with the techniques of contemporary psychology, psychiatry, education, and so on. A number of eminent scientists and scholars are co-operating in these studies of the center.

Institut national d'études démographiques.—The Institut national d'études démographiques celebrated the fifth anniversary of its founding with a reception, held at its quarters in Paris on February 7, 1951. This institute is a research agency under the financial sponsorship of the Ministère de la Santé publique et de la population, but whose policy is established by an autonomous board of directors (Comité technique) consisting of about fifteen research scholars, whose various fields of competence include history, geography, economics, jurisprudence, sociology, social psychology, medicine, and genetics, as well as demography.

Research findings of the institute are published in the quarterly journal, *Population*, now in its sixth year, and in a series of monographs, or *Cahiers*, of which fourteen have so far appeared. Of special interest to sociologists will be the recent study on the intelligence levels of one hundred thousand French school children, a series of articles presenting measures of social mobility in France and in Italy, and the regular public opinion studies on such topics as housing, alcoholism, immigration, and other problems related to demography.

Information concerning purchases or subscriptions may be obtained from Gregory Lounz, 11 East Forty-fifth Street, New York.

Institute of General Semantics.—The Eighth Summer Seminar-Workshop Course in General Semantics will be held from August 6 to September 2, 1951, at Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. The course is conducted by a group of co-workers who studied with Korzybski, who are known for their rigorous application of the methodology in various fields. It offers intensive training in theory and practice of general semantics, augmented by group living and learning in a rural locale. The course includes 150 hours of lectures, laboratory, demonstrations, discussions, and so on. Enrolment is limited to fifty, and early registration is urged. The tuition is $250.00, including $25.00 registration fee. Room and board are $40.00 a week. For detailed information write to M. Kendig, acting director, Institute of General Semantics, Lakeville, Conn.

The Institute of Social Research of Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden.—The institute is

offering an International Sociological Seminar to be held in Mullsjö from July 10 to August 1. The courses offered are: (1) Scandinavian family sociology; (2) Protestantism, nationalism, and socialism; (3) community field work; and (4) the Chinese family in Chinese society. Instruction will be given in English, German, or the Scandinavian languages, according to the student's preference.

Fees: Board and lodging, $80.00; instruction, $15.00 per course. A limited number of work scholarships are available. Apply to the Director, International Sociological Seminar, Marston Hill, Mullsjö, Sweden, U.S.E.

Institute for Social Research, Oslo.—The Institute for Social Research in Oslo has offered a prize of 10,000 Norwegian kroner for the best paper on the following problem: "To what extent is it possible to establish criteria for the delimitation of research of direct relevance to the problems of peaceful adjustment in international relations?" Papers will be expected to include attempts at a theoretical, as well as a functional, clarification of problems such as these: In what sense and under what conditions would it be possible to speak of a science of peaceful adjustment? How could such a science be integrated? To what extent would existing science fit into such an integration? How could such a science hope to influence actions and contribute toward changing international relations? If several areas of research were found to be generally recognized as highly relevant to the problems of peace, would there still be any possibility of establishing criteria for the construction of priority lists for the guidance of institutions and foundations dedicated to the promotion of peace?

Theoretical and functional discussions of relevant criteria of this kind should be presented with concrete examples of their possible application to problems and theories in various fields of the sciences.

The institute has appointed a jury consisting of Mrs. Alva Myrdal, director of the social science department of UNESCO, Professors Daniel Katz, University of Michigan, and Arne Naess, University of Oslo, to judge the papers submitted in this prize contest. The institute reserves copyright and will arrange for the publication of papers which it finds valuable enough to merit it.

Papers should be submitted in English or French to the Institute for Social Research, Kronprinsensgt. 5, Oslo, Norway, before April 1, 1952. They may be prepared by individuals or groups. Length is optional, but 70–150 double-spaced pages has been tentatively indicated as the most suitable length. To insure anonymity of author(s) during evaluation of papers by the jury, the manuscript and a statement of authorship must be inclosed in separate envelopes and both marked with a motto.

The University of Kansas City.—Edward Lindeman was a visiting professor in the sociology department during the winter semester of 1950–51.

Frederick Seymour has been appointed instructor, beginning with the current semester.

University of Kentucky.—Harry E. Best, a member of the sociology staff since 1919 and head of the department of sociology until 1943, attained emeritus status on February 1. His colleagues honored him at an informal dinner and by the presentation of a gift of books to Gallaudet College for the Deaf, Washington, D.C., in which Professor Best has long been interested.

Howard W. Beers has returned to his duties as head of the department of rural sociology after spending his sabbatical leave in Greece as a Fulbright professor of rural sociology at the Superior School of Agriculture, Athens. He was also co-ordinator of rural projects of the Near East Foundation and agricultural extension collaborator with ECA. During the first semester Dr. Beers was also acting head of the department of sociology, in the absence of Irwin T. Sanders.

Dr. Sanders resumed his duties on February 1. During the first semester he was at

Harvard University continuing his research on the Balkans. This leave was a combination of his sabbatical leave and a special leave granted to him by the university as a result of his being elected the distinguished professor of the year by the faculty of the College of Arts and Sciences. His book, *Making Good Communities Better*, has just been published by the University of Kentucky Press.

C. Arnold Anderson, in collaboration with the Russian Research Center of Harvard University, is making a study of social selection in Russian education. Dr. Anderson's research is sponsored by the University of Kentucky Research Fund.

During the past summer James W. Gladden gathered data on changes in family life in two mining communities of eastern Kentucky, which he is now analyzing.

New staff members this year include: James W. Hughes, instructor in sociology, who was a teaching fellow at Indiana University and has completed residence work for the Ph.D. degree there; Gordon Lewis, part-time instructor in sociology, who is completing his work for a Master's degree here; Albert Orcutt, part-time instructor and community analyst in the Bureau of Community Service; J. H. Jones, graduate assistant in the Bureau of Community Service; and John Roe, research assistant in rural sociology. Marie Mason, Gilbert Hardee, and James N. Young also continue as research assistants in rural sociology.

James N. Young has been awarded a Paul Harris Fellowship for Advanced Study. This award, given by Rotary International, is for a year of study and research in rural sociology in New Zealand. Mr. Young will be at Massey Agricultural College, beginning about July 1.

Research projects currently under way in the rural sociology department are on population and migration, social organization, family composition and characteristics, and diffusion of new farm practices. Leaders of these projects are Howard W. Beers, Ward W. Bauder, James S. Brown, and A. Lee Coleman. Ralph J. Ramsey, field agent in rural sociology, is in charge of a special study of factors relating to success or failure of 4-H Club programs.

University of Michigan.—For the fourth consecutive year, the Survey Research Center will hold its annual Summer Institute in Survey Research Techniques. The regular session of the institute will be held from July 23 to August 17, with an introductory session from June 25 to July 20, 1951.

The program of the regular session will include a lecture and symposium series and the offering of five courses in survey research techniques which can be elected for graduate credit. These courses are introduction to survey research, methods of sampling in survey research, survey research methods, advanced methods in survey research, and theory of scaling. Two of these courses—introduction to survey research and methods of sampling in survey research—will also be given from June 25 to July 20 during the introductory session. This will permit students who are attending the full eight-week summer session of the university (June 25 to August 17) to register for a sequence of introductory and advanced courses.

All courses are offered in conjunction with university departments. Students who do not hold a Bachelor's degree or do not wish to take the courses for credit will be granted admission on the basis of their qualifications and experience. Students desiring graduate credit must be admitted by the graduate school. For further information write to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan State College.—The Board of Trustees of the Alumni Fund has established seven predoctoral Alumni Fellowships, ranging in value from $800 to $1,200 per year. Fellows will be exempt from student tuition fees. Applications are invited by the Dean of the Graduate School before May 15, 1951, from graduate students, either resident or nonresident, who wish to pursue a course of study for the Ph.D. degree at Michigan State College.

One postdoctoral Alumni Fellowship of $3,000 per year is also available for research in any special field for which Michigan State College has appropriate facilities.

Through recent arrangements with the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations of the United States Department of Agriculture, resulting in a revised and amplified cooperative agreement with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, technical assistance funds provided under the Point Four program are available to the department's Area Research Center. Work of the Area Research Center in Latin America, financed by the Carnegie Corporation, Michigan State College, Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, the USDA, and SSRC, will continue. Graduate students desiring to do field work in Latin America in the Area Research Center may write directly to C. P. Loomis, now on sabbatical leave at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, Turrialba, Costa Rica. After June, letters to him should be addressed to the department in East Lansing.

The department of sociology and anthropology through the Michigan State College Social Research Service has received a grant of $15,000 from the National Mental Health Institute, United States Public Health Service for a pilot study on mental health. The project is designed to explore role-playing under stress and the means employed by social actors to meet social and cultural conflicts. The "normal" range of responses of those who have "successfully" fulfilled the demands of their positions will be studied directly rather than imputing them from the study of the abnormal. The committee undertaking this study consists of Duane L. Gibson, Raymond Scheele, Henry Smith (department of psychology), Gregory Stone, and John Useem, chairman.

Arrangements have also been completed for a grant to the Social Research Service of $28,060 from the Health Information Foundation. This foundation, located in New York City, is established to discover and distribute factual information in the field of health. The sum is made available by the foundation to help finance an intensive analysis of the social processes involved when a community makes a self-study of its health needs and programs. The project will be carried on in a midwest city of 10,000–20,000 in population and its surrounding trade areas. The Social Research Service committee responsible for the study consists of the following: J. Allan Beegle, Wilbur Brookover, Duane L. Gibson, Charles R. Hoffer, John B. Holland, Paul A. Miller, Orden Smucker, David G. Steinicke, John F. Thaden, and Christopher Sower, chairman.

Mississippi State College.—A state-wide conference on community development in Mississippi, attended by community leaders and agency representatives, was held at the college in February. D. W. Rivers, assistant professor in the department, was active in planning the conference, as was the College Committee on Community Development, of which Harold F. Kaufman is chairman. Frank Alexander, of the TVA, and E. J. Niederfrank, of the Federal Extension Office, also participated.

Harald A. Pedersen has recently prepared two reports on population changes in Mississippi based on the preliminary 1950 census releases. The one appeared in *Mississippi Farm Research*, a publication of the Experiment Station, and the other was circulated by the Mississippi Economic Council.

Robert E. Galloway, BAE social scientist located at the college, and Marion T. Loftin, assistant professor, will shortly have three manuscripts prepared on the project dealing with health practices of rural people in four representative Mississippi counties. Annette S. Boutwell, health educator, is associated with this project.

Harold Kaufman will serve as visiting professor of rural sociology at Garrett Institute during the first summer term of 1951. He will offer a course entitled "The Town and Country Community in a Mass Society."

The Moreno Institute.—The Moreno Institute (formerly, Sociometric Institute) of New York City and Beacon, New York, has received a provisional charter from the Board of Regents of New York State. The institute specializes in the training of group psychotherapists, psychodramatists, and sociometrists.

For further information write to the Moreno Institute, P.O. Box 311, Beacon, New York.

New School for Social Research.—The third summer session in Europe affording Americans the opportunity to study at first hand social and economic conditions related to the defense of Western Europe will begin in London on July 14. It will, however, be located first near Copenhagen and later in Paris, with side trips through Scandinavia and Germany.

The session is open to qualified students, teachers, college professors, businessmen, leaders of civic or labor groups, and other mature and responsible adults. A total of six weeks will be spent in Europe on the formal program. Students wishing to go to Europe by steamer will sail on the "S.S. Washington" on July 7. Those going by plane will leave New York on July 13. They will leave for home by steamer on August 25, arriving in New York on August 31; they will return by plane on August 31, arriving in New York the following day. Several optional extension tours are offered. Two intensive courses are offered which may be taken for academic credit, one in each study center. Professor Saul K. Padover, dean of the School of Politics of the New School for Social Research, will be in charge in France, and Professor Arvid Brodersen, of the graduate faculty of the New School, will conduct the group in Scandinavia. Lectures will be supplemented by specially planned visits and field trips to schools, museums and culture centers, industrial plants, and government agencies. Distinguished guest lecturers will address the groups. Week-end side trips will be arranged in Copenhagen and Paris. The program in Germany includes visits to Hamburg, Düsseldorf, and Frankfort.

The cost ($925.00 by steamer, $950.00 by plane) covers the cost of round-trip transportation across the Atlantic, scheduled travel in Europe, tuition, and principal living expenses.

Osmania University (Hyderabad, India).—S. C. Dube, of Lucknow University, has been appointed in the place of Christoph von Furer-Haimendorf, who has joined the School of Oriental and African Studies, London University, as the chairman of the newly created department of social anthropology. An anthropological museum is being established at the university. Postgraduate courses have been reorganized, and new courses on applied anthropology, Indian ethnology, and methods of field work have been started. Three students have been admitted to Ph.D. candidacy. A research project for the study of the changing pattern of village life has been sanctioned, and Dr. Dube, with the collaboration of research staff and postgraduate students, has already completed an exhaustive survey of the interaction of culture in a mixed village having both tribal and Hindu populations.

Pennsylvania State College.—The department of sociology includes the following members: Seth W. Russell, chairman; professors Jessie Bernard and Walter Coutu; associate professors, Edward Abramson, Samuel W. Blizzard, Jr., and Robert E. Clark; and instructors Clarence W. Anderson and George Field.

Professor Coutu is currently writing a companion volume to his recently published *Emergent Human Nature*, with stress upon the structure and dynamics of human behavior from a symbolic-interactional point of view.

Professor Mook spent the summer of 1950 doing field work among the Old Order Amish of Crawford County, Pennsylvania. This is part of a larger project to be conducted throughout the state.

Personality.—The first issue of a new quarterly journal, *Personality: Symposia on Topical Issues*, has been published by Grune and Stratton, Inc. *Personality:* was formerly put out at irregular intervals, under the editorship of Werner Wolff, of Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York. The journal is concerned with the development of important and controversial topics in the field of personality. Each issue is devoted to recent research on one specific subject. The January issue is on frustration; the April issue on personality formation; the July issue on hypnosis and personality; the October issue on hypnotherapy.

Annual subscription price is $6.00; outside the United States, $7.00. All orders should be addressed to Grune & Stratton, Inc., 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

San Francisco College for Women.—Allen Spitzer, associate professor of sociology, has been selected by the University of Yucatán as a research associate of the university, to carry out a field-work program in cultural sociology under the auspices of the Universidad de Yucatán, Mérida, Yucatán, Mexico. The planned project calls for an analysis of the ecological structure of the Yucatán Peninsula, with special emphasis on the role of Mérida, the capitol, in relation to the peninsula, and for the study of changing religious and family structures, including patterns of social and cultural disorganization. The work in Mérida will begin with the summer session of 1951.

Dr. and Mrs. Spitzer have completed their research on the social disorganization among the Blackfeet Indians, and the results of a portion of their work appeared in the December, 1950, issue of the *American Catholic Sociological Review*, under the auspices of the Viking Fund and Stanford University. At present, Dr. Spitzer is preparing research material on the Christian goals of sociology and the role of sociology in a democracy, at the request of the Commission on Research, National Council of Churches of Christ.

The Society for Applied Anthropology.—The society will hold its annual meeting between June 8 and 10 on the campus of McGill University, Montreal. Everett C. Hughes, of the University of Chicago, is the president The session of June 8 will be held jointly with the Canadian Political Science Association, the subject being "The Social Effects of Technological Change in Simple Societies."

Information about the program and arrangements can be had either from Mrs. Elizabeth Purcell, Society for Applied Anthropology, 61 West Fifty-fifth Street, New York, N.Y., or from Mr. Giffen, secretary of the program committee of the Canadian Political Science Association, University of Toronto, Canada.

Sociometry.—New editors of *Sociometry: Journal of Interpersonal Relations*, published by Beacon House, Inc., Beacon, New York, are: editor-in-chief, Frederic M. Thrasher; associate editors, Leona Kersteeter and Edgar Borgatta; and managing editor, Joan Criswell.

Texas A. & M. College.—The sociology staff at Texas A. & M. College is currently comprised of the following members: Dan R. Davis, Melvin S. Brooks, and Bardin H. Nelson, who are engaged in full-time teaching; Daniel Russell, who devotes a part of his time to extension work; and R. L. Skrabanek, who is on part-time status.

Plans are being formulated for the annual Rural Church Conference which is sponsored by the rural sociology group. It will be held on the campus this year, June 18–20. The annual conference was first inaugurated in 1944 under the leadership of Daniel Russell and has been attended by more than two hundred rural clergymen annually during recent years.

Dan Davis has recently completed a research project entitled "Experiments in Informal Community Organization." R. L. Skrabanek is engaged in a study of "Effects of the Gilmer-Aiken Laws upon the Education of Rural Children." The state has re-

cently revised its public school program and currently operates under these laws.

Educational sociology will be the subject of a course for the first time at Texas A. & M. College. It will be taught at the graduate level in the summer session by Bardin Nelson.

University of Utah.—Ellsworth Faris, professor emeritus of sociology and former chairman of the department of sociology, University of Chicago, will conduct courses in social psychology at the University of Utah during the spring quarter, 1951.

An Institute on Gerontology was conducted in April by Robert J. Havighurst, chairman of the Committee on Human Development, University of Chicago, under the joint auspices of the department of sociology and the Graduate School of Social Work. W. M. McPhee, associate professor of sociology and social work, was chairman of the institute.

At the annual meeting of the American Association of Schools of Social Work held at Toronto, Canada, January 27, the Graduate School of Social Work at the University of Utah was recommended for accreditation as a two-year school of social work, empowered to confer the M.S.W. degree. Arthur L. Beeley is the dean of the school and also chairman of the department of sociology. Professor Beeley has recently been appointed by the Department of State to the Advisory Committee on Emergency Aid to Chinese Students.

University of Wisconsin.—George Hill, professor of rural sociology, is on leave of absence for the spring semester and the summer. He is serving as adviser on immigration and colonization policy to the Venezuelan government.

Samuel Bloom resigned his assistantship to take up his new teaching duties at Bennington College, Vermont.

Burton Fisher, of the Survey Research Center, Michigan, is directing an interdepartmental program on a series of statewide surveys.

William B. Howells was elected president of the American Anthropological Association and, although on leave next year, will continue his research on factor analysis of body features relative to somatotype, as well as physical features held in common by brothers.

The Corrections Administration Curriculum under Howard B. Gill, now in its second year, has eighty students. This summer there are more available internships in various institutions than there are available trainees. Interrelated courses have been set up with the school of law and the department of education, and joint offerings in psychology and political science are soon to be established. The purpose of the program is to provide training for psychologists, social workers, and sociologists who treat delinquency and crime. Mr. Gill and Joseph P. Chiozza are collaborating on an intern program in which selected graduate students will administer one of the units of the state training school during the summer. Mr. Chiozza will also work with the Crime Laboratory in correlating characteristics of voice with the polygraph.

William H. Sewell is serving as chairman of the faculty division of the social sciences.

Margaret J. Hagood, of the division of farm population and rural welfare, will be visiting professor of rural sociology for the spring semester. She will offer a course and a seminar on rural population and will do research in this field.

Robin M. Williams, of Cornell University, will be visiting professor of rural sociology for the summer of 1951. He will offer courses in rural social trends and intergroup relations.

Yale University.—The ninth annual session of the Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies will be held from July 7 through August 3. Announcement of the dates and program for this year's summer school was made under the directorship of Selden D. Bacon, associate professor of sociology and director of Yale's Section on Alcohol Studies. Registration for this year's session will

take place on Saturday and Sunday, July 7 and 8, with the first lecture and a reception planned for the night of July 8. The curriculum is divided into four chronological phases and consists of sixty-two lectures, fifteen hours of seminars, informal group meetings, visits to the Laboratory of Applied Physiology and to clinical and other facilities, and individual consultations with staff members.

Schoolteachers and administrators, physicians, psychologists, clergymen and denominational workers, welfare workers, probation officers, and other persons engaged professionally in activities in which a knowledge of alcohol problems is advantageous are considered qualified for admission. All others desiring to enrol are required to have a college education or equivalent experience. Part and whole scholarships are awarded annually by the summer school to qualified persons. At the end of the summer school, Yale University issues a certificate of attendance and satisfactory completion to those who attend and complete the entire course. Academic credit for students can be obtained through arrangement with the degree-granting authority of the institution with which the student is registered.

Requests for further information and all correspondence should be addressed to: Summer School of Alcohol Studies, Laboratory of Applied Physiology, Yale University, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Conn.

World Association for Public Opinion Research.—The annual conference will meet in London from September 10 through September 14, 1951. The conference is being held jointly with that of the European Society for Opinion and Market Research (ESOMAR). It is urgent that those planning to attend notify the Convention Committee as soon as possible so that proper accommodations may be arranged. The Conference Committee is still welcoming suggestions for papers to be presented to these meetings. Communications should be addressed to Mark Abrams, Conference Chairman, at Research Services, Ltd., 110 St. Martin's Lane, London, W.C. 2, England.

The *Journal* records with regret the death of Luther Lee Bernard in January. Born in Kentucky in 1881, he graduated from the University of Missouri in 1907 and got his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 1910. Throughout his long academic life he taught at Western Reserve, University of Florida, University of Missouri, Cornell, Tulane, University of North Carolina, Washington University, and Pennsylvania State College. In recent years Professor Bernard took particular interest in bringing to the attention of the sociologists of this country the work of their colleagues in South America. He is survived by his wife, Jessie Bernard, of Pennsylvania State College.

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Change with Respect to Culture and Original Nature. By WILLIAM F. OGBURN. New York: Viking Press, 1950. Pp. viii+393.

Thirty years ago William F. Ogburn published his now famous work *Social Change.* Recently the book has been reissued with a revision consisting of an additional chapter entitled "Social Evolution Reconsidered," in which he elucidates the four factors bound up in social evolution: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment.

The major thesis (one might say "theses," since the book is replete with propositions and testable hypotheses) signalized a clean break with the remnants of "biological" sociology or "evolutionist" social change. In accounting for social change, Ogburn emphasizes not biological but cultural heritage. While man's biological nature has tended to remain more or less constant through the last millennia, man's cultural heritage has of course undergone tremendous transformation.

With this as his initial postulate, he presented the sociological world with an array of now familiar, suggestive, and pregnant concepts and hypotheses, including the cultural base theory, the exponential rate of invention growth, the concept and factors in the resistance to innovation, the theory of simultaneous inventions, and the famous and frequently debated cultural-lag theory. (It is interesting to note that within the last decade and a half the debate still persists. Cf. A. P. Herman, "An Answer to Criticism of the Lag Concept," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII, 440–51; Michael Choukas, "The Concept of Cultural Lag Re-examined," *American Sociological Review*, I, 752–60; John E. Mueller, "Present Status of the Cultural Lag Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, III, 320–27; Joseph Schneider, "Cultural Lag, What Is It?" *American Sociological Review*, X, 786–91.)

The cultural-lag hypothesis is used in every text on social problems and social disorganization. It has also been of much interest to the reviewer to note how much interest and respect many of these theories have evoked from natural scientists.

Ogburn has treated social change quite differently from recent contributors to this field—Toynbee, Sorokin, and Brook Adams. He explains cultural change or evolution by four major concepts: invention, accumulation, diffusion, and adjustment. Implicit in this notion is the criticism of the error committed by the classical evolutionists in anthropology and sociology when they sought to explain social evolution by employing Darwinian concepts of variation, natural selection, and heredity. Ogburn recognizes cultural reality as distinct from biological reality. He treats culture growth in the macrocosm, concerning himself "with the larger aspects of the problem." He states that "anthropologists who have done such excellent work on social evolution have, I think, not defined the problem properly. In general, they abandoned the explanation of culture for the attempt to explain cultures" (p. 375).

One might raise the question as to how one can treat culture as a whole. Empirically man is always a part of a culture rather than culture per se. If a culture connotes a system of interrelated parts rather than a fortuitous array of items and if people are the carriers of culture, then a system of people which sociology has come to denote as "the group" is a significant part of society and of social change. Social change for Ogburn involves culture; but social change also involves group change: changes in relationships among the carriers of culture. The question might also arise as to whether personality development and personality change should not be considered part of social change. Is group change or personality change the result always of culture change? Ogburn would seem to answer "Yes." Cultural innovations when adopted and diffused are the real instigators of social change for him. Recent developments in group dynamics and field-theory psychology, on the other hand, would place the stress on thought, self-realization, and interpersonal interaction.

In his new chapter Ogburn again compares the rate of growth of inventions to the compound-interest law (p. 383). He might have traced more precisely some outstanding indexes

of inventional growth, but Ogburn's reply to such a suggestion would undoubtedly be that the compound-interest law is not an accurate description of inventional growth and that no other curve could fit the pattern of growth any more snugly, since inventions develop by spurts and jumps (pp. 107–8). Ogburn's exponential rate of growth of inventions (mainly material inventions) has been challenged by Hornell Hart's *S*-shaped logistic curve to explain the growth of inventions. Obviously, the implication of the former is that inventions will grow with ever increasing velocity, whereas Hart implies that a decrease in the rate of inventional growth within a subcultural system sets in after a time and that eventually it comes to a standstill. In his last chapter, however, Ogburn has slightly revised his idea of exponentiality. "Exponential growth seldom exists for long in reality, for the increments quickly become too large for reality as is obviously the case with compound interest and with population growth. The accumulation of culture has then only a tendency to grow exponentially. Reality lessens the slope or flattens it out eventually, perhaps to begin growing exponentially again for sometime. Exponential growth may work out to be irregular—now popularly called cyclical" (p. 383).

One of Ogburn's great contributions to the theory of social change is, of course, the concept of inventions and their role in social change. More particularly he has viewed modern society—at least modern Western society—as being closely identified with technological culture and that the alterations in the institutions, habits, ideologies, and status systems of Western man are primarily linked to his technology and to changes in his technology. This proposition is difficult to deny or to disprove. (One is able perhaps to discern glimpses of consensus among Sorokin's sensate culture, Becker's tool of the constructed type in approaching social change, Alfred Weber's concept of civilization, and Ogburn's implicit assumption that modern society idealized into a type may be signalized by its preponderant dependence on the machine.)

Social Change, thirty years after it made its first public appearance, still serves the student of sociology with fertile and challenging ideas of cultural dynamics. One predicts that *Social Change* still has many years of active life, which is a real tribute in these times when most works live scarcely beyond their date of publication.

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

Iowa State College

Childhood and Society. By ERIK H. ERIKSON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950. Pp. 397. $4.00.

It seems quite apparent that the area of investigation usually labeled "culture and personality" occupies a no man's land between the biological and psychological sciences on the one side and anthropology and sociology on the other. The author of *Childhood and Society* attempts to clear a path through this unclaimed territory. He is a practicing psychoanalyst who has had anthropological field experience. In presenting this synthesis of psychoanalytic and anthropological insights, he proceeds modestly on the basis of the record of his own clinical experiences rather than by way of a systematic statement of general principles. This book is therefore a subjective account of one man's search for a point of view which can bridge the gap between the individual and his society.

The virtue of the book is the simplicity and artistry with which the author presents a complex methodology. Using the technique of analyzing "specimen situations" from the field of individual behavior and of culture, he confronts the reader at the outset with the main components of his method. This entails the search for the relevance of any item of human behavior within three levels of organization: biological, psychological, and societal. All human behavior, healthy or maladjusted, is viewed simultaneously from the point of view of biological behavior, the somatic processes; from the point of view of personality integration, the ego of the individual; and from the point of view of the situation of the individual in his group and in his culture. This tripartite analysis is subjected to historical as well as cross-sectional investigation. The somatic processes, the ego integrations, and the cultural processes each have their own independent but related biographies.

In the subsequent development of his method the author postulates the organization of the ego as a result of the interaction between somatic processes and patterns of child-training. In this, his approach is essentially psychoanalytical but with some highly original innovations.

For the classical psychoanalytical concept of instinctual energy, libidinal and aggressive, pregenital and genital, Erikson substitutes the concept of "organ modes." The term "instinct" is essentially abandoned. The organs are grouped according to the time schedule of their ascendancy in the development of the child: (1) mouth and sensory apparatus; (2) eliminative organs and the musculature; (3) locomotion and the genitals; and (4) genital sexuality. The modes are described as (1) incorporative (sucking and biting); (2) retentive; (3) eliminative; and (4) intrusive. The modes represent the basic ways in which the organ system in question can mediate between internal needs and external environment. Since they describe interpersonal operations between developing child and environmental figures (rather than unconscious energies restricted to the id), they can easily be related to the ego as it becomes defined through the child-training patterns of the culture—dominant, variant, or deviant, as represented by the particular family. This conceptual scheme accents "integration" rather than "defense" and thus seems more appropriate to the analysis of states of health than the older term which arose from the investigation of pathological processes.

Having established the ego as the integrated whole of personality processes adapted to the cultural pressures mediated through the family, Erikson continues his theme by examining the integration of cultural mechanisms in two American Indian tribes and in three highly industrialized countries: the United States, Germany, and the U.S.S.R. In a rather subtle and unobtrusive manner, Erikson gradually develops his key concept bridging the integrations of the individual and of the culture. This is summed up in the term "the sense of identity." By "identity" the author means—at least this is my interpretation of his meaning—awareness of the persistent pattern of integrated activity whether of an individual or of a culture. This is how one identifies one's self and differentiates one's self from all other Americans. It is also how one differentiates American from all other cultures. It thus becomes not only the essence of the individual ego and of the particular culture but, according to the author, the chief source of strength in each case. A highly abstract concept which at first sounds almost mystical, the term "identity" gradually emerges as a useful device for locating the relevance of any item of individual behavior to the cultural setting.

In his brilliant if intuitive analysis of the three industrial cultures, Erikson views the difficulties current in many aspects of the world scene as stemming from the persistence of interpersonal relations based upon essentially feudal and agrarian "identities." He demonstrates how patterns of childhood training which build up such an identity *exploit* the irrational fears inherent in the course of ego development of the child in any culture. Such exploitation leads to the development of a punitive conscience in which intense aggressions are neutralized by equally intense guilt. The aggressions stem from interpersonal and international relations based upon dominance, submission, and exploitation. When these relations become no longer necessary due to the technological abundance of an industrial society, the feudal conscience breaks down with the release of intense aggressivity. Erikson gradually develops the idea of a new identity based on mutually collaborative, nonexploitive relations between nations, between men, and between parents and children. This is an arresting idea, not because the ethic of the brotherhood of man is new, but because of Erikson's vivid portrayal of the possibilities of actual nonexploitive relations between human beings.

One gets the impression that the author both in his profession and in his living is such a human being. That he recognizes the practical difficulties standing in the way of the realization of this "ideal identity" is implied in his dedication "To Our Children's Children." The book is written with modesty, humor, and balance. It contains a wealth of ideas and of penetrating insights impossible to encompass in this brief review. Its significance lies in the honesty with which it represents a point of view leading toward a synthesis in a field of investigation urgently in need of creative thought. As such a tentative synthesis, it deserves the attention of all students of human development. It seems to herald the time when this field will depend less upon the virtuosity and almost accidental "broadness" of single investigators like Erikson and more upon the standardization and general acceptance of its own methods of investigation.

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The Merchant Class of Medieval London: 1300–1500. By SYLVIA M. THRUPP. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948. Pp. xix +401. $6.00.

This is a study of the merchant class in England's largest city (population about 30,000) in the most nearly stable period of the High Middle Ages, the period following the expansion of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and preceding that of the sixteenth. The word "merchant" then had a more precise meaning than it has now. The merchants engaged predominantly in wholesale rather than retail trade or organized manufacture rather than working with their own hands. They were members of certain larger guilds, or "companies," whose membership was divided into two classes: those who wore the official clothing or "livery" and those who did not. The merchants were liverymen. They were the wealthiest citizens of London and, overcoming a few brief challenges to their power, controlled the city government for the whole period studied. The mayor and aldermen were always merchants. Finally, the merchants formed the upper social class of those who lived permanently in London. The landed gentlemen who controlled the national government were essentially transients.

It is hard to praise too highly the thoroughness with which Miss Thrupp has used the records that throw light on the merchant class, records far more numerous than sociologists who are not historians realize. She shows how the merchant companies were organized and controlled, how the city government was run, how the merchants were educated, how they traded, what their family and religious life was. Hers is the best existing picture of the high bourgeoisie in the High Middle Ages.

Perhaps the most interesting material that Miss Thrupp presents concerns social mobility. Although the merchant class was stable, individual merchant families were not. An astonishingly small number of families persisted as merchants for three generations. The reason was not that the merchants were infertile; they seem to have had rather more children than other classes in the population. Instead, a large number of children died, and a large number of those that survived failed to follow their fathers' calling. The result was that people were always entering the merchant class: craftsmen, the sons of country yeomen, and even the younger sons of gentlemen. Dick Whittington was one of the London merchants of this period. A certain amount of capital was needed to set up as a merchant, and it seems to have been possible for these people to get it. On the other side, people were always leaving the merchant class. Merchants' sons were especially likely to become lawyers, and successful merchants sank their profits into landed estates, their sons becoming country gentlemen. In fact, the links between the lesser gentry and the merchants were close. Merchants' sons occasionally married gentlemen's daughters, but it is interesting that merchants' daughters, and above all their widows, were still more likely to marry gentlemen's sons. As in so many firm class systems, there was a tendency toward female hypergamy. In short, even in what is thought of as an extremely stable society, a lively social mobility was going on. We must distinguish in fact between a society in which mobility is high but class lines are firm and a society, like our own, in which mobility is high and class lines are fluid too. To be sure, the merchants may have been the most mobile part of English society; by reason of their position middle-class families are almost bound to be the most mobile families in a society. Miss Thrupp unfortunately does not make it clear how far customs of inheritance contributed to the instability of merchant families. Apparently on a merchant's death his money and movable property, as distinguished from his land, were divided into thirds: one-third went to his widow, one-third went as a memorial to the merchant—for instance, some kind of charitable foundation—and one-third was *divided* among his sons.

This book is interesting all through. It is just the sort of book that American sociologists will have to study when they finally cease to be preoccupied either with their own society of the present day or with static comparisons of their own society with primitives and turn to the basic problems of social dynamics by studying the evolution of their own society from its ancestors. To this evolution the merchants of medieval London contributed at least as much as any other social group.

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Hollywood: The Dream Factory. By HORTENSE POWDERMAKER. Little, Brown & Co., 1950. Pp. 342. $3.50.

Dr. Powdermaker went to Hollywood as a self-conscious anthropologist, to study the film

colony, its folkways, taboos, and personality types. She was particularly concerned with the web of social and work relations among producers and writers, directors and actors, "front office" and small fry. She proceeded by means of long interviews with many informants and by participant observation in and around Hollywood; she examined the files of the various companies and of the trade press, especially *Variety*. The result is a book addressed both to the social scientist and to the lay reader, containing principally three kinds of material: pen portraits of more or less significant and representative individuals among the actors, directors, writers, and producers; generalizations concerning the Hollywood way of life—its loves and leisures, envies and banalities; and a critique of the way movies are made, from the restrictions imposed by the Code to the frenetic chaos of the scripting. This reviewer found the portraits thoughtful, incisive, and highly illuminating; the more generalized discussions, considerably less so.

As I read Dr. Powdermaker's account of the actress whom she calls "Miss Manifest Destiny," of the producer she terms "Mr. Big Shot," the writer "Mr. Modest," and many others, I thought of the old morality plays or of John Bunyan. Each of these often recognizable people is pictured as valiantly overcoming the frustrations which work and life in Hollywood are felt to impose, or as tragically succumbing; or, in a few cases, for instance, Mr. Cynic or Mr. Acquiesce, as trying vainly to avoid the moral issues of craft integrity and independence. The sympathetic understanding of these people adds considerably to our knowledge of patterns of adjustment and maladjustment in the movie colony and of the consequences of these patterns for industrial practice. This is especially true because the portraits are largely confined to leaders in the various crafts which contribute to a movie; they are representative of trends in the distribution of power rather than of the statistical universe called "Hollywood." I draw from these portraits the conclusion that the moviemakers are becoming better educated, more arty, and, in the higher echelons, slightly less frenzied. Dr. Powdermaker, however, seems to have been depressed by Hollywood; she feels both that the movies fail miserably to measure up to their potentialities and that the moviemakers are, even beyond the American norm, frustrated and anxious, exploitative and scatterbrained.

It is this latter judgment, expressed again and again in the book, which leads me to raise questions about the author's methods. Speaking always as "the" anthropologist, she has followed procedures useful for preliterate tribes—for example, the heavy reliance on informants—and has drawn many comparisons between Hollywood's taboos and rituals and those studied by ethnologists. Now I am inclined to think that a study of rituals and taboos and magic practices in various professions and occupations in the United States can be exceedingly rewarding. But two conditions must be fulfilled. First, we must have an eye to what is changing and must therefore adapt our methods to the problem of analyzing ongoing historical shifts. And, second, starting off from the metaphorical springboard provided by such words as "myth," "magic," and "taboo," we must draw our comparisons mainly with occupations and professions other than the one we are engaged in studying at the moment. Dr. Powdermaker, however, has made little historical study of the films themselves, or of their box-office records (or, apparently, of books on the movies, other than novels), to see whether the movies, as she proclaims, underestimate their audience as this has become better educated. Nor does she compare the movies with other mass communications or with other industries in which Jews play a large role (there is no mention anywhere of ethnic matters), to see whether the personality traits and industrial practices which strike her as wildly irrational are not actually, in some sense, "functional."

There is one major exception to what I have said. Dr. Powdermaker stresses the very important historical point that directors, early in the development of films, learned to draw emotional tension and mood from physical objects, from props, and from cutting rather than from the somewhat inadequate actors of the period. Hence, she feels, films still are "property-minded" in the sense that they concentrate on objects which are made more "active" than the affectless leads who wander in and out. This confirms both the "property"-consciousness and the lack of respect for human feelings she attributes to America as a whole—it is the "pathetic fallacy" on the highest scale. Dr. Powdermaker's concern for the people of Hollywood, as over against the props, stamps her as belonging to a particular breed of anthropologist and leads her to this discerning and suggestive observation. Yet, on the whole, while she pos-

sesses "the" anthropologist's interest in motivation—which probably contributed to the rapport she succeeded in establishing and thus to her excellent portraits—I do not believe that the approaches used provide her with a sufficient background for the study of a complex cultural enclave such as Hollywood.

These Southern California "primitives," moreover, will read Dr. Powdermaker's book, and I fear that a good many will find some of their own prejudices about the movies confirmed rather than questioned. All but a few old-timers among the writers, for instance, would seem to share her views that the producers interfere too much; that it is absurd to have a number of writers working on the same story; that the stories are not sufficiently adult, serious, etc. She heard this from the writers; she "knew" it before she came. Yet the fact is (as I think) that magnificent movies occasionally get written and made—movies whose grasp of human relationships is subtle and probing, whose camera work is beautiful, and whose characterizations are memorable. How such movies manage to get made, the book does not adequately explain. If such movies do not contain a "message," if they are not "realistic," if their ending is "happy" (though perhaps as a result of the current state of movie criticism we shall be treated to the new convention of the "unhappy" ending), and if they have suffered cuts from the Johnston Office (which may have forced even greater subtlety on the film), many of the writers who worked on these movies will feel with Dr. Powdermaker that their craft is not made use of and that they are the prey of the dolts in the front office, the Legion of Decency, and the presumptive as against the actual audience. Yet their gloom may be quite without perspective, both because they are blinded by their own conventions (drawn largely from other arts and businesses) as to how movies should rationally be made and because they may not realize the great changes which have occurred in the past several decades.

To be sure, Dr. Powdermaker notes the trend toward combining the roles of writer and producer, and she would like to see the producers' power much reduced. Maybe it could be. But she does not take account of Leo C. Rosten's point (in his book on Hollywood, which at many points provides a viewpoint in contrast to Dr. Powdermaker's) that most writers are simply not talented enough to be on their own and that what looks like madness on the producers' part may be partially the result of their uncultivated manners and vernacular which lead writers and directors to underestimate their contribution. Beyond that, one wonders how far the movie industry may be expected to depart from the patterns which prevail in other, similar industries. Dr. Powdermaker has an image of a rationally run industry—casually, she uses the auto industry as an example—but it is at this point that more systematic comparisons with other "occupational cultures" become important. The auto industry, so far as I can see, is often scarcely less wasteful of dies than the film industry of scripts, scarcely less destructive of engineers' craftsmanship than the film industry of writers' or directors' craftsmanship, scarcely less pervaded by anxiety and a state of chronic emergency. The education industry, as Dr. Powdermaker seems wryly to be aware, contains people, namely, administrators, who resemble movie producers in their desire to feel they are being creative, and other people, namely, teachers, who feel guilt about their censored product and their status (though they escape the movie colony's guilt about its salaries). All three industries are characterized by leisure patterns which are very largely reflective of work patterns, save that in Hollywood, much more than in better-established industries, sex and night life are still believed—pathetically so, according to Dr. Powdermaker—to be roads to career ascendancy.

At this point, indeed, Dr. Powdermaker's analysis of Hollywood merges with the discussion in her final chapter of the relations between Hollywood and America. She finds the movies and the lives of their makers caricatures of American patterns in general: the same emphasis on power, the same anxiety, the same business values and gambling spirit, the same "escapes"—only more so. Here she draws on the Lynds, on Erich Fromm, and on other writers and suggests that Hollywood, in its fundamental attitudes, tends toward totalitarianism. There is much in what she says, yet I believe a case could be made out that Hollywood is being caricatured here: that the moviemakers are, as compared with earlier parvenus, less bigoted and mean and far less inclined to capitulate to "business values"; and that the movies themselves, though the accent on violence-without-affect is surely disturbing, are, by virtue of their often imaginative treatment of people and places, basically liberating agents in the American and world scene.

But this brings us back to the question of comparing occupations and comparing cultures. Since the student of occupations must start somewhere, it is unfair to Dr. Powdermaker to expect that she would come to Hollywood with a knowledge gained by firsthand study of other industries and professions. The study of occupational cultures is only beginning, and *Hollywood: The Dream Factory* can be used now by other students who may wish to study the salient personality types in the entertainment world as well as in the wider culture. And perhaps it can also serve to show the limits, as well as the rewards, of that particular kind of anthropology which concentrates on the present day and which takes its informants' accounts of their work relationships as an adequate institutional analysis.

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A Rhetoric of Motives. By KENNETH BURKE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950. Pp. xv+340. $5.00.

In the previous volume of this trilogy on motives (of which two have now appeared: *A Grammar of Motives* [1945], *A Rhetoric of Motives* [1950], while the third, *A Symbolic of Motives* is now being prepared for the press) Burke holds that the best theoretical construct for understanding motivation will be one that treats language and thought as modes of action. The mode Burke considers is the symbolic and is referred to throughout his work as "symbolic action." For Burke the symbolic is a phase of action, incipient or consummatory as the case may be, but never substitutive. It is, in Mead's terms (Burke makes much use of Mead), a *phase* of the act. Vocal gestures arouse in ourselves the attitudes they arouse in others and thus allow us to adopt the attitude of the other in the formation of our social consciousness. Relations become social in so far as the individual learns to anticipate the attitudes of others toward him. He becomes aware of himself in terms of the "other." His attitudes, being shaped by the attitudes of others as aroused in him by spoken (or other) symbols in infancy and by written symbols in later years, modify his ways of action.

But all this is going on through symbols which have been organized into various symbol systems such as language and its institutionalized form, literature. Language exists prior to the individual, and the individual must learn how to use language, for, without it, no socialization can take place. Through the use of this prime social instrument man is able to learn the traditions of his society and at the same time modify them (as in slang or in the creation of new symbols) when they are no longer of any use for satisfying his needs. That man internalizes traditions mainly through symbols is not a new idea; what is new is that Burke makes it a point of departure, not of arrival. In earlier works such as *Permanence and Change* (1935) and *Attitudes toward History* (1937) Burke stresses that motives cannot be explained without reference to their linguistic expression, since motives arise *in* and *through* language. If this is so, we must then conceive of language as a basic, not a residual, sociological category. We must study it by abstracting it from society and by examining the qualities of experience peculiar to the symbolic phases of action, as well as by considering language residual to a "context of the situation" within which language is being used.

Where Mead, Cooley, Piaget, and Malinowski analyze verbal communication as it takes place within the primary group, Burke analyzes linguistic communication as it takes place in the larger society. His conception of the structure of communicative acts of this type will be found in what he calls "dramatism."

> In a rounded statement about motives, you must have some word that names the *act* (names what took place, in thought or deed), and another that names the *scene* (the background of the act, the situation in which it occurred); also, you must indicate what person or kind of person (*agent*) performed the act, what means or instruments he used (*agency*), and the *purpose*. Men may violently disagree about the purposes behind a given act, or about the character of the person who did it, or how he did it, or in what kind of situation he acted; or they may even insist upon totally different words to name the act itself. But be that as it may, any complete statement about motives will offer *some kind* of answers to these five questions: what was done (act), when or where it was done (scene), who did it (agent), how he did it (agency), and why (purpose) [*A Grammar of Motives* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945), p. xv (Burke's italics)].

Such a construct makes it possible to avoid monistic approaches to language in terms of sex, class, beauty, magic, fantasy, play, and the like. Burke's method is not an "either . . . or" but a "both . . . and" procedure. We are asked to

consider what *proportion* of the act may be analyzed by which theory of symbolic action as these have been developed in philosophy, theology, psychology, anthropology, and sociology.

The problem in every theory of symbolic usage, sociological as well as any other, is that of making clear what is *specific* to symbolic experience. For if we assert that symbolic experience (as in art) is a basic form of experience like evaluation and cognition, we must offer a theory of art which makes clear what is true of symbolic experience in art that is not true of such experience in systems of evaluation and cognition. Burke meets this difficulty by asking us to consider what symbols are used for in a society. His question is: Who is using what kind of symbols in what situations for what purposes? In the present volume Burke attempts to analyze the ways in which men use symbols to arouse co-operative attitudes in others who must be appealed to in various kinds of social situations.

After reviewing traditional treatments of rhetoric and dialectic, Burke points out that, while rhetoric may be considered as a formal or conscious act of persuasion, there is another kind of experience in rhetoric which cannot be explained in these terms—the process of identification. He describes the latter as ranging "from the politician who, addressing an audience of farmers, says 'I was a farm boy myself,' through the mysteries of social status, to the mystic's devout identification with the source of all being" (p. xiv). Identification is essentially an integrating device, a way of overcoming the divisiveness intrinsic in every relationship. Symbols used for purposes of identification must be analyzed in terms of their use by various status groups within a society. We cannot understand even erotic symbols unless we accept the fact that vocabularies of sexual and social courtship are interchangeable, not because one is a mere substitute for the other, but because sexual courtship is intrinsically fused with the motives of social hierarchy. Burke contends also that specific kinds of symbolic appeal are related to specific social structures. In a primitive society magic is the basis of symbolic appeal, in feudal society pageantry and pantomime as in formal etiquette are the dominant forms of communicating status to others. In bourgeois society what Marx calls the "mystifications" and Carlyle the "mysteries" of ownership (as expressed in consumption in clothes) are the chief means of identification, while in a socialist structure where there is a presumed beautiful or holy relation between classes, "pastoral" forms of symbolic appeal are characteristic. (See William Empson, *English Pastoral Poetry* [New York, 1938], for the theory of proletarian literature drawn up by Burke.)

The first section of *A Rhetoric of Motives* considers ways in which symbolic identification may occur in rhetoric. Burke's theory of rhetoric has much in common with the general sociological approach to meaning. He stresses (particularly in this book) the function of language as *addressed*, as a "direct or roundabout appeal to real or ideal audiences, without or within," as this goes on in a society where the form of linguistic expression may be dialectical as well as ritual (that is, where there are *competing* voices, not only a tribal voice).

In the next section Burke considers various conditions of symbolic appeals such as those going on between sexes, age groups, persons, status groups, classes, political, religious and aesthetic groups, in terms of how such social placement affects the use of language and other symbols. We are shown how symbols are used to induce co-operation among beings who are "apart" from one another yet who must exist in terms of each other.

The final section deals with the principles of order, or hierarchy, as these are manifest in symbolic process. The key term here is "courtship," not simply as erotic but as a general process of legitimation. Burke shares Weber's concern with the problem of legitimation, but his interests are not so much in the structures within which various kinds of legitimation occur as in the symbolic processes going on within these structures. Burke's typology of courtship is a valuable supplement to Weber's typology of legitimation. When Burke uses terms such as "tradition," "charisma," and "authority," he tries to show *how* they develop thorough symbolic appeals in so far as these are based in the process of identification.

The basic unit in Burke's technique of symbolic analysis is the image as it is found in the symbolic work under consideration. The first step is to note what images predominate in a given work. Following this, images are then classified qualitatively. This involves codifying the images which are used at intense and crucial moments of symbolic action. Interrelationships among images are then worked out by asking what image goes with what image in various kinds of action. Burke insists over and over

again that what is said of the relations among images must be pointed out in the work itself for it is only when we know what associational clusters exist among images that we know what specific images refer to in the symbolic work. This procedure makes it possible to use various approaches to symbolic analysis so long as we point out specifically in the symbolic content precisely how such an approach *is* manifest. A symbolic work has a structure, a configuration, which must be understood if we are to understand the function of its symbolic units. And it is also being used in a larger set of relationships. Burke does not ask us to stay "within" or "without" the symbolic work in our analysis. He does ask that we make explicit by quotation from the work itself whatever we assume to be the reasons for form and content. (For a specific discussion on method, as well as for other specific examples of his analysis, see the section "On Methodology" in *The Philosophy of Literary Form* [Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1941], pp. 66–89.)

Sociologists who are interested in communication will find this a very valuable work. Of all his works, the *Rhetoric* is of most specific interest to sociologists, for here Burke is stressing the *social* components of verbal action. He shows *how* language is related to society (not simply that it *is*) and offers us conceptual and methodological tools for further analysis. In doing so, he carries on the tradition of Dewey, Mead, Cooley, Sapir, Richards, and Malinowski. As matters now stand, it is unwise to talk about communication without some understanding of Burke, for he has assumed the burden of constructing hypotheses on the social effects of communication in terms of the process of identification as this takes place through the use of symbols. We can, and should, go on with our particularistic studies in the field of communication research, but there is a great need for some kind of theoretical framework within which to develop new approaches to the problems arising out of attempts to understand what goes on in symbolic experience. Whatever one's taste in the pursuit of such understanding may be, one must realize that Burke is asking the important question which is not only who reads what but how those who read are affected by what they read.

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Organization of Behavior: A Neuropsychological Theory. By D. O. HEBB. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949. Pp. xix+335. $4.00.

Using as his working assumption that "behavior and neural function are perfectly correlated with each other," Hebb, as the title of his book indicates, has attempted to formulate the outlines of a theory of behavior which draws upon data and theory from those sciences dealing with neural function (anatomy, physiology, and neurology) and behavior (psychology and portions of the former), using these two types of sources of data as supporting evidence for each other and, where evidence in one area is lacking, using the other to deduce what its correlate must be like. Thus, it is not surprising to find problems posed in both terms: understanding behavior becomes "the problem of understanding the total action of the nervous system, and *vice versa*," and the problem which is considered central to psychology, the thought-process, is also seen as the problem of "transmission of excitation from sensory to motor cortex." Hebb brings neurological data to bear on psychology and, similarly, "data of perception and learning . . . hunger, sleep, and neurosis." In an area in which both the necessity for this type of explanation as well as the relevant parts of the explanation are still the subject of argument, Hebb has forthrightly chosen his side, as he does in the other areas of conceptual disagreement in psychology. His approach is both scholarly and serious, and, accordingly, it is not surprising that the impact of his book has been widely felt in psychology or that it has aroused considerable discussion.

Crucial to Hebb's structural correlate of behavior is the "cell assembly," slowly developed by any "frequently repeated, particular stimulation." The assembly is "capable of acting briefly as a closed system," and "a series of such events constitutes a 'phase sequence'—the thought process. Each assembly action may be aroused by a preceding assembly, by a sensory event, or—normally—by both." Inasmuch as neurological research has indicated that cells are constantly discharging, and excitation of this type must as a consequence be overcome by the excitations inherent in the phase sequence, we have two types of organization: the phase sequence which is "essential to adult waking behavior" and "alternate, 'intrinsic' organization, occurring in sleep and in infancy which consists of hypersynchrony in the firing of cor-

tical cells." The former is a control process, and during hunger, sleep, infancy, and certain emotional states the synchrony of the intrinsic organization overcomes the delicately timed phase sequences. This condensation of the case does not do justice to Hebb, for it distorts and omits many of the intervening processes and mechanisms by which this formulation is developed. Nevertheless, it is within such a framework that phenomena bearing on perception, learning, instinct memory, emotional states, neurosis and psychosis, and intelligence are integrated.

In a review of this length it is obviously impossible to discuss the entire range of the theory presented here. Since Hebb himself regards the phenomena of perception as crucial to his argument, it might be worth while to discuss the application of his schema to this area. A fundamental assumption in line with it is that "the memory trace, the basis of learning is in some way structural and static." The greatest opposition to this assumption, so essential for Hebb's theories, has, of course, come from *Gestalttheorie* —an opposition he acknowledges and attempts to overcome. Going through the various arguments proposed that the mechanism is a dynamic (one occurring in a field) rather than a static one (involving certain specific knobs), Hebb leaves nothing as valid other than perceptual generalization (e.g., the selection of the darker of two entrances rather than the one which has the same brightness). "We do *not* know," he says, "that pattern is everything, locus nothing." Hebb would have it as a pattern initiated within a certain locus and occurring in parallel elsewhere, and, where extirpation occurs so that the locus is destroyed, the patterning will occur elsewhere. This is not a true answer, nor, unfortunately, do latest experiments by Köhler on figural aftereffects leave perceptual generalization the only stronghold of field theory. Köhler would state in support of his argument that the dynamic workings of the traces occur through physical laws of the working of the cells themselves, hence the nonobliteration of memory by electrical storms (cited by Hebb against field theory) and hence reinforcement of one sensation by another (cited similarly).

Perhaps the main attack against *Gestalttheorie* occurs in Hebb's statement on simple figures, recognition of which he assumes to be innate for *Gestalt*, and which, for him, is learned. "If one makes the assumption—if the perception of a square is so simple and immediate as it seems to us as adults—I believe that the *Gestalt* argument is unanswerable." Hebb cites data by Senden and Riesen to argue that this perception must be learned. Senden studied congenitally blind adults who were given sight by surgical operation and reported that the simple figures of circle, square, triangle had to be learned laboriously by these individuals. Riesen's studies have involved chimpanzees reared in darkness. The *Gestalt* argument, of course, has been that prolonged nonuse of vision results in degeneration and cortical change rendering normal working impossible, so that the Hebb argument does not hold. And in this argument they are upheld by Riesen's latest investigations, unavailable at the time of the publication of the book, that retinal degeneration *had* occurred in the chimpanzee. Where Hebb states this type of perception to be a combination of learned and innate factors—the ability to perceive figure and ground being innate, and the ability to make a triangle appear from it, learned—Köhler would posit in addition to the innate and learned factors the workings of the laws of physics themselves, so that a certain reaction can be neither strictly innate nor learned. In his emphasis on learning which is evident throughout the book, Hebb declares that "there is no evidence whatever to show that a similarly prompt association of separate perceptions can occur at birth" and "the fact is that perception of the intrinsic visual properties of a near or movable object is a . . . more difficult feat than perception of its place." Hebb refers to studies by Tinbergen in another connection, yet other studies quoted by Tinbergen on gallinaceous birds would indicate that perception of a hawk-shaped object is available to the young of these species at birth and that its direction of movement is crucial to the perception.

As has been declared in recent studies, an infinite number of workable brain models can be constructed. How the behavioral correlates of these jibe with the behavior of the organisms concerned is a matter of theoretical construct, scientific economy, and the data elicited by various experiments. That Hebb's work can be criticized by experimental findings is a tribute to the scientific statement of his case, for his assumptions are explicit, his procedure rational, and the outcomes and predictions which ensue leave little room for doubt. He has thus presented a theory covering numerous aspects of

behavior, from attitudes to shock therapy, which is confirmable on the basis of further experimental findings. He has thus admirably fulfilled a request recently put forth by Tolman that each of us declare our theory of personality so that the others may challenge it. It is encouraging to find someone willing to do this in a manner ingenuous enough to allow the possibility of a theory which will fulfil the criteria of being both scientific and applicable.

ECKHARD H. HESS
University of Chicago

The Market for College Graduates. By SEYMOUR E. HARRIS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1949. Pp. xvi+205. $4.00.

On the basis of his studies, Professor Harris is forced to conclude that in the near future too many people in this country may be seeking college educations. He claims in the starkest terms of supply and demand that if present trends continue the professions will be unable to absorb the ever expanding college population. The prospective swelling of the ranks of the professions is also seen as debasing their financial position, thereby lessening their attractiveness. As a result, the author fears that we may breed disgruntled intellectuals of the sort that were grist for the mills of naziism.

He takes issue with the President's Commission on Higher Education for having failed to make "a thorough survey of the supply and demand for educated men and women in industry and the professions" before recommending increased enrolment in institutions of higher learning. He considers that the *Occupational Outlook Handbook* (Bulletin No. 940, 1948, published by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics) also did not come to grips with the problems of the numbers seeking professional careers and the opportunities available when it offered youth the "implied advice" to go to college. Harris does not necessarily like the political and social implications of the position he takes on limiting educational opportunity. He feels that his analysis forces him to the position, and he occupies it with determination in the face of criticism.

The author admits the possibility of some inadequacy in his raw material but states that even the possible fault-finding of "statistical purists" with his raw materials and projections could only with difficulty disparage his main conclusions. He states that "there can be differences only concerning the magnitude of the problem."

This economic analysis may obscure much in revealing what it does. Essentially, the conclusions are based on the projection of factors seen somewhat in isolation. Little or no account is taken of the social and occupational matrix in which his problem area is set. Such a matrix, if considered, may not reverse his conclusions. It should, however, alter the magnitude of his concerns.

Harris feels insecure about treating education primarily in terms of supply and demand in a cash-value nexus. He remarks repeatedly that "narrow vocational" gains are not the only goals of higher education. He admits this, and yet the central concerns of his problem force him to treat higher education as if its goals were so limited. Some consideration of the role of educational striving and achieving as a value in American life shows the shortcomings of a viewpoint limited to supply and demand.

A dimension of social and occupational change which this book ignores but which merits increasingly careful attention is the "professionalization" of the contemporary occupational structure. Here the drive of a great variety of occupations toward professional organization and status may be seen as the work of persons with greater educational advantages and attracting to the occupations others like themselves. Many occupations are setting up educational requirements for the younger members. Seen in this way, the professional structure is an expanding one capable of absorbing more college-trained people than are envisioned in Harris' analysis.

Of course, any predictions of occupational futures in disturbed times are liable to drastic contradiction from unexpected sources. Both Harris and the President's Commission agreed that the "engineering profession will not absorb large numbers of additional graduates." They both envisioned "an excess even by 1949 or 1950." Yet the *New York Times* (November 13, 1950) reported an acute shortage of engineers seen as enrolment in colleges slumps: The increased wartime needs of industry and the military demand a minimum of 30,000 new engineers annually, yet, according to predictions, within four years the annual output from colleges and universities will fall below 10,000.

Similarly, asssumption that there are no

openings in the professions is difficult to accept. Spokesmen for the psychiatric profession, for example, insist that an additional 10,000 trained psychiatrists plus correspondingly large numbers of social workers and clinical psychologists are needed. An important limitation of Harris' work is his failure adequately to consider the location of restriction. In discussing restriction in the professions, he launches a drastic attack against it in medicine. His disregard of the noneconomic factors is revealed in the following quotation:

> Our country could absorb at least another 250,000 [medical] practitioners. Given government aid for adequate medical schools and hospitals; a revolution in the manner of financing medicine, inclusive of compulsory insurance and subsidies for the poor; an adjustment of fees to capacity to pay; and with savings on wasteful expenditures on drugs, this absorption would be possible [p. 42].

Refinancing the system is his only concern. He fails to consider that the system suffers from an organization and an inertia which might effectively resist refinancing. Not the medical profession but schools, hospitals, professional associations, doctors, and patients are the agents of restriction. Their organization and function need to be understood before restriction becomes meaningful and improvement possible.

His claims of professional saturation, attained or threatened, need the same clarification. What is saturated—schools, professional training institutions, apprenticeships, the public? Complex problems of distribution enter here and receive only minimal attention from Harris. The cost of maintaining legal services is certainly an important problem. But equally important is the problem of ascertaining who have legal services and where they are lacking.

In summary, Harris' concerns with numbers and saturation points, income and labor market figures, exclude precisely those concerns of the future for college graduates in the professions likely to be of interest to the sociologist. This is not to detract from his interests and analyses but to add other dimensions to his interest in the professions. He sees the possibility of "discontent, snowballing of costs, and an eventual revolutionary movement sparked by millions of unemployed, frustrated, and downgraded college graduates." This in indeed a strange vision to be derived from a perusal of supply-and-demand figures. This reviewer doubts if such a view is entertained by those to whom the study of occupations and professions is an aspect of the sciences of behavior.

HARVEY L. SMITH

Russell Sage Foundation

The American as Reformer. By ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xi+127. $2.25.

Three lectures given at Pomona College, garlanded with an appended set of valuable notes and a look ahead, make up a nice little book of historical reminiscence. The theme is the reform impulse in American life; its extraordinary triumphs: free schools, abolition, universal suffrage, etc., and the current malaise which has invited a crusade against reform by vigilantes and heresy-hunters in and out of Congress. These topics are treated with vignettes referring to leading or symbolic figures—to Emerson, Garrison, Phillips, and Channing on the one side; and Chancellor Kent, Senator Hammond (a defender of the "mud-sill" theory of a slave society), Joseph Choate, and Joseph Martin on the other.

Professor Schlesinger, though himself a liberal and a gradualist, resists in this book the now fashionable tendency to believe the Civil War was the result of northern abolitionist fanaticism and unnecessary because the self-enlightening South would have got rid of slavery anyway in its own good time. Doubtless, the current argument about this issue is very largely an argument about something else: an argument between those who feel war the worst of all possible evils and those who feel injustice the worst; and the "facts" of the Civil War shift with the ethical perspective. (This is of course not to argue that war is the only aggressive means for bringing about the destruction of a hated institution.)

Though Schlesinger has been one of the staunch innovators of American "social history," this book will not strike the readers of this *Journal* as particularly sociological in emphasis. Perhaps this is because of the seldom avoided and perhaps requisite parochialism of the historian who focuses always on what happened in a particular locality while traditionally avoiding cross-cultural comparisons. The generalizing social scientist can, however, take Schlesinger's data and suggest possible "laws" such as that of the inevitable tendencies by

which a movement which begins as a reform sect becomes a vested institution—and use as an illustration the discussion in this book of the growth of lobbies out of reform agitation. Or he can ask questions, as David Potter, professor of American history at Yale, is currently doing, as to the relations between reform movements and economic abundance, challenging Schlesinger's implication that depressions as such give rise to surges of reform; here comparison with other lands of plenty, such as Australia and New Zealand, might become relevant. Or he can wonder whether, as Schlesinger hopefully believes, the current American hysteria over "un-American activities" (hysteria whose earlier manifestations the author ably and briefly traces) is simply a passing phase, soon to be righted by fundamental American common sense, or whether it represents the political and psychological growing pains of the "garrison state."

It is always the occupational disease of the reviewer to criticize the author for not having written a different book. Even though it contains less than a hundred pages of text, we can be glad for this one and use it to stimulate thinking about America and about reform and reformers.

DAVID RIESMAN

Sociology. By W. J. H. SPROTT. London: Hutchinson's University Library (Longmans, Green & Co., Inc., distributor). 1950. Pp. 192. $1.60.

Sociology is not so firmly established that a layman can easily find out what it is, has done, and aims to do; and the usual bulky textbook for undergraduates frightens the person whose time is limited. But a short introduction, to be useful to the general reader, must be neither superficial nor obscure. Mr. Sprott's introduction is both.

The study is remarkably inclusive. It begins by discussing the nature and method of sociology; proceeds to a consideration of its "raw material," which entails treatment of population, race, and geography; gives separate chapters to the power structure, the economic structure, and social stratification; considers custom and morals, law and religion, under the heading of public opinion and social control; deals with society as a system of institutions, with special reference to the family, property, education, and national character; and concludes with sections on social change and social problems.

The book's greatest defect is that it is ingenious rather than systematic. It collates a number of definitions of sociology, discusses sociological method ably, and deals with most areas of sociological interest. But it lacks a clear-cut and consistent framework or point of view.

In his laudable endeavor to acquaint his reader with the names and some of the contributions of leading sociologists the author ends by confusing the reader. The author, in addition, gives several catalogues of sociological studies. These serve no worth-while purpose. The space devoted to them might well have been used to expand references to Weber, Durkheim, and others who have been compressed too much for accuracy or even intelligibility.

There are indications, however, that the lack of a sociological viewpoint stems from a lack of full sympathy with sociology. Sprott, who is described on the title-page as a professor of philosophy, raps sociologists over the knuckles now and then in a way that suggests that he would be more at home in criticizing than in introducing sociology. His discussion of the danger of giving abstract words priority over concrete reality is probably salutary, although the necessity for certain types of abstraction should be mentioned. His criticism of some American sociologists for not brooding in their armchairs enough is good-humored. But his reference to the authors of such studies as *Middletown*, *Plainsville*, *U.S.A.*, *Peasant Life in China*, the "Yankee City Series," *Caste and Class in a Southern Town*, *An American Dilemma*, and *The Ghetto* as "self-styled sociologists" seems arrogant.

The most charitable construction that can be placed on this is that it is a case of faulty writing. The book contains a number of sentences which are incomprehensible or ungrammatical or both and many misspellings of proper names. These would not be serious in a work intended for people familiar with the subject, but they are a considerable drawback in an introductory volume.

Writing a brief introduction to sociology is extremely difficult, but it has been shown to be possible. Morris Ginsberg's *Sociology*, published in the "Home University Library Series" in 1934, and J. Rumney's *The Science of Society*, published in 1938, ably present the viewpoint and some of the chief findings of sociology, one in two hundred and fifty-five and the other

in one hundred and twenty-five pages. Unfortunately, Sprott's *Sociology* does not rank with these.

JEAN BURNET

University of Toronto

Geo-economic Regionalism and World Federation. By MAURICE PARMELEE. New York: Exposition Press, 1949. Pp. vi+137. $2.50.

The author gives us a blueprint of a better world-to-be by delineating fourteen geoeconomic world regions which, in turn, are based on the seventy-six econographically indexed regions of Griffith Taylor. The index is composed of area, temperature, rainfall, elevation, and coal reserves. However, other economic assets, such as oil deposits and water power, actual and potential, are also considered.

Taylor's regions are ideal constructs on a map, based on a combination of factors and therefore not generic in the true sense, nor are they specific regions, because they leave out of account historical antecedents and cultural consciousness. This does not deprive them of value as tools of knowledge; it merely means that other maps, based on other criteria, are required for supplementation. In contradistinction, Parmelee's regions are supposed to be actual administrative entities. Hence, in drawing them, the disregard of political reality is a decisive fault. Happily, the proposed regions will not do away immediately with states and nations, but they will assume almost all their vital functions, particularly in the field of social and economic planning.

It should be noted that the sort of planning which is envisaged by the author will go far in the direction of regional government control of the total economy. There will be democratically elected regional assemblies. In short, although this is not said in so many words, there will be regional sovereignty, existing sovereignty being abolished. Political entities, such as the British Commonwealth of Nations and the Republic of China, will belong to various regions. France will belong in part to the Mediterranean, in part to the North European region, not to speak of France Overseas. Japan will be coupled with North China, Manchuria, and Inner Asia rather than with the Pacific island territories to the south of Japan. The Soviet Union will be left intact as a "region," although it will be deprived, as far as regional administration is concerned, of the western Ukraine, Bessarabia, and Lithuania. In contrast, the United States will not only be kept together from Maine to California but will even be enlarged by the addition of Canada, and it is not considered altogether unlikely that the Caribbean and Central American region will be added also.

Non-American readers will surely consider this a remarkable manifestation of subconscious Yankee imperialism. Or shall we say it proves the author to be a realist at home and a moralist abroad? At any rate, there is little chance that the blueprint will be enacted. The author himself says that his brand of regionalism presupposes world government. In other words, a thing to be called "United Regions" is thought to supplant not only individual nations but also the United Nations. It is further said that the alternative to the United Regions will be war. To this the reviewer adds the observation that, if there will not be war for lack of the United Regions organization, there will surely be war if anyone tries to establish it.

WERNER J. CAHNMAN

New York City

The Human Use of Human Beings: Cybernetics and Society. By NORBERT WIENER. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950. Pp. 241. $3.00.

What a "leader of the new scientific revolution" has to say in a "revolutionary book" is that "our military men," "our great merchant princes," "the American intellectual," our educators, and our men of letters are leading American civilization into chaos (Wiener's chaos is rigid, like a jammed machine). The way to escape doom is to tap the "great source of intellects for the future . . . the body of men trained for a profession like engineering or medicine or natural science," because these are "professions demanding intellectual stamina and encouraging intellectual curiosity." These men "can be given the entrée to the social sciences and to literature not in the form of a few courses of clichés, but through the understanding interest of teachers with a sociological or literary bent, already acquainted with scientific methods and habits of thought . . . [for] nothing less than the whole man is enough to constitute the scholar, the artist, and the man of action." Progress is under way in such a program. "It is this wholeness, this integrity, that a consid-

erable group of us at M.I.T. are trying to evoke and to render conscious in our students."

The sociologist concerned with the role of the intellectual in American society will be somewhat surprised to discover that too little scientism, not too much, is the root of our problem. Other observers of American culture have made a contrary analysis. These have held that the "voices of rigidity," as Wiener calls them, have been the scientists (and particularly those in the natural sciences) themselves. Since the days of Henry Adams there has been growing concern with the *social* structure of scientific institutions. Veblen's engineers are no longer outcasts in corporate enterprise, and certainly if any one group is determining how we fight our wars it is our technicians. In the face of this mounting power of the physical scientist, Wiener raises questions of much the same kind as those being raised in theology and the arts. But he evinces no interest (at least in this address to the laity) in what others have said about the problem which concerns him so deeply. When we turn to the scientists who have unleashed powers which may destroy civilization, we are told not only that they do not know how to achieve the good society but that others who *have* concerned themselves with this problem (notably the priest and the artist) have not done a good job.

It is doubtful whether Wiener has done the cause of science much good in this book. What we all want to know is how those who diagnose ills intend to cure them. We have learned from the miseries of war that if the intellectual appears to the people as a prophet of doom, without at the same time prescribing some way of meeting it, then people will turn to a leader who offers a solution. That such a leader often turns out to be a tyrant, if not worse, *is* the responsibility of the scientist as well as the priest and the man of letters.

Logically, it is impossible to "know" what is wrong with American civilization without "knowing" what is right. We expect scientists of Wiener's stature to make serious attempts to state explicitly what kind of society would be better than the one we now have. And since it seems reasonable to presume that a scientist has been highly sensitized to methodology, we expect him to tell us how to sustain the good society once it has been achieved. Perhaps it is precisely because Wiener does not deal with norms, ends, or purposes in human action, and discusses man in terms of mechanical images ("communication is the cement of society"; man possesses a "built-in mechanism" as "built-in purpose"), that he fails to arrive at any kind of conception of *human* action. He simply repeats, with variations, that man is like a machine, although in his case the machine is like the new electrical calculating machines, which, according to Wiener, have "memory" because they "retain" records of past performances. *Who or what determines what is to be communicated, under what conditions, out of what share of available resources, for what purposes*, is nowhere discussed. From an experimental point of view there is no harm in assuming that the field of human action is like a field of motion. But, when we turn to moral and political action, we must recognize phases of it that cannot thus far be explained by mechanistic constructs. And it is highly doubtful if we ever really reduce the study of emotion and purpose to motion alone. To call purpose "pattern," "environment," "form," or to shift the action of purpose from man to nature as a "drive," "causality," "archaic heritage," and the like, is merely to shift terms without shifting concepts.

When we are told that "learning is in its essence a form of feedback, in which the pattern of behavior is modified by past experience"; since "*the feedback principle means that behavior is scanned for its result, and that the success or failure of this result modifies future behavior*" (p. 69, Wiener's italics), we must ask *why* certain kinds of past behavior but not others have been selected by the individual to modify his future behavior. We might also ask why present ends of action are more explicable by a purpose derived from a past than from purpose arising out of striving to attain a future goal (to paraphrase Mead).

What we want to hear is not that the scientist should be given greater power so that he can "shape a type of organization . . . in which the orbit of each scientist is assigned by the scope of his interests rather than as a predetermined beat" but what it would be like to live in a world dominated by scientists. For the past half-century in America Veblenites of one kind or another have been asserting that some kind of "soviet of technicians" should take over and rid the world of the stupidities of a business civilization (although it is this very world that has produced the "free" scientist). It may be that the engineering brain would produce a better world. But the burden of proof is on the "human engineer" who must make clear not

only what is "wrong" with our society but what *his* "right" society would be like. Until this is done it would be better to criticize the social ends and means proposed by those with "a sociological or literary bent" by reference to specific achievements of the kind, not by making vague and portentuous statements of doom, or by implying that natural scientists alone are concerned with good and evil.

Public confessions of the kind we are now witnessing among physical scientists are good for the soul of the confessor. They are not always good for society. Guilt may be expiated through penance and good works, or it may be loaded on the back of some hapless scapegoat. Scientists have been able to absolve themselves of much past guilt by making a scapegoat of the priest; they, or at least Wiener and his followers, are now busy blaming the poet, the humanist, and those in what we call the human sciences. Perhaps it would be more seemly of Wiener and his colleagues to undertake a *positive* analysis of society. In doing so, it may be that what has been done in the past can be disregarded, yet there is a chance that some of our social theory and methodology is worth considering. Surely when a responsible scientist turns to the layman he ought not to convey the impression that there is *no* body of learning which might be of value in understanding society. Social science *does* exist. That it could be improved upon none of us would deny. But that it can be disregarded with so little concern by the "new scientific revolutionaries" who offer themselves as leaders in the analysis of society indicates a degree of arrogance, parochialism, or irresponsibility that is not without its dangers for the future of intellectual life in America.

HUGH DALZIEL DUNCAN

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The Structure of American Industry: Some Case Studies. Edited by WALTER ADAMS. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. ix+588. $4.50.

Industrial and commercial organizations are asserted by some sociologists to constitute the most crucial area of institutions. Certainly they comprise the greatest bulk and most dynamic elements of all institutional phenomena. Hence the question why they have not been more systematically analyzed by American sociologists is in itself a problem of considerable moment. For the past half-century or so a small but exceedingly important group of economists and economic historians has been carrying on empirical research in business institutions as a sort of fringe activity, ancillary to the principal professional interest in deductive economic theory. Although this work has been oriented toward monopoly and competition, subject to the peculiarly individualistic bias of economic axiom and assumption, the findings contained of their studies constitute an invaluable fund of materials on American institutions and their functioning. This field lies fallow for the most part, so far as American sociologists are concerned, both as a source of research findings and as an area for original sociological research.

This symposium deals with thirteen major areas of industrial production and commerce in the United States. As a symposium it does not succeed in drawing a comprehensive picture of industrial institutional structure, partly because of the focus of interest in the monopoly problem, and partly because the picture is unique, like a geographic area, so that, if any part is omitted, the selection is left fragmentary. Clearly illustrated, though not systematically treated as such, are the principal institutional forms—the "individual" proprietorship, the corporation, the holding company, the trade association, and the cartel. The limitations of economic theory in dealing with these institutional phenomena are demonstrated in several ways. The descriptions of the institutions and their operations consider only management and proprietor groups directly. All other elements of membership are incidental. Second, there is abundant reference to "other factors," of which "institutional" and "historical" factors are most frequently mentioned or implied. Hence numerous other characteristics of these institutions receive no consideration, nor are institutions as such subjected to any balanced analytical treatment. Third, in the concluding chapter on "Organized Labor in a Free Economy," Professor Killingsworth repeats in succinct form the devastating criticism of economic theory that has been made numerous times before by disenchanted economists familiar with mundane economic phenomena. His remarks bear repeating here:

> The perfect competition model generally rests upon several important assumptions. One is that men behave in such a way as to maximize their incomes. Applied to labor, this means that the worker

seeks the highest wage on the market. [Footnote:] The concept of "highest wage" is seldom, if ever, sharply defined in the literature of economic theory. . . . [Text:] A further requisite for perfect competition is that the buyers of labor services—employers—must not be in collusion with each other. Also, employers in making employment, output and price decisions, must be motivated solely by the desire to maximize their net revenue. . . .

The unreal nature of the assumptions underlying this analysis is obvious. . . . [Footnote:] When these assumptions are substantially modified to make them more realistic, the theory becomes completely unverifiable and quite useless except for mental gymnastics . . . [pp. 540–41].

Fortunately, sociologists have not confined themselves to the doctrinal limitations of any "perfect" model, though some of them feel that something of this character should have been done long since. In the study of institutions the nearest thing to it is a tendency to refer to "the social order," "the social structure," or "the social system" as though there existed a well-defined, commonly understood area of verified knowledge of them. The materials contained in this book should be sufficient to dispel any notions of common order, structure, or system so far as industrial and commercial institutions are concerned. And it might be added parenthetically, with regard to institutions in general, that at least one authority asserts that "a single root meaning hardly can be said to exist" for the term (J. O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions* [Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1946], p. 1).

The ideal type form of competition postulated in economic doctrine is *individual* competition. It will be noted in this symposium that the theoretically assumed unit element of behavior is the individual. This is quite clear in the quotation cited above, for example. Yet much of the real competition discussed, as well as the conflict, accommodation, and assimilation also entering the processes depicted, is comprehensible only in terms of increasingly large and ramified organized groups. Not only in this work, but in virtually all economic literature, the new institutions that have emerged with the development and ramification of power technology are substantially outside the purview of theoretical analysis. Departments of economics ordinarily include courses in "corporation finance" as a special field of interest, but in theory itself the corporation is tacitly equated with the individual. The study of corporations, trusts, holding companies, cartels, and trade associations is largely confined to the field sometimes designated "the social control of business," an ancillary field more or less distinct from the main body of deductive economic theory. Except in so far as very large firms assume different marginal characteristics by reason of their control of substantial portions of various markets, they come under the general category "the individual, the firm or the corporation," as though the behavior of any of these were, or should be, substantially identical. That they often fail to behave in the completely individualistic manner expected by economists is regarded with varying attitudes ranging from unperturbed and uncritical acceptance to considerable alarm and dismay. Both the phenomena and the range of attitudes toward them are clearly exhibited in the chapters of this book.

Killingsworth's chapter dealing with labor institutions is noteworthy in a book on business institutions. In keeping with traditional economics, economists and sociologists working in the field of labor-management relations orient their analyses as though "labor problems" were something essentially discrete from economic institutions. Studies of the labor movement, of worker groups at the "workbench" level, or the individualistically oriented attitude studies omit, with a few outstanding exceptions, any systematic consideration of the institutional characteristics of commerce and industry within which the phenomena occur. The complex and rapidly changing institutional milieu within which the individual worker and worker groups are employed can be seen clearly in this book to be something other than "the social order" of the usual indefinite reference in sociological exposition. In every case study presented is a history of competition, conflict, accommodation, and assimilation and also the exceedingly important phenomenon of exclusion or "discrimination." These are referred to in the common business jargon of "cut-throat competition," price and trade "wars" of various descriptions, "pirating," "trade agreements," asset buying, merging, dissolving, integration, etc., all as a "private" matter by concerns and combinations of concerns ranging from local firms to international "empires" comprised of corporations so numerous and of such ramification and complication of relationships as to defy definition or accurate identification.

As reading material for courses in the sociology of institutions, this book is as good as any-

thing recently available in convenient form. The various chapters are adequately annotated, and the editor's stated objective of achieving reasonable uniformity of quality in exposition has been substantially met. Author and subject indexes are provided, as well as a table of contributors.

WILLIAM C. LAWTON

University of Puerto Rico

Catalogues and Counters: A History of Sears, Roebuck and Company. By BORIS EMMET and JOHN E. JEUCK. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. xix+788. $7.50.

This is a study of a firm that has become so gigantic as to be known by virtually all Americans and dealt with by most at one time or another. As a major business institution it should be of interest to sociologists. Dr. Emmet is not only a trained scholar but also a merchandising executive. His experience is varied and includes ten years with Sears as retail merchandise manager. This rare combination of qualifications is clearly reflected in the exposition. Dr. Jeuck is on the staff of the School of Business at the University of Chicago. Both were assisted by trained people and, in addition, had the counsel of a University of Chicago faculty committee representing several fields. The constructive influence of this latter group is evident in relating the firm to its social milieu.

Generally the exposition is concerned with the problems of management in the development of their organization and business activities. It is not derogatory to point out that, as practitioners and teachers in the field of business administration, the authors cannot concern themselves except incidentally with many important social phenomena as they relate to Sears. Needless to say, the authors identify themselves implicitly but quite clearly with the norms, values, and objectives of the firm, and the point of view is quite favorable to the development of the big, successful firm. In a real sense this enhances the value of the work to the sociologist, since it constitutes an unvarnished account of these as they occur within the operating organization. The particular solutions of this concern's problems of size and relations to the community should be of general interest, particularly since Sears's policies are generally regarded as "enlightened."

Of considerable interest is the evidence of an active process of informal experimentation throughout the organization on the basis of which the firm has developed a tremendous array of activities. This is typical of large successful firms. The patterns of development in this regard are in every instance unique to the given firm, and Sears is certainly a unique organization. There is, in fact, no clear definition of "firm" to be found in the exposition, which tallies with a similar lack of definition in the voluminous literature on business institutions. In the uncertain nature of the processes of experimentation and growth, no comprehensive definition of institutional entity is possible because of the uniqueness of the processes and their results. Like any large firm, Sears involves many legally separate corporations. Likewise the nuclear control groups are nebulous; otherwise the processes of functional experimentation would be relatively absent. In so far as the firm is still growing rapidly and is undoubtedly typical of many similarly large and ramified firms, the depicted processes of developing norms, values, and objectives provide basic case-study materials.

With the trend toward increasingly large and ramified organizations, the increasingly rigorous patterns of affiliation and exclusion of membership as exhibited in this instance are of general interest. It is in this process that new criteria are created and old ones reinforced. The integration of commerce and industry intensifies competition and conflict in many forms. The assimilation or liquidation of numerous small and formerly independent firms that accompanies the entry of large firms into new areas of activity has social repercussions with which the economist is not concerned. The tendency is to push small firms into the marginal category and to identify security and success with the large integrated firm. The phenomenon has been widely noted, but its pertinence to sociological problems has been rather generally overlooked, with a few outstanding exceptions. In particular, the increasing competition and striving of the individual for effective economic affiliation that integration produces, coupled with an increasing rigor of selection, tend to introduce and strengthen essentially nonfunctional criteria such as race, religion, social class, general education level (as contrasted with specific functional qualification), stereotyped personality characteristics, and numerous others. However enlightened the policies of such a firm as Sears may be with regard to accepted employee affili-

ates, the effect of the selective processes on the community at large is one of profound social significance. It raises the general question: Who shall be employed and in what capacity and role and status?

Obviously the firm cannot be concerned with those "selected out." The criteria of efficiency have in common the putative demand, in the business world, that fewer and fewer people accomplish more and more work. In the process of integration, people of all levels of skill and responsibility are "let out," so that the individual competition for remaining jobs produces an "excess" of functionally qualified candidates for any given opening. This forces the adoption of criteria of selection which are necessarily of a nonfunctional character, since such functional capacities cannot differ appreciably enough as between candidates to be decisive. Hence there appears also the widespread phenomenon of the arbitrary "raising of standards" so far beyond the requirements of functional performance as to produce widespread dissatisfaction among trained and competitively accredited people assigned to jobs beneath their levels of training and aspirations, not to mention frequent unemployment among unsuccessful candidates. The history of concentration in mass industry and commerce in all major industrial countries clearly exhibits these phenomena. The case study of the individual firm provides much insight into the institutional processes of operation in specific instances.

The sociologist has a tremendous opportunity, and in fact a duty, to amplify the findings of economists and economic historians with regard to business institutions. The economist is not concerned with race relations, crime, family disorganization, personal and social maladjustment, and the like; yet empirical research into the "social structure" as represented in the operating institutions of industry and commerce inevitably will disclose their pertinence to sociological problems. What appears to have been overlooked by sociologists, with some outstanding exceptions, is that businessmen themselves—those who must provide much of the means to research and access to data—are profoundly concerned with these problems, not merely as businessmen but as leading citizens. The financing of this study by business-supported foundations and the "house" cooperation of Sears itself is a case in point. As Dean Garfield V. Cox of the University of Chicago School of Business points out in the Foreword, an increasing number of business managements are showing an interest in opening their resources to competent research. The difficulties sociologists have encountered in selling businessmen on the pertinence of sociological research to business institutions would appear to stem in large part from the inability of many sociologists to perceive clearly either the pertinence or its potence.

Within the limitations necessary to economics and business administration, the authors of this work have produced a voluminous and commendable piece of empirical research. The materials and interpretations have been presented with ample annotation, statistical tables, organizational diagrams, and other supporting evidence in useful form. The point of view is always explicit or clearly implicit. An ample bibliography of sources, appendixes, and an index are included.

WILLIAM C. LAWTON

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Ritual in Family Living. By JAMES H. S. BOSSARD and ELEANOR S. BOLL. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. Pp. 228. $3.50.

The life of a flourishing family has long been recognized as that of a society in miniature, with its customs and rituals, its attitudes and system of values. Yet it has been the novelist rather than the sociologist who has concerned himself with the workings of this little world. So, in spite of an accumulation of sociology courses and much concern with the family, this small volume on *Ritual in Family Living* comes as a pioneer study.

The problem, as stated in the first chapter of the work, is the relation of family rituals to family solidarity. Family rituals are distinguished from mere individual habits as precise and rather rigid forms of social procedures which come to be accepted as right apart from any practical value they may have. But they are shown by the authors to be of utility in the organizing of family co-operation and family discipline and of great importance in the handing-on of cultural traditions (particularly with relation to holiday celebrations) and in regulating status and personal relationships of the family members. Illustrative materials drawn from autobiographies, from accounts written by

present-day college students, and from the study of certain selected families are employed in chapters dealing with "Trends in Family Ritual, 1880–1946," "Class Differentials," "The Family Cycle," and "Three Generations of Family Ritual."

In all this there is much of interest, especially to students of American life; except for the nineteenth-century autobiographical materials, many of which are from English sources, materials are all drawn from American families. There may be some question as to the validity of "trends" derived from a comparison of present-day American families with those of nineteenth-century England. The quality of American family life in 1880 was rather distinct from that of England, I believe, just as it is today and, moreover, must have displayed more local cultural differences then than now. But as showing trends in very general terms, such as the tendency toward secularization and individuation, perhaps the comparisons drawn may be useful.

For the reviewer the most interesting chapter is that dealing with class differentials, because the materials derived from upper-, middle-, and lower-class families in Philadelphia give a picture of integrated patterns of family living under different conditions which is more striking and suggestive than are accounts of single rituals abstracted from their setting. Moreover, the marked class distinctions which exist in Philadelphia make an interesting contrast in the character of family cultures. It is to be regretted that fuller details and descriptions might not have been included.

These remarks may suggest that an examination of ritual is much more meaningful when its place in the culture as a whole is seen. The suggestion is supported in the chapters on family ritual in relation to the family cycle of growth and decline and the passing-on of family rituals through the generations (actually in this chapter the transfer of tradition through two rather than through three generations is discussed, since the third generation are young children whose behavior is still dominated by their parents). Here the term "ritual" is extended to cover aspects of life of far greater scope than was suggested by the early definition. Earlier it is suggested that rituals make for smoothness of functioning because they are carried on almost automatically. But in the latter part of the book they are seen as developing great emotional tone and symbolic content. It is seen that "rituals may tend to survive . . . when the rituals are all integrated into one family ritual system which represents the enduring attitudes, philosophies, and goals of the whole family group—rather than a disconnected series of separate forms serving the temporal needs and pleasures of certain individual family members," and, again, "when material family objects are handed down along with their histories and are included frequently in the rituals," or "when the intangible content of the rituals consists of enduring cultural values, rather than cultural 'passing fancies.' "

Possibly the fact that two individuals wrote separate chapters may make for some of the variation in the use of the term "ritual." It is never really distinguished from "ceremony," "custom," "tradition," or "family culture" as a whole. Except in the remarks quoted above there is no attempt to distinguish the quality of family rituals so far as their influence on family organization goes. For example, we read on page 26 that "sherry before dinner may become as much a ritual as family prayers before going to bed; and listening to a Sunday night radio program may be the center of a ritual complex as much as the reading of the Bible." Certainly one must agree that this may be so, for family prayers and the reading of the Bible may be simply old forms still kept up which have lost most of their meaning. Nor does one quite know what "as much a ritual" means. From personal experience I am convinced, however, that the change in habits from reading aloud from interesting and important works of literature, giving experiences remembered for life, to reading aloud the comics or gathering about the radio, noted as a trend in American life, does make for a significant difference in the common understandings of a family. And as I see it, it is the depth of common understandings rather than the amount of ritual behavior which makes for family unity. That the development of ritual may be helpful in making life easier and more pleasant is not to be denied.

MARGARET PARK REDFIELD

Chicago, Illinois

The Novel of Violence in America, 1920–1950. By W. M. FROHOCK. Dallas, Texas: University Press, 1950. Pp. 216. $3.75.

The sociologist is interested in several of the questions raised by this book. What is the qual-

ity of the moral sense projected by contemporary fiction, especially by the fiction of violence that has been finding a new market in the high-brow and middle-brow audiences? What information about the writer and his audience helps to explain this development in the institution of literature? What methods of classification and analysis can be used to interpret the development as an interaction between art and society?

Frohock's method is to begin with what literary scholars call a "genre" classification—he draws a distinction between the "novel of erosion" and the "novel of violence." The distinction is an aesthetic one to the degree that it defines the "novel of violence" as being more concerned with the dramatic or melodramatic resolution of physical plot action than the "novel of erosion." The distinction is a philosophic one to the degree that two kinds of novels appear to contemplate different aspects of human action and to suggest different attitudes toward them. In any event, Frohock, having declared his distinction, does little to employ it in an orderly way. The result is that his chapters of theme analysis, devoted to the work of Dos Passos, Wolfe, Farrell, Cain, Faulkner, Caldwell, Steinbeck, and Hemingway, produce interesting theme samples quite without a content-analysis framework in which data and hypothesis are seen in some unambiguous relationship. Frohock's conclusion, that violence in current American fiction is "sometimes conceived as the distinctive mark of the human," may well be so. But one is left with the sense that Frohock has guessed it rather than demonstrated the evidence.

It is not merely that Frohock's classification starts from rather sloppy aesthetic premises and comes into head-on collision with the facts. It would not be sufficient, in order to dismiss the study, to say that his interpretation of Proust as antidramatic is aesthetically false, or ambiguous, or both. But even if the study were not weighed down by an unwieldy literary classification, it would run into trouble in its attempt to make a reference from art to nature. The reference from violence in the novel is, in part, to violence in life, and here Frohock forces himself to proceed without much guidance.

His next step should be to consider what use he can make of the interesting theme analyses with which he has provided himself. The sociologist would say that he can make little use of these thematic condensations until he commits himself to some theory of violence in our social life. He needs, in brief, some cultural definitions of violence, "an ideal portrait" of violence, so that he can set his literary images of violence over against them. He probably needs some sort of theory of the fiction audience as well; this would make it possible for him to decide why he has so far chosen writers who appeal to certain audiences rather than to others—and why he has left out such significant masters of violence as Nathaniel West and Dashiell Hammett.

The clearest indication of the need for some such approach is the author's comment in connection with the work of Steinbeck: "It is no accident that the novel of violence has stepped from under the auspices of the middle class, for the middle class is nonviolent by nature and does not offer proper material." Such a telescoping of half-truths does not happen to help us much with an author like Steinbeck, who, in *The Grapes of Wrath*, portrayed the landowning middle class of California as a group which was attempting to retain a monopoly of violence. And it could easily have been avoided by an appeal to any one, or even several, of the sociological theories of violence now on the market. Frohock's preoccupation is interesting and important, and he needs now to make it really experimental in form.

REUEL DENNEY

University of Chicago

The Dilemma of the Idealist. By DAVID BRYN-JONES. New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. xvi+278. $3.00.

Ethics and Society: An Appraisal of Social Ideals. By MELVIN RADER. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1950. Pp. xii+401. $3.25.

For the most part, the Reverend Professor Bryn-Jones' book is a discussion of pacifism as a crucial aspect of "Christian" idealism. While much of the argument is stated in general terms, this is the recurrent "illustration," from the first chapter throughout and saturating the "Conclusion." A good-tempered, judicious, well and even charmingly written treatment, it deserves popularity and will doubtless receive it. The theme or thesis is stated in one neat line at the beginning of chapter xiii ("On the Defences of the Ideal"): "Compromise is necessary and compromise is dangerous." Hardly a star-

tling proposition but better than dogmatic extremism, and the author makes it interesting.

It is readable even to a reviewer who thinks the antithesis between the ideal and the necessary or expedient is false. As to pacifism, one may immediately note (*a*) that it is a negative issue—peace is not always ideal!—and (*b*) that war is a means to an end, condemned as a bad means, regardless of the end. The question properly raised is the old one of the end justifying the means, or when it does, and how far. Assuredly the values bound up in both must be weighed before judging any act of policy. But my deeper objection is that the real opposition is always between ideals, on both sides, if the issue is a serious one at all. This is clear in the example the author quotes in his "Conclusion" from A. H. Compton: the methodist physicist first quit work on the atom bomb because of its probable destructiveness but returned with full determination when the world's safety lay in the balance. A pointed reminder of the monstrous though much-touted principle (ideal), "Do right though the world perish."

Professor Rader's book is of more serious interest to the student, being more scholarly and closely reasoned while also extremely readable. The general problem of ethics is first considered under two heads, the ethics, respectively, of laws and of ideals, with the pertinent forms and subdivisions of each. Part III surveys social ideals under the familiar heads of aristocratic, democratic, liberal, Fascist, and socialist. A wide range of literature and of history are summarized, used, and criticized, gracefully as well as intelligently. The book closes with a fifteen-page descriptive bibliography and a full index.

The important weakness is akin to that noted above in connection with the Bryn-Jones book. In Part I, on the "Ethics of Laws," nothing is said about laws better or worse, in degree, or about conflict of laws. But any moral law which contains directions for conduct more concrete than "Be good," or "Do right," must admit and require exceptions, and their ground will fall under some other law which conflicts more or less with the first. I also feel that the author misses a chance in not stressing that the first principle of society, virtually its essence, is maintenance of an existing positive law, *until it can be improved*, and without incurring costs greater than the gains. The moral law must consist of these two parts or steps, obedience to the positive law and striving to improve it. There is no place for any "natural law" in the conventional sense. In all historical reality moral law roots in criticism of a particular positive law (a mixture of crystallized custom and legislation by some authority) and is a late, most artificial, *un*natural work of man. This seems to me the one possible sound approach to the problem of social ethics and reform. But it is surely indisputable that the "best" reform will be relative to what the legal-customary system already is and the traditions and values underlying it: hence, again, no natural law common to all men and in any degree specific. It is mere dogmatism to assert that there is any one identical universal human legal order toward which all positive-law systems "ought" to converge. This is recognized in the principle of federalism. The question becomes one of the amount and kind of cultural diversity which is "best" for the world and the race—or which will be or would be best, if and when we get beyond differences that lead to conflict and strife, which are notoriously bad.

FRANK H. KNIGHT

University of Chicago

Social Psychology: An Integrative Interpretation. By S. STANSFELD SARGENT. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1950. Pp. xv+519. $4.50.

Professor Sargent says that his purpose in this book is "to present a systematic, integrated, dynamic, and useful social psychology." Part I contains four chapters on the general topic "Socialization of the Individual," a survey of the interaction of "biological and social forces" in individual development, specifying the major sociocultural influences upon personality and behavior, and treating socialization as a form of learning. Part II, "The Dynamics of Social Behavior," discusses motivation, frustration, and mechanisms, and also "ego-development and ego-involvement." Part III, "The Patterning of Social Behavior," deals with language, the major forms of social interaction, the role of the person, leadership, and the person in social situations. Part IV, "Understanding Social Phenomena," is devoted to the interpretation of public opinion, propaganda, fads, fashions, crowds, rumors, social change and social movements, and group differences and prejudice. The last two chapters (xix and xx) show that social psychology is useful today and will be more so tomorrow.

It will be seen that *Social Psychology* is quite ambitious, both in the range of its subject matter and in its general purpose.

It is a book by a psychologist who uses considerable anthropological and sociological material. If social psychology is defined as the study of the interaction of human beings, then not all statements about human behavior are social psychological, although Sargent appears to think they are. Statements as to how persons function as organisms are not social psychological because they imply no interaction. Nor are statements about persons which refer them to culture and to social structure social psychological, if they fail to refer to the collective psychological processes which are reflected in individual behavior. It may be interesting to read about the mores and the social processes of accommodation, and the like. However, Sargent has not integrated the individual and the social psychological, the anthropological and sociological approaches. He has just put them side by side, and said, as Cooley did fifty years ago, that they are heads and tails of the same coin. By "integrated" he means "bringing together psychological, sociological, anthropological, and psychiatric techniques and findings" (p. 31). But he has not effected an integration in the sense of a unity.

In his third chapter, "Culture and Personality," he presents, side by side, the conceptions of culture held by Linton, Kroeber, Benedict, Kardiner, and Horney. In Kroeber's view the individual behaves institutionally, for example, is religious, because of pre-existing culture patterns. But, according to Kardiner, institutions exist because of the "projective systems" of the individual. The student receives no assistance in resolving this conflict and is given the definite impression that the highly dubious "culture and personality" studies are valid. By way of evaluating them he says that we need more facts and more careful research. The discussion of personality is largely devoted to psychological aspects of learning and sociological aspects of variability due to differences in culture and experience.

Sargent leaves up in the air the problem of "what to believe" about motives (chap. vi). His treatment is individual-psychological, wholly omitting the significance of symbolization in behavior in general and in motives in particular. In the discussion of frustration in chapter vii Sargent in effect denies the pragmatist position that out of frustration intelligent behavior arises. In contrast, the potentiality of reasonable behavior resulting from frustrations is one of the basic ideas in Dewey's *Human Nature and Conduct* and Mead's *Mind, Self, and Society* and is also present in Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order*, all social-psychological works. Frustration, treated as a ubiquitous cause of irrational responses, is one of the basic concepts in Sargent's work.

In chapter viii, "Ego-Development and Ego-Involvement," Sargent makes it plain that he never realizes the basic conflict among the pragmatist social psychology of Cooley, Dewey, and Mead, and the irrationalistic individual psychology of psychoanalysis. The self will be more of a mystery to the student after reading this chapter than it was before. He fails to indicate the irrationalism basic to the psychoanalytic approach and also fails to link the self and symbolism. The universality of human nature thus escapes him, and he deals only with its changing aspects due to specific cultural and social influences.

Sargent's individualistic psychology is also revealed in his discussion of public opinion (chap. xiv), a good essay on technical problems of polling, but one which tells nothing about public opinion.

With all its shortcomings, the book is a serious attempt to bring within two covers different approaches to persistent and important problems. These critical remarks are evoked by the extensive ambitions of the book. Sargent could have evaluated much better the different interpretations he has simply brought together.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

Wayne University

Some Theory of Sampling. By WILLIAM EDWARDS DEMING. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1950. Pp. xvii+602. $9.00.

The task of the student of sampling will be measurably lightened by this book. Dr. Deming does not aim to cover the whole range of statistical theory but only the portion of it applicable to the sampling problems met by official statisticians, public opinion pollers, and research workers in sociology, economics, and other fields. *Some Theory of Sampling* reflects the author's extensive scholarship as well as the many opportunities he has had to try out both sampling ideas and methods for their exposition.

In some places his work gives the impression of being a world-wide symposium.

The level of exposition assumes less knowledge of mathematics than an interest in mathematical statistics and a willingness to adopt the probability point of view in tackling problems. For a reader with this interest, even if his mathematical preparation has been sketchy, every paragraph of the book will have relevance; lacking this interest, even persons of great mathematical skill would miss the points of this text.

Jensen stated nearly thirty years ago not only that the sampling approach is useful for sampling but that it gives the statistician a clearer insight into the objectives and limitations of all statistical work. Deming's school thinks of complete surveys as samples of some population; concern for stability in cells of tables is not confined to partial surveys but extends to all analytical data and the contrast with enumerative data in which the count is an end in itself (e.g., population figures used for legislative redistribution) is drawn as sharply as possible. Essentially the objective in using probability samples rather than "chunks" is to permit surveys to include not only estimates of the quantity desired but the error to which those estimates are subject.

To some sociologists Deming may seem to push too far the mathematical derivation of his results. They fear the hazard that students may become fascinated by what are merely tools. Some might even protest that for us there is no need for such elaboration of sampling and other mathematical techniques, since past and anticipated applications use elementary mathematics only. However, the surest if not the only gateway to the philosophy of probability—as essential to sociologists as to scientists in a score of other fields—is through such a discipline as this book outlines. The alternative to working through the mathematical exercises of this book is to spend ten years in an office, laboratory, or experimental station in which a similar variety of problems arises. The highest praise which I can express for Deming's work is that it comes close to constituting a substitute for such experience, and it is a valuable supplement to it.

A great range of applications is included. The verification of the Greek election, sampling for labor force facts, controlling the quality of manufactured product, surveying inventories in the hands of retail dealers—not all are directly in the line of interest of sociologists, but all have analogues within our discipline which it is to be hoped can ultimately be treated by the tidy methods of probability theory. The general problems faced by every sampler which these illuminate includes the estimation of variances in single- and multi-stage samples, ratio estimates, control of risks in acceptance sampling, allocation in stratified sampling, and using the sample as a basis for action.

NATHAN KEYFITZ

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Public Opinion and Political Dynamics. By MARBURY BLADEN OGLE, JR. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1950. Pp. ix+361. $3.50.

Public Opinion and Political Dynamics is an introductory text of high quality and broad scope. Although Professor Ogle is a political scientist and his book is addressed to political science students, it deserves the attention of social scientists generally. The volume is representative of the currently revived interest in political behavior as a form of human behavior and the integrating of teaching and research in political science with the developments of the other social sciences.

The author, in his introductory chapters, analyzes public opinion formation and its expression as it relates not only to the democratic process but also to totalitarian rule. Relevant concepts are presented in two chapters on "The Meaning of Public Opinion" and "Language and Public Opinion" in such a fashion as to indicate to students that thought on these matters antedates public opinion polling and instead finds its origin in the main body of political and social theory. Ogle includes two interesting chapters on myths and collective representatives.

The central portion of the book is a series of chapters dealing with the main factors and institutions which influence the development and formation of public opinion. They include: "Force and the Development of Public Opinion," "Human Factors Influencing Political Behavior," "Social Behavior: The Individual and the Crowd," "Institutions: Family and Church," "The Schools," and "Propaganda." This material presents a well-balanced review of the research literature equally useful for political science and sociology courses. The

remaining chapters encompass the major mass media as molders of public opinion as well as the measurement of public opinion. Informal and personal contacts as conditioners of public opinion might have been given more extended treatment.

With its broad social science outlook, the volume reflects a sharp concern for the historical and factual detail. Finally, and not to be overlooked, here is a text which has been written well and clearly.

MORRIS JANOWITZ

University of Chicago

The Criminality of Women. By OTTO POLLAK. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950. Pp. xxi+180. $3.50.

The Criminality of Women helps to fill one of the major lacunae in our knowledge of criminal offenders. This study assembles a large body of data on the nature and methods of female crime and personal, social, and biological factors in its motivation. The author examines both qualitative and quantitative aspects, basing his conclusions on the research literature of American and foreign students. The inclusion of material from British and Continental studies is particularly welcome, since these data are often more complete and revealing than data from United States sources.

This monograph may legitimately be called an attempt to construct hypotheses and provide *ex post facto* tests for propositions about the nature and specificity of female crime, the characteristics of female offenders, and their methods of crime commission. To accomplish this end, the author has selected the major theoretical and research propositions from the literature together with an original set of empirical propositions. These propositions are then "subject to test" in one of two ways: (1) by the assessment of statistical series from the official statistics of countries and the original data of research monographs and (2) *ex post facto* reasoning based on observation and sociological speculation. The assessment of statistical data is on the whole carefully done, indicating a keen awareness of the deficiencies of the data for conclusions on the actual extent of crime. In particular, the examination of sets of data for consistency of results, that is, an internal consistency validation, is noteworthy.

More open to question is the *ex post facto* reasoning concerning statistical distributions and the sociological interpretations of the data. In particular, the author's conclusions regarding the extent and specificity of female as compared with male crime can be questioned. Pollak suggests that a much larger proportion of female than male offenses are undetected, underreported, and unprosecuted. While he points out a number of cases where this is probably a fact (e.g., shoplifting, abortions, larceny by domestics, and prostitution), less attention is given to the undetected crimes of males. He concludes that white-collar crime is perhaps the only large field of unprosecuted male crime. One can readily point out, however, that much petty larceny (perhaps similar to that of female domestics) is daily engaged in by working-class men. Most factories, as department stores, report workers take a great quantity of manufactured products from production lines and factory storerooms. To argue that petty larceny is greater for lower-class women than men in these instances is to beg the question of quantitative differences in crime rates.

Pollak appears to be concerned with the question: Do males or females commit more crimes?" Such a question probably has little merit, since we probably cannot, or find it irrelevant to, attempt an answer to the correlative question, "Why do men (or women) commit more crimes than women (or men)?" Rather, theoretically significant analysis of crimes will ask questions such as: "Is the criminal liability of women (or men) greater than that of men (or women) for types of crimes which have social and psychological significance?" An intensive analysis of such criminal liability can and does lead to important conclusions regarding the specificity of crime. As Pollak concludes: "It is thus not so much the interest which women violate, or the degree to which they do so, as the victim which they choose, the person with whom they cooperate, the opportunities of which they avail themselves, and the part which they play in the actual perpetration of certain offenses which seems to express the sex specificity of female crime" (pp. 92–93). Here, then, the author leads to an excellent analytical treatment of the data.

Furthermore, the discussion is often unclear as to whether differentials in extent are differentials in number of crimes committed or number of criminals. The two are obviously not the same problem, nor do they lead to the same

considerations. Thus, in discussing the inclusion of the male offender group which "seems to be really favored by laxity in law enforcement, the men who engage in illicit sex conduct with prostitutes" (p. 55), in criminal statistics, Pollak concludes that their inclusion would not change the differentials. This conclusion is reached because prostitution as such can only be committed by women. While the man is guilty of adultery or fornication when he is a customer of a prostitute, the woman, in addition to the offense of prostitution, in every act of her professional activity also is guilty of illicit fornication or adultery. Therefore he argues only an equal number of male and female offenses is added to the recorded amount of crime. The question might be raised, however, whether we are not, as social scientists, equally (if not primarily) interested in studying the nature and number of *criminals* rather than the extent of *crimes* for both sexes. If we are, then there are undoubtedly more male offenders who are customers of prostitutes than there are prostitutes (otherwise there is no market).

This volume represents nonetheless a real contribution to the literature in criminology. It is enhanced by the most complete bibliography on female crime available.

ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

University of Chicago

History of Oil Workers International Union (CIO). By HARVEY O'CONNOR. Denver, Colo.: Oil Workers International Union (CIO), 1950. Pp. xiv+442.

The author has produced a very disappointing account of the history of the Oil Workers International Union. Although the volume has 442 pages, only 65 are devoted to the struggles of the oilworkers to form a union of their own choosing. It appears to the reviewer that O'Connor, who was officially blessed by the union, was in a hurry to write a "history" without taking time to collect sufficient data and integrate his materials into a moving story of the problems and difficulties of organizing a union. It is regrettable that a competent writer and observer like O'Connor, with the fullest cooperation given to him by the union, failed adequately to tell the oilworkers' story.

This volume devotes considerable space to a discussion of factionalism and concludes that factions caused the union to weaken itself, thereby serving as an obstacle toward organizing the oil industry. The author attributes the current success of the union to its ability to eliminate such "dissension." It appears to the reviewer that such a viewpoint, widely held in the trade-union movement, is contrary to our belief in democracy and can become harmful to trade-unions as well as to their rank-and-file members. Effectively to fight totalitarianism anywhere in the world, because of its ever present danger to our way of life, it becomes extremely important for us to guard against such influences within our own institutions, whether they be trade-unions, political clubs, fraternal organizations, etc. The best example of a union which has carefully protected the right of its members to disagree and organize into factions to make such disagreements more effective has been the International Typographical Union. Yet the ITU has remained forceful as a trade-union and is one of the strongest in the country. The United Automobile Workers–CIO and the American Newspaper Guild are additional examples of unions with factions operating, yet they are extremely effective organizations. The author implicitly presents the dilemma facing trade-union leaders today when they express interest in getting more rank-and-file interest and participation in union activities yet expect complete conformity to union policy. A vigorous and healthy democracy can exist only when disagreement is permitted within the limits of primary loyalty to the organization.

This "history" can more appropriately be considered as an organizational device to be used to maintain loyalty to the union. Almost everybody who has ever been active in the organization has his name in the "history." Such recognition may serve to maintain loyalty of thousands of these members to the union. In order to accomplish this objective, the major part of the volume is devoted to brief histories of local unions affiliated with the OWI. Most of this material merely lists when the local was chartered, important strikes, contract accomplishments, and the names of officers and convention delegates.

The social sciences, economists excepted, in the last ten years have discovered the union and have begun to investigate its nature and structure. Yet this "history" will contribute very little to such efforts to understand the nature of the Oil Workers International Union.

JACK LONDON

University of Chicago

Fundamentals of World Organization. By WERNER LEVI. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1950. Pp. ix+233. $3.00.

This is a thoughtful essay which emphasizes the shortcomings of the United Nations. Professor Levi feels that these defects stem primarily from the continued existence of a system of sovereign nation-states. The UN Charter presumes such a system and perpetuates it. Being a civilized man and no advocate of simple-minded solutions, the author is quite clearly torn by the basic dilemma which no words can exorcise: There can be no effective international organization without an international community; yet the lack of such an organization breeds reliance on political and economic nationalism; and this separatism inhibits the development of a world community. We are repeatedly reminded that the objective interdependence of nations does not create a subjective "one world." And power politics must be recognized as of the essence of international relations.

It is therefore no fault of the author's that his "answers" are weak and disappointingly familiar. We must develop those international agencies which tend to break down national barriers, and we must preserve a framework which can aid peaceful change. We should not expect too much of the UN but should make every effort to take advantage of the opportunities it offers to weaken the concern for national sovereignty. In chapters on the organization of politics, economics, social welfare, and cultural activities, suggestions are made along these lines.

A broad sociological perspective is evident in this book, particularly in its consideration of such matters as the community basis of international organization and the relation of ideology to interest in foreign affairs. But, though this study provides some useful insights, much remains that could be done to probe the organization of the UN from the standpoint of dynamic institutional analysis.

PHILIP SELZNICK

Santa Monica, California

Selected Essays on Family Law. Compiled by the ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS. Brooklyn: Foundation Press, Inc., 1950. Pp. xv+1122. $9.50.

At its recent meeting the Mid-Century White House Conference on Children and Youth adopted a recommendation that there be initiated a study of the entire body of American law relating to children and the family. It is high time that such a study be undertaken, because in practically every respect the present American family law is obsolete, unsystematic, and unsatisfactory. One of the reasons for this state of affairs lies in the fact that, owing to its chaotic character, access to the mysteries of family law has been difficult to anyone but the trained lawyer. There are hardly any comprehensive treatises in the field, and the wealth of learning, knowledge, and information that is contained in the vast number of law-review articles has been safely tucked away from easy access. In the present volume a committee of teachers of family law has reassembled in one volume the more significant law-review articles, not only those of a technically legal character but also articles of a critical kind including those dealing with the ideological, religious, historical, and sociological background of the present family law as well as those concerned with proposals for future developments. Each chapter is accompanied by a bibliography of all those articles of significance which could not be reprinted in the volume. The book has been compiled primarily for law students, but it might be profitably consulted by anyone who is interested in the problems of family and youth.

MAX RHEINSTEIN

University of Chicago

The Social and Biological Challenge of Our Aging Population. By the NEW YORK ACADEMY OF MEDICINE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1950. Pp. xii+183. $2.75.

Planning the Older Years. Edited by WILMA DONAHUE and CLARK TIBBITTS. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1950. Pp. viii+248. $2.50.

The first of these two volumes is a report of the proceedings of the 1949 Health Education Conference of the New York Academy of Medicine. Despite its sponsorship by a medical group, at least half the papers given in the conference stressed the "social" aspects of aging.

Several of these papers make a real contribution to the growing literature on aging. "The Demographic Background of Our Aging Population," by Clyde V. Kiser, and its companion piece, "Patterns of Aging of Human Populations," by Vasilios G. Valaoras, deal with the

characteristics of the aged population of the United States, the demographic causes of aging populations, and the changing pattern of the United States population. "The Sociology of an Aging Population," by Kingsley Davis and J. W. Combs, Jr., is a good general statement of the role of the aged in the culture of the United States and of the possible effects of a large group of aged persons on the structure of American life.

"The Retirement Myth," by Julius Hochman, a vice-president of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union, is an attempt to analyze the meaning of retirement in relation to what work means to an individual within the American culture. Hochman's paper anticipates certain detailed investigations of work and retirement now under way at the University of Chicago. Students of aging as a social-psychological phenomenon will find this paper of special interest.

Planning the Older Years is a report of papers given at the second annual Institute on Living in the Later Years held at the University of Michigan in the summer of 1949. The present volume is organized primarily around the areas of living arrangements, recreational activities, and employment.

Sociologists will be especially interested in two papers which deal with research in aging: Robert J. Havighurst's "Public Attitude toward Various Activities of Older People" and Wilma Donahue's "An Experiment in the Restoration and Preservation of Personality in the Aged." The Havighurst paper is a preliminary report of what various age and sex groups consider desirable roles for older people. The Donahue paper reports the results of a planned activity program in a county home for the aged. The findings in regard to the preservation of the "person," or the social self, are of interest to both the student of personality and the administrator interested in programs for the aged.

It is hoped that the report of the 1950 conference, now in press, will include summary reports of further research developments.

ETHEL SHANAS

University of Chicago

War and Human Progress: An Essay on the Rise of Industrial Civilization. By JOHN U. NEF. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. ix+464. $6.50.

This is an important book. No one can read it carefully without being stimulated to think constructively about the problems of modern civilization, especially that of war. The author's object is to examine the relationship between war, economic progress, and civilization, using the latter to cover appreciation of the moral, intellectual, and artistic virtues. The treatment can be described as historical rather than sociological: the author does not attempt to define these variables with precision, to establish objective methods for measuring their changes in time, or to employ a logical or mathematical system for discovering the influence of change in one upon another. He rather elucidates the role in a given period of war, economy, and culture by reporting the opinion of the eminent men who experienced them, often adding the views of such contemporaries about the relationship among these factors.

A recognized student of economic history, Nef is able to speak authoritatively of the progress of technology and wealth in Europe during the period of which he treats, correcting some popular errors about the meaning and dating of the "Industrial Revolution."

In reporting on the destructiveness of, and the general attitude toward, war at different periods, his conclusions may prove to be more controversial. In this field statistics are notably inaccurate, and the opinions of contemporaries often differ greatly. Yet there would be wide agreement that the impact of war on all other aspects of life in Europe was increasing in the first period he discusses, 1494–1640, and declining in the second period, 1640–1740. The third period, 1740–1950, witnessed, everyone will agree, great fluctuations. War was tamed in the period of the Enlightenment before the French Revolution. It flared vigorously and dangerously during the French Revolution and in Napoleon's time and then waned very much in the nineteenth century, when both peace and general confidence in peace characterized the European peoples. The twentieth century, however, has seen war achieving new magnitudes of both material destructiveness and moral impact.

For these fluctuations the author offers no simple explanation. He suggests that economic progress flourishes in times of peace but, after a certain development, tends to produce war. Civilization, likewise, thrives in times of peace, as well as economic progress, more than in times of war, and it constitutes the major restraint, often inadequate, upon the trend toward total war. Inadequate economic resources may check

extremes of war. Consequently, war reaches extremes where technological advance is accompanied by a corruption of values, such as has characterized, in Nef's opinion, the twentieth century.

The influence of one of these factors upon another is not, however, all in one direction. War may stimulate inventions useful for economic progress, and it may stimulate a sense of values in some minds, but, on the whole, war is the product rather than the cause of progress in industry and civilization.

> The role of war in promoting industrial progress has been small compared with the role of industrial progress in bringing on war. Warfare is less a cause for industrialism than its shadow and its nemesis [p. 377].
>
> Restraints upon men and societies, which made war more humane and reduced the amount of fighting among civilized peoples, were created before the triumph of industrial civilization. They were more a cause for that triumph than a result of it. Industrialism has helped to destroy the restraints. Its future (like the future of general culture and world community, without which industrialism cannot survive) depends upon their renewal [p. 412].

The present reviewer, pursuing a similar interest by the different method of attempting to measure changes in the technological, social, intellectual, and psychic distances between states, reached similar conclusions:

> There will, apparently, be a trend toward war if the interest of one state in another, promoted by technological inventions, such as improvements in communications and transport, is proceeding more rapidly than the development of friendly opinions and attitudes and if the development of common intellectual understanding is proceeding more rapidly than the acceptance of common social symbols. To have peace, the order of change should be reversed. Friendliness and mutual acceptance of common social symbols should precede the development of material interdependence, the reduction of strategic barriers, and the equalization of intelligence and understanding [*A Study of War* (Chicago, 1942), p. 1278].

It is encouraging and not too frequent that methods of history and analysis concur in results.

This résumé of the high points in Nef's book does scant justice to its wealth of concrete material. The author is a master not only of the military, economic, and scientific literature of the period but also of Europe's political and philosophical literature, poetry, art, and history. He draws upon this vast body of material in a way to suggest numerous fields for investigation. The book is so packed with data and comments indicating relationships that it is not easy reading, but it will repay study by all social scientists.

The author is sometimes sardonic about modern civilization, as when he says: "The only justification for war is the defense of a culture worth defending, and the states of the modern world have less and less to defend beyond their material comforts, in spite of the claims of some to represent fresh concepts of civilization" (p. 412). He also comments upon the self-contradictory expressions of opinion about war by various writers, notably Ruskin, who differed from others in recognizing his own inconsistency (p. 406).

Nef's book has at times a tone of moral absolutism. He says, for instance: ". . . to a moral relativist, 'justice,' or even Kant's 'idea of right,' was as vacant a concept as evil. The persons who talked and wrote of war as bad increased in number, but so, we shall see, did the persons who talked and wrote of it as good" (p. 386). Some relativists might hold that their doctrine means only that ultimate standards are not scientifically provable, any more than are geometric axioms, and that moral judgments can be validated only relatively to the standards which are assumed. Such a position does not deny that justice has meaning but suggests that the major premise which permits characterization of an act as just should be disclosed.

On the practical plane the author has no panacea. He emphasizes the complexity of civilization and the involvement of war in many of its aspects. He believes, however, that a more widespread inclination to view civilization as a whole, moderating the excesses of modern specialization, may encourage restraints on war:

> War is now even less a separate problem than in earlier times; it is a part of the total problem of modern civilization. The seriousness of wars can be mitigated, therefore, only by the growth of a common community of understanding relating to life as a whole. . . . A community of the kind toward which we are groping should be the work of the human mind and spirit, creating now more than ever independently of politics, of the pomp and circumstance of the states which are engaged in threatening each other. . . . Let us not hoodwink ourselves with notions of perpetual peace and of the millennium. These only increase the danger of war, and they rest upon a misunderstanding of human nature. Men and women are not angels [pp. 414, 416].

Voluminous footnotes, collected at the end of the volume, indicate the extensiveness of the author's scholarship. There is also a good Index. The book will undoubtably take an important place in the growing literature on the role of war in civilization.

QUINCY WRIGHT

University of Chicago

The Negro's Morale: Group Identification and Protest. By ARNOLD M. ROSE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1949. Pp. ix+153. $2.50.

In this work the author presents the commonly accepted definition of group morale, namely, the ability of members of a group to "hold together in the face of adversity and to act together in a concerted way to achieve the group's goals." The goals of the group—in this case the Negro group—are equality of treatment and full participation in American life.

Since morale is a kind of loyalty to the group and "gives the individual a sense of rightness and strength even though the group is weak and despised," the author regards it as being equivalent to group identification. Group identification is then defined as a feeling of belonging together. It is not merely a result of the recognition by individual members that they have a common ancestry and that the majority group defines them as belonging to the minority; it involves both a desire to identify with the group and a feeling of pleasure in so doing. The manifestations of group identification are found in protest when the group is injured and in expressions of pride in achievements of members of the group.

The author draws on the available literature by and about Negroes for evidences of these expressions of protest and pride. The study includes chapters dealing with (1) the history of group identification among Negroes, (2) blocks or hindrances to this identification, (3) the means by which it is promoted, (4) the tendency of the Negro group to identify its struggle with that of other minority groups, and (5) speculation as to the future of Negro group identification and its effects on intergroup relations.

Negro group identification, asserts the author, grew up first as a defensive device but became "one of the major offensive weapons" in the Negro's struggle for equality in American society. In employing "group identification" as a workable concept of morale the author emphasizes only its positive aspects—the desire of the individual Negro to identify with the group, together with a sense of pleasure in doing so. But, as utilized in this book, the concept of group identification is confusing. High group identification is taken to mean high morale. Sometimes the term is also used synonymously with group solidarity and group consciousness. Despite this usage, the author, in noting that Negroes frequently talk of their experiences as Negroes, says: "Mere talk of this sort may be frustrating and thus not raise morale, but it is almost certain to increase group consciousness."

This confusion arises from the inadequacy of the definition of morale as group identification. No attempt is made to determine the extent to which group identification is a result of other factors. Other factors which might be included or given more emphasis are group identification as an aspect of the Negro's cultural heritage, and the forced identification of the individual Negro with the group as a result of external pressure. Even under conditions in which the Negro group is the object of strong prejudice which individuals may wish to escape, their high visibility prevents it. Only because of the failure of the author to explore more completely the nature of group identification is it possible to equate it with morale.

It is suggested that the author's study would have been greatly improved if he had taken account of all the factors involved in the process by which the individual Negro becomes identified with the group and then had analyzed morale inside this "self-identified" group. Such an analysis, conceivably, would cover (1) the development of group identification under slavery; (2) the rejection of the Negro through discriminatory treatment and segregation following the slave period; (3) the reaction of the Negro group to this rejection, which in some instances takes the form of protest and the development of goals and some organized effort to achieve them; and (4) the achievement of some of the goals which in some cases may lead to greater organization and heightened morale and in other cases to a loss of solidarity or group identification.

This scheme of analysis would permit taking into account those cases, ignored by the author, in which Negroes often experience shame or embarrassment (rather than a feeling of pleasure in group identification) as a result of the behavior of individual Negroes, their organizations, and

their institutions. Also it would make possible the inclusion of an analysis of the situations in which Negroes co-operate to obtain an objective merely because they are in the same boat.

This type of analysis would give full recognition to the fact that the Negro group is held together by external pressure as well as by the operation of internal forces. From this point of view, group morale would be studied as a function of defined goals, confidence on the part of the group's members in their attainment, and a determination, together with some organized effort, to achieve these goals.

The ultimate goal of the Negro is unqualified membership in American society, the attainment of which would mean the disappearance of group identification. It is thus questionable if the problem of morale is clarified by equating it with group identification. Although group identification is the *sine qua non* of any social group, it is doubtful if this conception is adequate to analyze the complex problem of group morale.

One must agree with the author that, in accordance with present trends, discrimination is likely to decrease slowly and prejudice even more slowly. While the continued existence of prejudice and the growing sensitivity of Negroes will mean a persistence of group identification, it is hardly likely, however, that group identification, as conceived by the author, will continue to increase. The gradual integration of Negroes in various aspects of American life undoubtedly will mean a shift from identification with the Negro group to identification with such groups as labor unions, political parties, and all groups in which the Negro is becoming integrated. Only recently, the national organization of Negro nurses disbanded because its members are now admitted into what was formerly an all-white association. To give another example, it is reported that Congressman Powell, Negro representative from New York, has publicly renounced his fight against segregation and discrimination for the duration of the present emergency.

In the use of material drawn from available literature about Negroes, the author often makes questionable interpretations and inferences. This is illustrated in the assertion that "as group identification arose among Negroes after 1910, there was less desire to pass [for white] on the part of those who could. They took a certain pride in being able to pass but not actually doing so. At the same time, group pressure increased against those who did pass." The reluctance to pass for white is probably more the result of the establishment of intimate bonds in primary groups, such as the family and voluntary organizations, and also the development of a Negro social structure, which affords opportunities for Negroes to achieve status and security within the Negro world.

Another example appears in this statement: "Dark Negroes have to take over some of the higher positions because light Negroes are becoming fewer in number." A more plausible explanation of the rise of darker Negroes in the occupational scale is that dark-skinned Negroes, escaping from the plantation tradition, are acquiring education and skills which only light-skinned Negroes had acquired earlier, some even during the slave period.

The writer also states that, because the minority position of the Negro does not insure Negroes security and tenure, "they sometimes assume that they do not have enough money to do certain things even when they actually have, by the average white man's standards." If one judges by the style of living of Negroes as related to their incomes, it would appear that they do not save but engage in much conspicuous consumption and lavish spending, all out of proportion to that of whites of the same income level.

A story by a Negro newspaper editor is quoted to show how the president of a Negro medical college outwitted a group of southern whites. These southerners were interested in transferring the college from Tennessee to Texas to meet the requirements for equal but separate education for Negroes. The author apparently assumes that the white president of this college is a Negro.

One must also note that the author often uses his sources uncritically. For example, contrary to the most reliable evidence, the author asserts that "the Brer Rabbit stories did not come out of Africa, but grew up under slavery." There is also too much reliance on reports in the Negro press but for factual data and for opinions and attitudes of the Negro group. Those who are familiar with Negro newspapers will recognize that they are usually unreliable sources for such evidence. It should also be pointed out that the utterances and writings of Negro leaders do not always reflect the interests and aspirations of the Negro group. Many Negro leaders are selected by whites as spokesmen for the Negro group and hence do not always reflect the group's interests and feelings.

While in some respects many of the author's conclusions are open to question as a result both of the limitations of data and of questionable analysis, the work succeeds in interesting the reader in the important problem of the morale of a minority group. Thus, while the reader may find many statements with which he disagrees to some extent, nevertheless the book will sustain his interest because it deals with an intriguing subject. The student of minority group relations will also find that the author, in exploring the problems of the morale of the Negro minority, has rendered a service in indicating many areas for fruitful research.

HARRY J. WALKER

Howard University

My Six Convicts: A Psychologist's Three Years in Fort Leavenworth. By DONALD POWELL WILSON. New York: Rinehart & Co., Inc., 1950. Pp. 369. $3.50.

This meaty, insightful book is being widely read for entertainment, thanks to the Book-of-the-Month Club, as well as popular enlightenment on modern criminology and penology. Perhaps in no other form could the author's theme, "society's choice between revenge and recidivism, or reconstruction and citizenship" (p. 154), reach such a wide and influential audience.

The research in drug addiction and criminality which originally provided Dr. Wilson the opportunities to make his much wider observations of criminal society in and out of jail, is summarized in chapter xvii (pp. 325–44) and referred to elsewhere in the book. His pioneer studies for the United States Public Health Service of fifteen hundred addicts in the early 1930's coincided with sweeping reforms in the federal prisons, but this book aims to enlighten the reader in many more fields than this one. As a professor of psychology at the Los Angeles State College, who writes like a novelist, Wilson displays a variety of perspectives, including a sound sociological sense of human relationships and the insight into personality which one expects from skilled clinicians.

Sociologists teaching courses in criminology and penology should find *My Six Convicts* a valuable, popular, and refreshing addition to their bibliographies, but perhaps some will wish that the author or his editors had seen fit to provide an index or at least chapter titles. And perhaps some will see fit to make a virtue of this lack—it would make an interesting learning experience for students to develop interpretative rubrics for indexing this rich material and to explore the various theoretical frames of reference which are required in making sense out of the anecdotal descriptions of human behavior.

For one, there is the Annex itself as an institution, Fort Leavenworth Penitentiary providing the broad stage for the countless dramas which Wilson reports. Students might compare this institution with some in their direct experience and with others, such as concentration camps, as found in the literature, as, for example, in Dostoevski's *House of the Dead.*

For another, there is the unique research team who give the book its title and principal story-line: Connie, the gregarious carnival barker, master safeblower, and arbiter of inmate society, particularly of the grapevine, smuggling, and "the fix"; Punch Pinero, gang boss and racketeer; Scott, the chivalrous college man from the Blue Grass country, taking the rap (four years for illegal possession of narcotics) for a daughter of the fading southern aristocracy; "Friar" Gibbs, the carpenter who had been a "sub-contractor" in "interstate commerce" (transporting stolen automobiles across state lines); King, artist, bellhop, counterfeiter, sadist, and complicated psychopath; Davis, the murderer, who didn't fit in this or any other company for very long; and Ross, the all-round engineer with a record of narcotics and forgery convictions, who developed the polygraph used in Wilson's research.

But nothing short of an index or a series of chapter and section titles would convey the range and variety of Wilson's valuable observations. Organized crime and protection; local and federal police methods; human relations in a penitentiary (especially among the principal characters); social and personality correlates of drug addiction and many other kinds of psychopathology; religion, education, and rehabilitation; convict humor and patriotism; vicious consequences of the stool-pigeon system; sex, smuggling, and cell-block construction; "the sadism of war" and the psychological technique of isolation; resistance, riot, and escape; methods of denarcotization; locks and keys, symbols of status and effects upon morale; convict mentality and the uses of indirection, or "doing it the hard way"—these are a few topics selected at random to suggest that Wilson does a great

deal more than deal merely with "characters, just characters!"

BUFORD H. JUNKER

University of Chicago

A Rural Economy of New England: A Regional Study. By JOHN DONALD BLACK. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xxiv+796. $7.50.

This book, the product of twenty years of research and study by the author and other New England rural economists, draws together data on New England from many sources. Despite the subtitle, the treatment of New England as a region is limited to a six-page justification of viewing the six-state area as such. Thereafter, regional analysis gives way to a geographical presentation of the facts.

The analysis of the changes in land use and in farm organization over many years gives this study the time dimension so necessary in showing the interrelationship of the economic, technological, and other circumstances. Students of economic and social change will be much interested in seeing how the interplay of natural resources, industrialization, farm technology, and the development of new areas influences the economy of a particular region. There are indications, although implicit, that changes within agriculture and between agricultural and nonagricultural occupations do not occur in response only to purely economic but also to social and cultural influences.

The analysis of the interdependence of the city and the open country in land use, type of agriculture, and occupation is a good feature of the book. Of particular interest are the chapters dealing with the recreational use of the land, rural residence in the open country, and part-time farming. These phenomena are becoming increasingly important. Much of this material is based upon pioneering research by the Connecticut Agricultural Experiment Station.

The discussion of the problem of the low-income farmers of New England is of interest as it relates to future trends and policies. The author does not agree with many economists that economic efficiency is the only criterion upon which agricultural policy should be based. "Many of the low-income families could have larger incomes if they wanted to work harder to obtain them," he says, but adds: "Farming always has and always will be a way of living for a large number of families of this description" (p. 643). The compromise with economic efficiency in the face of unknown human equations reveals a limitation of this kind of regional analysis. To the reviewer it suggests the weakness of any single-line solution of contemporary problems. While specialized analyses are necessary to isolate and to define the role of historical, economic, social, and political facts as they contribute to the contemporary state of affairs of a region, they must all be considered together, in predicting the future or establishing sound public policy for the attainment of social objectives. Many facts presented, for example, are not sufficient to explain why almost three-fourths of the farmers of New England continue on incomes which are considered "inadequate" by the author, despite the fact that, through improved farm technology and employment in industry, most of them could increase their earnings. The type of facts presented in Rupert Vance's *All These People* and in the cultural studies of rural life ("Rural Life Studies," Nos. 1–6) by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics is needed in order to understand more fully the role of population, cultural, and historical factors in explaining the failure of rural people to attain a high level of living.

EUGENE WILKENING

University of North Carolina

CURRENT BOOKS

ASSOCIATION OF AMERICAN LAW SCHOOLS (comp. and ed.). *Selected Essays on Family Law.* Brooklyn: Foundation Press, Inc., 1950. Pp. xv+1122. $9.50. Essays by lawyers and others on many aspects of family life.

BARR, STRINGFELLOW. *Let's Join the Human Race.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1950. Pp. 30. $0.25. A pamphlet on Point Four policy on the development of industrially undeveloped territories.

BECKER, HOWARD. *Through Values to Social Interpretation: Essays on Social Contexts, Actions, Types, and Prospects.* Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950. Pp. xviii+341. $4.50. A theoretical treatise on sociology and its social philosophy.

BERELSON, BERNARD, and JANOWITZ, MORRIS (ed.). *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication.* Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Pp. xi+505. Selections from older essays as well as from current essays and research.

BLACK, JOHN DONALD. *The Rural Economy of New England: A Regional Study.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1950. Pp. xxiv+789. $7.50. A survey based on research done through many years at Harvard and elsewhere. Treats of soil, climate, land use, ownership, organization of agriculture, changes in crops, methods and systems of marketing, and many other similar topics, with many tables, charts, and maps.

BRAMELD, THEODORE. *Patterns of Educational Philosophy: A Democratic Interpretation.* Yonkers-on-Hudson, N.Y.: World Book Co., 1950. Pp. xv+824. $4.75. A textbook evaluating several philosophies of education: progressivism, essentialism, perennialism, and reconstructionism.

CAIN, H. THOMAS. *Petroglyphs of Central Washington.* Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1950. Pp. ix+57. $1.00. An archeological monograph, with maps showing distribution and illustrations of designs.

CANTRIL, HADLEY. *The "Why" of Man's Experience.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1950. Pp. xiii+198. $2.75. A series of essays on the science of man, drawing on material from psychological and sociological research.

CRAWFORD, PAUL L.; MALAMUD, DANIEL I.; and DUMPSON, JAMES R. *Working with Teen-Age Gangs: A Report on the Central Harlem Street Clubs Project.* New York: Welfare Council of New York City, 1950. Pp. x+162. Report of a field survey which used field observation and participation as its main methods. The project included attempts to redirect the behavior of the gangs.

CRESSEY, PAUL F. *Rangoon: A Brief Social Survey.* Norton, Mass.: Paul F. Cressey, Wheaton College, 1950. Pp. 29. A pamphlet concerning the growth of Ragoon: the composition of its present population, war damage, and the social agencies operating in the city.

CREVENNA, THEO. R. *Materiales para el estudio de la clase media en la América Latina* ("Materials for the Study of the Middle Class in Latin America"). Washington, D.C.: Union Panamericana, 1950. Pp. xiv+117. Essays (in Spanish) on the middle class in Bolivia and Chile; the rural population of Paraguay; and an article on the middle class of Guarantinguetá (in Portuguese), a municipality in the state of São Paulo, Brazil. This article is extracted from a thesis on this town.

DAVIS, KINGSLEY. *The Population of India and Pakistan.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951. Pp. xvi+263. $7.50. Presentation of what is known of past and present population of the area, with thorough documentation, extensive tables and maps. Bibliography, also extensive, is arranged by topics, such as caste, family composition, etc. In addition to topics usually treated in studies of population, there is treatment of the demography of caste.

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tarianism; more attention to social status and social structure.

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